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BETWEEN TWO WARS

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS
29TH EDITION, 1945

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION, 1944

WAR AND EDUCATION, 1943

EDUCATION IN WARTIME, 1942

GETTING US INTO WAR, 1941

WHAT MAKES LIVES, 1940

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BETWEEN TWO WARS

THE FAILURE OF EDUCATION

1920 - 1940

BY

PORTER SARGENT

PORTER SARGENT

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*Conforming with war-economy standards, a lighter
weight paper, narrower margins, more lines and
words to the page are used than taste would dictate.*

DEDICATION

TO THOSE WHO COURAGEOUSLY STRIVE TO CHANGE WHAT WE DO TO CHILDREN UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE DEAD HAND. FOR WHAT WE HAVE DONE TO CHILDREN IN THE NAME OF EDUCATION HAS PLANTED THE SEEDS OF RESENTMENT AND FRUSTRATION,—HAS MADE ALL OF US WHAT WE ARE TODAY. SO WAR BEGINS IN THE NURSERIES, AND IN THE CHANCELLERIES THE CHOICEST PRODUCT OF OUR SYSTEM IN PERPLEXED PREDICAMENT PROMOTE AND PROVOKE FUTURE WARS.

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DID EDUCATION FAIL?

The faith we have placed in education has not been justified by the results. With greater awareness and understanding, we may yet make better use of our opportunities and avoid continuing waste of our resources.

There have, of course, been successes, individual and local, as well as some permanent advance. Nor has there been lacking praise and gloating by the many, evidence of individual or national egoism. Those courageous men and women of vision who have had the initiative to get out of the rut, and the drive to blaze new paths into the future, I have not hesitated to celebrate these thirty years in my writings.

WHAT TO AVOID

But if we are to go on we should know what to avoid. It is through experience, learning by trial and error, by persistent experiment, that humanity has come on up from the ape. That's the way organic life has evolved from the slime. The rocks are full of fossils recording failure of the unadaptive all along the way.

But life has gone on and proved a success. So don't bridle at the word 'failure', but let it be a warning to observe, analyze, diagnose, and be ready to win come what may. Even if you use all your senses and brains and all the help that you can get from your fellows and from any other source, there will be plenty of failures on the road ahead.

Our ominous title is too pessimistic, Columbia's financial expert on education, Paul R. Mort writes me reprovingly. "I am curious to know why you are so certain that education is a failure. I think I can give almost anybody cards and spades pointing out its potentialities for being more effective, but somehow or other the great array of its specific shortcomings does not lead me to the conclusion that it is a failure." Mort is right as to 'potentialities'. I don't know of any event that is a complete failure, from which we cannot learn something. In reply I wrote:

"My theme is that 'Between Two Wars' education failed to satisfy the faith that had been placed in it. Our present system of education must assume some of the responsibility for our present wastes and wars. That's a bitter pill for us educators, but it may lead some of us to 'take thought'. Until it is shown that our educational practices are ineffective and even harmful, there will be no call for the new, no reason for change. So there is need for iconoclasm today. The tangle of our mental growth must be cleared. Criticism need not always be constructive. There is 'a time to break down, and a time to build up', as Ecclesiastes said."

WHAT WAS LACKING

The training of the young in awareness and understanding might have saved us from failure. But our faith in ancient precepts, adherence to traditions, and reliance on fetishes gave us confidence when fear should have warned us. When imminent crisis was upon us fear paralyzed instead of stimulating creative thought.

Wise men had sounded the alarm. It was 'a race between education and disaster', H. G. Wells warned after the first war. Just before the second war President Hopkins of Dartmouth had echoed Dewey in declaring, "Our schools have failed notably and lamentably". And Head Master Fuess of Andover had announced, "Even education may not save the world, but if it cannot, nothing else can".

Good will was not lacking, but glittering ideals blinded us to realities. We figured profits without counting costs, rewards without realizing difficulties. We failed to recognize and assess inimical forces which prevented the realization of good intentions. Our educators cannot escape the charge of evasion and dereliction.

THE SIN OF IGNORANCE

The greatest sin is ignorance. Born without knowledge, we learn what parents, teachers and other factors of our environment impart. The sin of not knowing how leads to the failure to adjust so that you, your people, or your species, may survive. That's what knowledge is for, that we may apprehend, apprise, and understand what adjustments are necessary for continued existence. And failure meets with maximum punishment,—non-survival, death.

The needful knowledge was available, but our educators failed to make use of it. Even our so-called educated people had little comprehension of the world they lived in, of what was going on or who was pulling the strings.

That we may the better understand the situation and examine into how and where education failed, if it did, it behooves us to know what the educational world was doing, hoping, thinking, believing, missing, escaping, ignoring, leaving undone, these twenty years.

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THIS BOOK

The thoughts and utterances of those who were shaping education these twenty years reveal how their ideas were changed, whence they came, who promoted them, for what purpose, and how it affected the coming generation.

Here is an accumulation of material for the study of human thought, attitudes and institutions, especially insofar as they touch upon the processes of indoctrinating youth and influencing behavior.

THE PLAN

Except for the opening and closing chapters, the material here presented consists of selections from the annual editions of "The Handbook of Private Schools" published between 1920 and 1940. The reader is enabled to listen in on what was being said, or look in on what was being done in the English-speaking educational world from year to year.

The sequence is chronological, presenting the situation as of the time, so the tenses have not been changed. Inevitably it is fragmentary and inconsistent, jumpy or spotty, reflecting the changing inchoate intellectual fashions of the years. This arrangement interferes with consistency and unity, but preserves the continuity in time. The running heads indicate the year and the edition.

Covering a wide range in limited space, it presents what seemed each year most important, assuming certain backgrounds of knowledge. The last and the first five chapters reflect some interpretive hindsight on the state of education and its trends during the twenty years. The broader generalities will be found documented in the body of the book or in earlier publications there referred to.

The 'Notes' supplement by providing further and recent documentation and by bringing together items on the same topic from earlier or later editions and recent comment to bring the subject up to date.

Throughout, the attempt has been to present the ideas and words of others in such a way as to bring about in the reader some reaction which will often be disagreement with the little known. This arrangement of verbalized ideas may be regarded as a kind of engineering for the purpose of bridging or leading thought from the familiar to the unfamiliar.

Ideas that flow from one mind in one set phraseology may be persuasive or may merely promote argumentation. When, on the other hand, the ideas are brought together from many minds against which we must measure our own, the result is more likely to influence rather than to arouse opposition. It is the juxtaposition of ideas, conventional, familiar,

incongruous or absurd, which may result in laughter, anger or contempt. To show feeling is the most natural human tendency. Our glands operate even when our brain does not. Moral indignation would hardly be possible without the functioning adrenal glands. Encountering the unfamiliar, particularly an idea of unknown possibilities, the first reaction is fear at its strangeness and manifestation of anger, the result largely of automatic vasomotor and glandular activities rather than of cerebration.

WHO DID IT?

What appears in this book in the last analysis represents, then, what one individual was conscious of and believed of importance, during a limited period, in certain human activities, phases of intellectual behavior. The interest has been first in what has been looked upon as 'educational' and the institutions that have grown up about or behind the linguistic symbol 'education'.

Shifting trends and tides are reflected through the contemporary reaction of an optimist who believed that a little pressure on the rudder might help in avoiding the rocks and bring the ship safe into port. Because I pointed out the rocks they call me a pessimist and an iconoclast. But I cheerfully deny the allegation and at every opportunity defy the allegators.

With greater detachment and freedom than most I have not hesitated to commit myself, as men in secured positions, dependent on salary and pensions, could not afford to do. And as I have grown older, I have become bolder. Moreover at times I have played the fool's part believing it might seem the wise part in later perspective. Shakespeare and Shaw converted me to this. Still I refuse to worship at the shrine of the bitch goddess Success, or to approach worm-like before the great American goddess Alma Mater, or to genuflect before the great god Bunk.

Dogmas I look upon as the product of dead men, at least dead from the neck up, subject to autopsy. Opinions I do not hold nor respect unless the data on which they are based are clearly shown. Nor do I boast about my 'thinking'. I observe and deduce and report, in order to make the reader cerebration and arrive at his own conclusions.

It may be of interest to know something of how I got this way. I began teaching in 1890 and have been at it ever since in one way or another. I spent eight years looking through a microscope in neurological research and teaching science in the Browne and Nichols School, with summers in the biological laboratories of Alexander Agassiz at Newport and the U. S. Fish Commission at Woods Hole.

After ten years of scientific training at Harvard, I escaped with my life and in the following ten years spent alternate years in Europe and Round the World taking with me groups of boys preparing for college and in-

terpreting to them other peoples, their culture, art, religions. That was my real education, learning to look out of the eye-holes of others at the world they lived in. Then my interest in Eastern art and desire to interpret the East to the West was frustrated by the First World War which turned me to the making of Handbooks.

It would be ungracious not to pay tribute to the great minded school masters who from the first supported my feeble efforts and whose example was later followed by those who were contemptuous or inimical in the beginning. As suspicion spread that I was not susceptible to demands, pleas or bribes for puffery, the periodical press and the leaders of education increased the prestige of the Handbook so that most who originally came to jeer remained to cheer.

WHO FOR?

My writing was primarily addressed to parents that they might more advisedly plan their children's schooling. In preparing annual editions of a guide for parents it seemed desirable to give some information not only on what 'is done' in accepted educational circles, but on what was being done on the educational frontiers.

Year after year information not generally available was brought to their attention with the intent of putting them in touch with and making them aware of educational thought, practices and tendencies, both current and advanced. Nor did I hesitate to attract their attention to festering injustices and the unmistakable trends toward war, believing that understanding of this was of more importance to the future generation than the traditional subjects taught in school.

It was not unanticipated that those who were responsible for the private schools would want to know what was being put over on their patrons. While these school heads generally were not seeking new ideas, they could not afford to be wholly neglectful of what was being directed to those on whom they were dependent for support.

So as the Handbook became a necessary tool on the desks of school and college executives, it proved to be an instrument whereby ideas, sometimes unwelcome at first, were introduced to them. This was an effective way of getting new ideas across, so in successive years those responsible for the education of the elite of the nation became familiar with ideas they might not otherwise have encountered.

Time and again it has been shown that the only way to reform a priest-craft is to change the needs and demands of those they live on. For the school people themselves we published for seventeen years a monthly journal in which on occasion we did not hesitate to take the pulpit against the hypocrisy and bunk that marked the drift toward war.

THE PURPOSE

It has been my purpose to bring evidence, the thoughts and statements of others, of significance but perhaps neglected, to the attention of those who may give them consideration. Facts in themselves are not regarded as of interest until related to other facts, and these related to human interests. The comparative view brings understanding. My purpose has been to observe and compare, to deduce, interpret and report, not to discuss or present an argument.

Educational processes are considered in their larger social and biological setting. Evidence is presented that in transmitting the culture it is sometimes distorted or adapted so as to favor the purposes and interests of those who control and have the greatest stake in the world as it is.

Any adequate consideration of the subject necessitates bringing to light events that have been glossed over, human forces, usually without analysis or understanding denominated as 'social' or 'political', that were acting not to bring new attitudes into vogue but to suppress such in fear that they might be inimical to what was.

Events which seemed complex to their participators are presented at times in such a way as to invite the charge of oversimplification. In academic circles that is equivalent to what heresy was in the Middle Ages. Dissipate the hocus pocus, make simple what seems profound, and you jeopardize the position and prestige of most who preside over what in our great universities are labelled the 'social sciences'.

LET THERE BE LIGHT

The over all purpose of man's long endeavor has been to penetrate the surrounding darkness of his ignorance, to enlarge his horizons, to appreciate this earth, his home in its fullness and to come to some understanding of himself and his fellows. What is needed is light rather than heat that we may look at things in the 'cold light of reason'.

Primitive and medieval man knew but one way of life. All others were wrong. The modern attitude is to recognize many diverse ways of life, of looking at the world, to attempt to get into the skin of other individuals, envision as clearly as possible the world that they look out upon and the conditions that they must adjust to.

Only then can we begin to appreciate others and their ways of adjustment. Then we may be able to show more fruitful ways of reacting. Most will be unable to change. But given these glimmers of other possibilities, some may adapt their ways to changing conditions and survive, so that their descendants will flourish and multiply and enjoy 'the land which the Lord their God hath given them'.

WHAT A TIME THIS WAS!

The hopes for social betterment and educational reconstruction that followed the sacrifices of war, arousing fear of revolution through distorted information and repressed thought, were frustrated by the dead hand.

Our interest in this period lies in the anticipations for educational advance and the aspirations of the peoples which had been stimulated during the war. After despair, hope springs eternal. Humanity "feels a stir of might" and blindly "groping above it for light, climbs to a soul", which may flower but fail to bear fruit. It soon became apparent that dictators in Italy, Germany, and Russia were using education to further their own purposes. At closer view in England and America we were not aware of how the same process was going on.

A CHANGING WORLD

Now we may look back on these twenty years as an armistice in a thirty years war, much as Thucydides looked upon the similar interval in the Peloponnesian War. In perspective, we may better understand the influences so difficult to interpret in the midst of the confusion and cross currents of the time. (1)

The conflict, as on the eve of the decline of Greece, was one between entrenched privilege and wealth and those who felt themselves deprived. "The nations which officially favored the maintenance of the political and territorial status quo were sometimes labeled the 'Haves'. In the case of Great Britain and France, in particular, they had arranged matters in Europe in 1919-1920 to suit themselves, and they had no desire to see their dispositions altered." This is the way the situation was summarized by Walter C. Langsam in "The World Since 1914" (1940). This was complicated by similar conflicts within each nation.

Under our profit system of publishing, a great number of books on the events of this crisis armistice period have been produced. Most are trivial or profound, propagandal or provocative. Purporting to be historical, some were written to promote, or at least not to run counter to powerful interests. Others directly inspired by the great governmental propaganda agencies are the work of ostensibly free men whose names are well-known. Outstanding are two penetrating and honest interpretations of the time wholly different in approach.

This "Twenty Years Crisis" is clearly understood and lucidly explained in the great book published in 1939 by E. H. Carr, one time of the Foreign Office, Welsh Universities, and chief editorial writer of the London

Times. Out of the doubt, confusion, misunderstanding and disappointment, Carr from his inside view detects a redirection of forces, a crystallization of concealed purposes. During this armistice which so many regarded as a period of peace, of negative action, he sees forces continuously at work which resulted in the final break that we speak of as the second World War. (2)

The "Fantastic Interim: A Hindsight History of American Manners, Morals, and Mistakes between Versailles and Pearl Harbor" (Harcourt, Brace, 1943) is presented by Henry Morton Robinson, a non-political observer of literary tendencies. Perhaps ten or twenty years from now, looking back on the period that followed, what we held as vital to the world's salvation may seem even more fantastic. (3)

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SET-UP

This period can be understood only against its 'political and economic' backgrounds. These abstract terms usually serve to relegate thought to academic realms where 'oversimplification' is still a heresy and 'thought' complicated to produce a soporific effect upon 'informed citizens'. It is not good form to inquire as to what goes on behind the ideological screen set up, nor to look into the methods and measures resorted to by the nationalistic or cartelistic groups in their struggle for power.

The English-speaking peoples had long regarded their Christian, capitalist, industrial civilization as one that would go on indefinitely, though innumerable others had gone down to oblivion. Under the long continued so-called Pax Britannica, Britain had been free to wage a hundred wars to keep the "lesser breeds within the law".

In the nineties, under its great Foreign Minister Joe Chamberlain, the Empire had reached the height of its power. At the turn of the century, Brooks Adams in his "Civilization and Decay" and his "Theory of Social Revolution" warned of coming world changes. The Boer War gave pause and led Kipling in his 'Recessional' to urge that the moral bases be strengthened, "Lest We Forget".

The first World War swept the crowns from the heads of European royalty, except for puppet monarchs of the buffer states which the victors were supporting to protect themselves. A weakened, triumphant France, abandoned by its great allies, with the greatest army the world had yet seen, was riding high over a torn and crushed Europe, meantime building a 'cordon sanitaire' to shut off the wicked Bolsheviks. Germany was reduced to impotence, the most completely defeated and humiliated nation in modern history, disarmed, starved, deprived of colonies, coal and iron resources.

The British Empire, augmented by her German mandates, the most

extensive in the world, with wealth depleted, trade ruined, was endeavoring to live upon her subject peoples. The Tories with an eye on the world's resources, as power shifted from coal to oil, were rebuilding their shattered fortunes with the aid of the Dutch Deterding, who had succeeded Zaharoff as "The Most Powerful Man in the World". (4)

America's growing naval power and building plans challenged Britain's long supremacy of the seas. Bickering and threats of war led to the Washington Naval Conference and the scrapping of our fleet then building, in return for the cancellation of England's long standing alliance with Japan. Against the resentment of Japan, reduced to inferior rank by the three-to-five naval ratio, the United States more or less secretly assumed protection of Britain's Asiatic and Pacific interests.

THE PASSING OF EUROPE

The nineteenth century had seen the passing of the Spanish and Turkish empires and the upbuilding of Holland and Belgium as buffer states and the enlargement of colonial empires under British protection.

The growing threat of Russia, "the bear that walks like a man", brought back the remembrance that for some thousands of years the hordes that had poured out of Asia into the peninsula of Europe had been a source of terror to Europeans. Only a thousand years before they had reached the valley of the Loire and within a few hundred years besieged Vienna.

China for two thousand years had dominated the great continent of Eurasia and created what was for a thousand years the world's greatest, highest civilization of which Japan was a mere offshoot. Now for more than a century China had been a victim of the west and reduced to internal chaos. Japan for a thousand years had followed the ways of Buddha and for fifteen hundred years had had only three foreign wars only one aggressive. Then following the example of the British in the Opium War, the American Perry had broken down resistance that the West might sell her armaments with which to further weaken China in 1894 and Russia ten years later. Under British tutelage, Japan became a formidable naval power.

The stimulus to technology, industry and transportation had resulted in the industrialization of countries formerly dependent on Britain's industries. They were becoming economically independent. The dissemination of knowledge, the spread of industrialization and the raising of the standards of living had been hailed by prophets like H. G. Wells as offering great hope for the advancement of unity of mankind.

So now, after a few centuries of exploitation of the East, "The Retreat of the West" was on, as No-Yong Park explained in his book of this title

(cf p 271). Many Europeans, too, saw "The Passing of the European Age" as did Eric Fischer (Harvard University Press, 1943), a Viennese now teaching at Bard College. Two European wars in a quarter of a century that have set the world aflame shows that "the social and economic evolution of Europe seems to have reached a point where dangerous crises are unavoidable". (5)

THE TERRIBLE TWENTIES

A flare-up of utopian idealism followed the sacrifices after the first World War, 'the war to make the world fit for democracy'. The English people had borne their sufferings dazzled with promises of great improvements, a 'reconstructed social system', 'a better world for the common man'. After much talk of 'educational reconstruction' and interminable committee discussions, the Fisher Bill embodying these promises was passed. But postponement followed delay and the act was not put into effect, to the disillusionment and disappointment of the people.

Labor, in demand during the war, at its close was riding high. Its planned deflation was marked by such incidents as the Boston police strike and the general strike in England. The Labor Party, after two brief periods in power, was taken in by the Tories, and the Liberal Party became moribund.

Most of our educators, bedazzled by bedizened ideologies and magic formulae, continued to blow iridescent bubbles from their fairy air castles. Few indeed dared point out the trends toward centralization or to challenge the growing wastefulness of our social system.

In America the effervescence of Wilson's 'New Freedom' was followed by the tired 'normalcy' of Harding's graft and revelry, the sleeping sickness under Coolidge, and the stolid indifference that followed the failure of Hoover's prophecy of 'prosperity just around the corner', to put two cars in every pot and two chickens in every garage.

Promises of an easy way to salvation were, as always, readily listened to. The promise of plenty was used to supplement the fear of want. Much was heard about 'full employment', where earlier it had been the 'full dinner pail'. The slogan of 'free enterprise', the boast of the American 'way of life', was blazoned on billboards and promoted in newspapers by those who feared revolutionary change.

This was effective demonstration that our cultural system was based on scarcity, the fear of hunger, the hope of survival. The people, driven by fear and lured by promise, came to place more hope in the concentrated power of government apparently paternal. The ears and the minds of the people were opened to the doctrines of Communists, Fascists, Nazis.

"All I saw during the later twenties and the thirties pointed straight

to the rather sombre conclusion that homo sapiens has,—and, as I believe, can have,—no sense whatever of history's continuity. On the surface, the scene was one of incredible confusion, absurdity, futility. One would say that all the extravagances which lunacy could devise were running wild", reflects Albert Jay Nock in "Memoirs of a Superfluous Man" (Harper, 1943). His pessimism takes an anthropological tinge like that of Earnest Hooton whose preaching all through the period emphasized the degradation of man in his "Up From the Ape" (1936), and "The Twilight of Man" (1941). (Cf pp 165, 342)

THE FEARFUL THIRTIES

The speculative mania that had swept over the world after the war finally ended in the greatest economic debacle the modern world had known. As the so-called depression deepened, fear came creeping into every home. For a job, or a bribe, for any semblance of security, millions were ready to sell their birthright of liberty, to surrender hard won freedom for the mere extension of existence. All this offered increased opportunity for power to groups who, behind the screen of government, controlled economic life, the food supply.

The Roosevelt honeymoon, while lifting the people from despair, had won him the hatred of the Harvard Alumni and the economic royalists who, under the guise of 'The Liberty League', put forth floods of propaganda. In the last speech before his second election of 1936, Roosevelt announced in his next term he would "show them who is master". But after the death of his political mentor, Louis Howe, he lost his most ardent supporters in his disastrous campaign against the Supreme Court and split his party. Runciman arrived from England to stay at the White House to bring him comfort and initiate the steps which Rogerson had shown would be necessary to bring us into line with the changed policy of the British Tories. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 49-53)

The psychological techniques of creating public opinion had undergone great advance. Propaganda became of first importance and proved the most effective weapon. Of all of England's exports it had been the most rewarding, bringing the resources of the earth to serve against her enemies. This development of new techniques continued as Germany awakened to its importance. Soon the Soviets were using their own improved methods to move the long torpid masses of Asia.

The new techniques made full use of the contributions of psychology and psychiatry. Misinformation was less relied upon. The new art conformed to Michelangelo's definition of art, "the expurgation of the superfluous". The mental picture created was only slightly distorted, a little at a time. This brought about subtle change in the opinions and emo-

tional attitudes of whole peoples. Those of good will became haters and 'peace loving' peoples came to feel it their duty to outdo the brutal destructiveness of their enemies.

The great concentration of power in the hands of one man, dictator, prime minister, or president, and the exigencies of war putting unlimited funds under his control and giving power of life or death over millions in uniform and more millions of civil servants to be hired or fired at will, aided those in control of governments in more completely controlling and censoring all information. Writers and speakers were enlisted to explain and carry out their policies. Unity of thought and action was thus promoted.

RECOGNIZING REVOLUTION

As it became apparent that the stresses, strains and confusions were the birth pangs of a 'new order', there was growing fear in conservative circles. Hugh Johnson in 1941 saw "a profound revolution in our politics and economy moving at hurricane speed", and Anthony Eden admitted, "the old world is dead; none of us can now escape from revolutionary changes". Soon it became fashionable to recognize revolution in every phase of life, thought and literary style. (Cf pp 235-6) (6)

These after effects of war, waste and concentration of power awakened among the few suspicious and forward-looking a desire to investigate what had brought us to our sorry pass. Penetrating behind the screen of ideologies, reexamining and appraising forces and influences, it became possible to detect the tricks of the politicians in their secret statecraft, of the men who held control who had successfully fooled the people. (7)

Those who had moved up to positions of supreme control had risen on the shoulders of the owners of great wealth who sought to preserve it, and of the dynamic entrepreneurs who saw great opportunities for profit in the wastes of war. Through all these interests the movies and the press were brought in line and the radio made available to the voice that could persuasively reach and move the millions. The highest ideals were presented to hide the progress toward centralization of power.

It was no recent discovery, though not too generally recognized, that human nature was susceptible to change. But the success of propaganda in the first World War had stimulated great improvements in techniques. Now with centralized control of the means of communication and the sources of information, with censorship supposedly voluntary, it became possible to control the thought, emotions and actions of great masses of people. But to succeed in this, secrecy was essential. The people must feel that they were actuated by events not merely by the news as presented.

The groups in power in the competing countries, working through

financial and publicity organizations and speaking through carefully chosen front men and loud speakers, voiced the loftiest ideologies. Behind the screen of inspiring slogans the short-sighted interests of greed could move the people to serve their purposes. To test the effectiveness of the propaganda put forth, the various opinion polls promptly gauged the effectiveness of the technique and showed could be further improved.

The great revolution lay in the discovery that by these methods accomplished secretly, the people could be more completely fooled and more absolutely ruled. With hate seething against the enemy because of the events reported, 'billions for defense' made available unlimited funds for the further perfection of these techniques.

THE TIDE TURNS

The high tide of intellectual advance, in educational aliveness, was reached about the middle of the thirties. In England more than ten million had voted for peace in response to Lord Cecil's appeal. Oxford undergraduates had taken an oath not to fight again for king or country.

Earlier the 'revisionists' in America, inspired by the work of German scholars and courageously led by Sidney Fay, had been regarded as heretical as they brought understanding of how our enthusiasm for the war had been the product of propaganda and power politics. All this helped the people to arrive at an attitude of certitude,—'never again' to embark on the folly of war. (8)

Roosevelt at Chautauqua in 1936 made sure of his second election by warning against the "fool's gold" of profits and declaring his hatred of war and his intent to maintain "neutrality regardless of any pressure". Conant at the Harvard Tercentenary announced his determination to "examine into the structure of the social system", even if it be heresy.

Then there was a sudden change. The tide had turned. The evidences of revolution in thought had become increasingly frightening to those who occupied positions of prestige and privilege. England's Tories had again become convinced that to maintain their balance of power, the time had come to weaken the strongest of the European countries.

Secretly and subtly the great powers of the earth were allying themselves with every force that would bring them victory in the mighty struggle to crush their opponents. Again it became necessary to enlist all public opinion making forces before calling upon the military to carry on. As in the first World War, the leaders in the universities were first to be enlisted. Something caused President Conant to change his tune and other university presidents joined the chorus. England again sent her best men to secure the interest of our leaders and soon the tide for war was running strong. Sir Gilbert Parker, in charge of propaganda in this

country for three years, boasting of his work in *Harpers*, March 1918, writes, "Educators can be controlled simply by controlling their reading matter." To carry out this program which had been acclaimed by Roger-son in his "Propaganda in the Next War", annual appropriations from 1935 to 1938 increased three times. Carr in his "Twenty Years Crisis" tells us, "A rapid extension of propaganda designed to familiarise foreign opinion with the British point of view" was exercised through the British Council. Of the countless millions spent on propaganda much was diverted as appropriations for 'Intelligence', 'Secret Service', information, cultural relations and the like. (Cf "Getting U S Into War" pp 41, 61, 104 ff; "War and Education" pp 111, 351, 426)

ORGANIZING REACTION

The policy of the Foreign Office had long been to strengthen weaker powers against the stronger. To that end they had built up financially and otherwise the power of Hitler as a barrier against the hated Bolsheviks of Russia. Churchill and other Tories had praised Mussolini and the "Friends of Germany" magnified Hitler's reputation and his good deeds. Baldwin and Chamberlain, who represented big industry and banking, hoped that Hitler would destroy Bolshevism but that Germany would be so weakened in the process that Britain would continue to hold the balance.

The English Tories held the largest stake in the world and with most to lose it was their duty to resist change in any way possible. Preliminary to this it became necessary to change the ideologies of the people in the time honored process of dizzying and busying "giddy minds with foreign quarrels". All the brains and talent available were enlisted in the new techniques to resist the oncoming tide of the threatened revolution.

Vansittart, long Chief of the Foreign Office, who hated Hitler, was unprecedentedly retired and disappeared from view. But while in England the policy of appeasement and praise of Hitler continued, in the United States a great propaganda campaign vilifying and boycotting Germany was started. This policy was promoted secretly as an anchor to windward. (Cf "What Makes Lives", p 154; "Getting U S Into War" p 45)

Even while the great advances of thought and science were being celebrated at the 1936 meeting of the British Association, Sir Richard Livingstone was turning attention back to the classics. In such times it is desirable to turn the gaze of the people from forward looking to backward looking. Sir Richard's address, since reprinted in many editions, was one of the first evidences of this organized reaction. There followed a promoted demand for a revival of old disciplines, corporal punishment, flogging in the home, in the school (cf "The Future of Education", pp 133-

63), and this led on to regimentation, conscription and war, following in the footsteps of the dictators. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", p 489)

Protestants were turned backward. Publicized poets and litterateurs in panic sought comfort in returning to the bosom of the church. The way of science came under opprobrious criticism in such books as West's condescending biography of Darwin and Barzun's condemnation of modern thought and feeling in his "Darwin, Marx, Wagner" (cf p 452). In America these backward turning forces, led by Hutchins under the influence of Mortimer Adler and promoted through the 'Gospel of St. John's One Hundred Best Books', were leading processions in retreat to medievalism.

DE-GRADING OUR EDUCATORS

Our educators had been naively hopeful for a decade. The Progressive Education Association had won increasing adherence and received the aid of the great foundations. Educational planning was in the air. George S. Counts had boldly asked and affirmatively answered, "Can Education Build a New Social Order?"

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, responding to alarmed criticism and curtailment of public income, in the twenties was prepared to listen to critics and to entertain new ideas. Its reports reveal first the up-grading and then the de-grading of educational thought during this period. The former pompous set speeches gave place to a discussion system which criticized their own 'professional myopia'. Jesse Newlon in 1931 boldly declared "The curriculum is lacking in socially significant subject matter", and denounced the "better and better devices for cramming useless subject matter". The demand for curriculum revision resulted in the publication of their first "Year-book" in 1935, "Social Trends and Education". (9)

The Education Policies Commission, created by the N. E. A., through its chairman Alexander J. Stoddard boldly demanded "the cooperate development of long-term policies for American education and the vigorous promotion of those policies". In 1936 warning was given that the propagandist distorts the truth and "education could not follow his methods without violating its trusts".

In 1938 the Commission declared, "Democratic behavior observes and accords to every individual certain 'inalienable' rights and certain corollary responsibilities", and recognized, "There never has been a war between a democracy and an autocracy because the moment war begins, the former will lose its democratic characteristics. Violence . . . makes for material destruction, intellectual regimentation, and spiritual and physical impoverishment."

As the thirties waned, qualifications and provisos for expediency enter into the Commission's pronouncements. The 1940 report recognized "cataclysmic events" and advocated the "use of force" on the part of "men who love freedom". It advocated "inculcating loyalties" and declared, "the young shall be taught to love these values to struggle to make them prevail in the world, to live and, if need be, to die for them". This reads like "Education for Death".

The 1941 report, "Education of Free Men", urged that, "the American people should fashion an education frankly and systematically designed to give the rising generation the loyalties, the knowledge, the discipline of free men". This might have been written in Germany. The policy of the Commission had completely changed as educators with rare exceptions became tools of the group in power. The policy "acceptable" had shifted "since 1936 from the individualism of an industrial society to the patriotism and compulsory cooperation of the typical militant society". (10)

DISTORTING THOUGHT AND EMOTION

Never before had it been possible to reach simultaneously, almost instantaneously, the millions of the world's peoples to change the mental content through selection and suppression of information. Utilizing the new techniques, thousands of writers and public relations men were subsidized, suborned, and with subservience their rewards magnified. Air, film and printed page carried their slogans to unify thought, feeling and action in 'a people's war'.

The complete control of information and misinformation so changed the mental pictures in the minds of the people that it became easy to play upon their emotions as an organist plays, pressing the keys and pulling the stops or pedaling the pianissimos and crescendos.

While cautioned that there was 'nothing to fear but fear',— through fear the independent minded were suppressed and the people brought to such a state of fear that they could be bled of their resources and manpower, their income and their sons. The conscript became a 'trainee' or 'selectee'. The man of conscience appeared 'yellow'. The American mind was so altered that while it once held militarism in contempt, it now became militaristic.

Secret diplomacy and deceit in statecraft, the art of fooling the people to rule them were the well-springs that led to this perversion and degradation of human intellect. Meantime the populace was bedazzled with glittering generalities and many colored airy domes of hope erected at Moscow, Teheran, Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta beneath which the powerful few played their hands unseen.

And so the 'war to end wars' which we hoped might end in a 'Thirty

Years War' dragged on into its thirty-first year. If we continue to indulge in futile hopes, if we do not come to some understanding of how misery and injustice fester resentment in the lives of hundreds of millions, we may yet in our blindness make this another 'Hundred Years War'.

When these glittering domes are opened up and the methods and purposes of the chief actors are brought into the sunlight and revealed, there is hope that men of good will and well wishers of their kind may again gain control of the sources and means of communication and may change hate to well-wishing and good will.

NOTES

(1) Harold Laski in "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time" (1943) finds another analogy, "The period of the inter-war years had, in its conflicting ideologies, a remarkable resemblance to the sixty years after the outbreak of the French Revolution."

(2) In his later "Conditions of Peace" (1942) E. H. Carr recognized the revolution and divined the need of establishing a planning authority for Europe which should make jobs and restore respect to the many who had lost status. "The privileged group tends to idealise the period in which it has risen to the height of its power, and to see its highest good in the maintenance of those conditions. Secondly, the privileged group is preoccupied with the question of its own security rather than with the need for reform or even for progress. 'Nothing is more certain', observed J. S. Mill eighty years ago, 'than that improvement in human affairs is wholly the work of the discontented characters'." (Cf "War and Education", p 412)

(3) "The Great American Dream-Bed" as Robinson presents it in his "Fantastic Interim", is supported by four pillars, including "liberty" and "religion". The first is "private enterprise", the inequalities of the profit system in its prizes and rewards. "The second pillar of the American dream-bed was free popular education, a fustian myth that had flourished among the people ever since the Pilgrim Fathers erected their first log schoolhouse on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. . . . The secondary schools . . . provided scant preparation for life in a transitional world. On a standard pattern these schools offered Euclidean mathematics, Caesar's 'Commentaries', the novels of Scott, some bowdlerized Shakespeare, plus a smattering of United States history gleaned from textbooks written during the Administration of Rutherford B. Hayes. . . .

"The indictment of colleges must be even more severe. . . . Here they were nourished on stale slices of Manchester economics, romantic literature, and academic philosophies, a diet ill suited to prepare them for the coarse-grained loaf of economic and political reality. . . . In grim contrast to this genteel American schooling was the education that Japan hammered into its youth. According to Willard Price, Japanese education synthesized all of the world's knowledge—the best of the East, the cream of the West."

(4) For the story of these master salesmen, see Sargent's "Getting US Into War", pp 158-9; "What Makes Lives", pp 59-62. "The twenty years' armistice was the hey-day of sales propaganda—adjunct of a capitalism which, in decay, becomes increasingly anti-social" (*New Statesman and Nation*, Dec. 25, 1943).

(5) Harry Paxton Howard, in *Christian Century*, May 2, 1945, declares: "The American people, pouring out their lives and treasure year after year in the most serious foreign war upon which we have ever embarked, are entitled to know our

government's intentions." Then he gives the data for these conclusions: "We are not going to occupy and dominate Japan proper, not only because of the terrific cost but also because the Soviet Union would flatly oppose it and work against it. We shall probably restore the British to power in Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Hong-kong and lesser areas, and perhaps give them Thailand as well. We shall probably restore the Dutch dynasty over its 75,000,000 Indonesian subjects—with more success than our ill fated attempt in 1919 to re-establish the Romanovs over their 150,000,000 Russian subjects. We may re-establish the French, under our patronage, in Indo-China. We shall probably leave China to Stalin in the new partitioning of eastern Asia." And Howard finally asks: "Would these things lay the foundation for 'enduring peace'? If so, let us have the evidence. If not, what other ideas does the administration have—if any? We whose sons are about to die would like to know."

(6) "We live amidst the break-up of traditional forms", declares Lucien Price in "The Will to Create", (1943). "This era of change can be epitomized in three names: Darwin, Marx, and Freud; religion, property, and sex. It would be preposterous to suggest that Freud, Marx, and Darwin are the authors of these changes, in sexual ethics, in economics, and in religion; but heralds of such changes they are. . . . Science has jolted asunder the majestic facade (was it ever anything more?) of traditional theology; machine technology has shifted the gears of our social system from individualism to collectivism; in the long-dry streambed of customs and morals, the freshets of change in the past forty years have been torrential."

(7) "The Revolution Was" (Caxton, Caldwell, 1945) by Garett Garrett, explains clearly the nine steps by which the revolution in America was accomplished, all unconsciously, under the Democratic administration. Julian Huxley in "Living in a Revolution" writes, "It's no longer the forces of nature which threaten us. At the moment, blind social and economic forces which have come into existence as a by-product of our non-scientific civilization, are controlling us. We must control them, or perish; and the first step towards controlling them is to understand them" ("Reshaping Man's Heritage", Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1944)

(8) William Allan Neilson, who became president of Smith in 1917, valiantly opposed our entrance into the 'First World War'. Without his encouragement, Harry Elmer Barnes, at Smith from 1923-1930, could hardly have published his revealing "Genesis of the World War" in 1926, nor Sidney Fay, who had been at Smith from 1914, his daring expose of "The Origins of the World War" in 1928.

(9) "An Emerging Social Philosophy in Education Administration" from 1929 to 1937 was discerned by Ruth K. Holmes in a study of the addresses and reports made by the Department of Superintendence during the period. Her quotations give us a clear picture of how these self-satisfied, somnolent superintendents, alarmed, came to listen to their critics, made changes, indulged in much wishful thinking, and then,—under the influence of the gathering forces that were suppressing idealisms and advances to culminate in war,—finally quieted down.

(10) In the *American Sociological Review*, Aug., 1944, David and Mary Hatch summarize "The Effect of the War on the Philosophy of the Educational Policies Commission". The conclusion is that though "lip service" is paid to the original purpose of "long term goals", the Commission has prostituted its policies to those in power.

OUR INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Investigation of the origin of our ideas was long suppressed as heretical. Awareness of its importance is growing but persistent courage is lacking. Studies, nationalistic or local of what is in print, remain superficial.

That our ideas and beliefs have a history is a relatively new conception. There could be no inquiry into the development of ideas, the history of the intellect, the record of changing opinions or in any other attempt to untangle the skein of our woolly beliefs when it would have led to the dire punishment the theological state meted out. It was more dangerous to be inquisitive about such things than it would be today to know intimately about or to inquire into the secret military and political plans of our own government.

HERESY DESTROYS UNITY

The unity of the medieval Christian world so praised by the backward lookers was the result of unity of thought. Those who were wise accepted their ideas from those who claimed to be God's legates and alone able to interpret earlier revelations. Heresy was treason to the hierarchy, and heretics were ruthlessly suppressed as at Alba or "on the Alpine mountain cold".

No sustained inquiry into or protest against established truth could be attempted until there was political and economic backing. Luther could protest against the abuses in the sale of indulgences because the petty princes about him were worried at the loss of revenue to Rome. The so-called Reformation in England served to promote Henry VIII's own selfish interests and so afforded opportunity for dissenters and heretics to speak out. The English Revolution made it possible for Locke (1632-1704) to produce his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding". The Glorious Revolution, the result of growing mercantile interests, gave opportunity for Hume (1711-76). Again only the decadence of monarchy in France made possible the Encyclopedists, the forerunners of the Revolution.

Growing trade increased the power of the merchants and led them to seek help, not as formerly in obeying the laws of God, but rather in avoiding or making the laws of men. So the lawyer came to a position of power as the theologian became less important. The lawyer today has muscled into the former's function. "It is the lawyers who run our civilization for us—our governments, our business, our private lives. Most legislators are lawyers; they make our laws. As the schoolboy put it, ours

is 'a government of lawyers, not of men'. We cannot get married or try to get divorced, we cannot die and leave our property to our children without calling on the lawyers to guide us." (1)

FROM LIBERALISM TO RADICALISM

It was not till mid-Victorian times, however, that Lecky could investigate the history of morals and deny the claims of the medieval Church. Notable milestones in intellectual awareness were his "History of Rationalism" and Bury's "History of Freedom of Thought". Darwin's new conceptions, bitterly fought by the theologians, stimulated Huxley and Spencer to carry on heretical inquiries. As advances in scientific knowledge undermined ancient dogmas, those whose prejudices and privileges were jeopardized came to denominate this a 'conflict between science and religion'.

In America, White's "Warfare of Science and Theology" relentlessly traced the origin of our ideas, while Draper in his "Intellectual Development of Europe" broadened the theme. Both were treated as heretics by the American academic and theological world, but they changed the current of thought in the Western world.

The conflict was later shifted to the people and plutocracy, a battle carried on between Populists and muckrakers. Among the pioneers in this new heresy, who were virulently denounced, were Demarest Lloyd and Lester Ward, later Veblen and Brandeis. But their heresies became political capital for Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Solid works that marked the climax of this battle are A. M. Simons' "Social Forces in American History", 1911, and Gustavus Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes", 1910, and his later "History of the Supreme Court", 1912, once barred from academic recognition but now accepted. Brooks Adams published his "History of Social Revolution" in 1913, analyzing from the standpoint of historical materialism our constitutional history and Supreme Court decisions.

The same year saw the publication of Charles Beard's "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution". As a young man, Beard had discovered that American history was cluttered with myths that promoted our old fashioned patriotism. His heretical views startled and were denounced as blasphemous by Wall Street tycoons and Columbia trustees, for whom the Miraculous Butler was loudspeaker. To exorcise the University of heresy, Professors Cattell and Dana were summarily dismissed as disloyal for exercising the privilege of an American. In protest, Beard and Robinson resigned. (2)

In "The American Spirit", 1942, the fourth volume of the Beards' "The Rise of American Civilization", they hopefully trace the growth of what

is intellectually American, which occasionally leaps into flame and then suppressed, dies down for a time. The changing use of the abstraction 'civilization' first introduced by Condorcet in 1793 is their main theme. How information and misinformation has influenced the mental content and the spirit of the American people is only suggested.

GROWTH OF AMERICAN THOUGHT

"The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815", 1940, has been traced by Ralph Henry Gabriel of Yale. In editing the fifteen-volume "Pageant of America" and the "Chronicles of America" in forty volumes, Gabriel presented American life in all its phases through three centuries. This resulted in a series of films. From these rich backgrounds, the reader is provided with ample material for understanding how the mental content of the American developed. 'American' for Gabriel is that which affects the great majority of the people, like the Lincoln myth but not Marxism. That justifies his use of the term 'democratic' in his title. 'Thought' is due to influences ecological, psychological, economic, and ideological, which implies the influx of ideas from other countries.

Gabriel poses problems which he leaves the reader to answer. Arrived at the great change in the psychology of the American people, he asks, "Why did the young men of America quietly assemble on their hometown station platforms during those September days of 1917 to begin the journey which for so many of them ended under a white cross in France?" That question is still to be clearly answered. Fear and repression have suppressed many voices that should be heard.

"The Growth of American Thought", 1943, by Merle Curti, brings new insights to the social origins and social effects of ideas. His interest is not in analysis of ideas, but in the social and economic history of American thought. Curti's exploration is quite different from the Beard ideological study of 'civilization' in America or James Harvey Robinson's in the development of 'the intellectual class'. Frederick Jackson Turner had explored the effect of the frontier on our attitudes, behavior and democratic institutions. Arthur M. Schlesinger had found significance in the changing ratio of man to land. Curti is even more influenced by the German Karl Lamprecht who visited America in 1904 and attracted attention to our cultural history, that is, the sum total of behavior, physical and mental, the story of which is cultural history. (3)

Curti regards American thought as a growth rather than a creation, though he sees individuals as instrumentalities. 'Thought' he distinguishes of three types,—knowledge, which can be tested scientifically, ideas or speculative thought, and ideologies or social thought. Ideas he recognizes

are often used by a group or class to promote their own economic interests. John Adams built an ideology to support his so-called "natural aristocracy", Calhoun to sustain the institution of Negro slavery, and Carnegie to defend the concentration of wealth. But always opponents arose who undermined these ideologies with new ideas that eventually prevailed.

INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCES

Church, school, college and other institutions as they developed with changing habits of living stimulated or fixed American thought. The printed page for Curti discloses what was doing,—in forums and debating societies. Political orations and popular ballads reveal the aspirations or emotions. All through this record he finds Americans holding to the dream of a promised land, a social utopia, a dream that at times has brought a rude awakening from a nightmare.

In contemporary thought Curti recognizes the revolutionary change brought about in recent decades by the physical instruments available for expression and communication of ideas. In addition to the innovations of radio and movies, we have new techniques in journalism, advertising, propaganda, new types of organization for gaining new knowledge, particularly technological. All these are of greater significance, as yet little apprehended, than those that came with paper and printing.

Beard was interested in the carrying over of the ideas from the French Revolution into American democratic policy. He sidestepped economic motivation as stemming from Marx and traced his own intellectual genealogy back to Madison, Hamilton, and beyond them to Aristotle. Gabriel manifested nationalistic tendencies in the development of ideas in American political life. Curti, with a broader grasp, was interested in the life of the American people, not the cultivated people but the people on the farms and on the frontier.

There have been numerous spotty and superficial scratchings of the ground, or rather of the cortex, in an attempt to disclose what was the thought, so-called, of a particular people at a time or place. Investigative writers, referred to as 'liberal' because they are in some degree freed from ancient obsessions, have different approaches. Granville Hicks in "The Great Tradition", 1933, and a host of lesser writers attempt Marxian interpretations, and still others perform autopsies on literary remains they come across. Thorndike's "History of Magic" shows how much magic enters today into our thought and political and religious life. Richard Hofstadter's "Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915", 1944, traces the influence not only on Darwinians, but on opposers like Agassiz and Henry Ward Beecher. (*American Sociological Review*, Dec., 1944)

"The Roots of American Culture" were investigated in a scholarly way by Constance Rourke. Her particular interest is American humor which she relates to environmental conditions of the frontier. Had she been equally familiar with the *mujiks*, as was Gogol, she might have discovered an equally keen, shrewd humor and whimsicality under very different conditions.

OUR LITERARY INTELLECTS

Oscar Cargill, in his "Intellectual America", boldly cuts new paths through the jungle of thought as revealed in the record of the printed page. "Ideas on the March", his first volume published in 1941, shows how the imported ideas of our European culture were modified, adapted, and gave rise to new ideas in the American environment. To more fully understand and explain the ideas which are put forth by the authors he considers, he inquires into their heredity and cultural backgrounds, as well as their motives, which of course shocks the reviewers. "Ideodynamics" he calls "the descriptive study of ideologies and of the results of the forces which they exert", not so much upon society in general as upon other writers. "Though panderers to the popular taste may still come trailing clouds of glory, the genuine critic will abjure 'atmosphere' for the sake of truth. Ideodynamics is at once maid-servant and disciplinarian to criticism." "Ideas in Conflict", his second volume, is to deal with those who dynamically apply ideas to social problems.

Cargill and Gabriel, and many others, derive inspiration from Vernon L. Parrington's "Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginning to 1920". His first volume appeared in 1927, the third was published posthumously in 1930. Parrington in his 'adventures in American liberalism' was influenced by Taine's "Histoire de la Litterature Anglaise" which looked upon the literature of a people as an outgrowth of their ethnic qualities and environment.

Alfred Kazin's "On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature" (Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942) is sound in its judgments and reliable in its understanding of economic and political backgrounds. It illuminates the life of our time as presented in books without attempting to be 'literary' or 'belletristic'. In "The Shock of Recognition: The Development of Literature in the United States Recorded by the Men Who Made It" (Doubleday, 1943), Edmund Wilson brings together excerpts by and about American writers which "is not a critical anthology, but . . . an attempt to present a chronicle of the progress of literature." "Ideas in America" (Harvard University Press, 1944), by Howard Mumford Jones, ventures shrewd comment on how politics and propaganda taint the literary intellects. (Cf pp 273-286) (4)

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE INTELLECT

The historiography of American intellectual development has followed varied patterns. Within the decade Harry Elmer Barnes' voluminous writings, and particularly his colossal "History of Western Civilization" and "Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World", have given us more heretical conceptions but better guides to our present day mental content and how we got that way.

Intellectual history,—whether interpreted from the drama of Upper Egypt of the fourth millenium B.C., the laws of Akkad a thousand years later, the aphorisms of Lao Tse, the propaganda of Plato, the Stoic philosophy of Marcus Aurelius, or the recent literature of the Western world,—invites further investigation which probably for a long time will remain incomplete.

Meantime, writers will reminiscently follow byways and pleasant paths through landscaped woodlands and formal gardens that border on the 'jungle of thought'. And others will exploit and claim the discovery of a Pierean Spring bottled and sold at so much per. But there is hope for the thorough-going heretic of today.

"What an opportunity to write an intellectual history of the past two generations under the new conditions of finance capitalism, increased literacy, and growing control of mental content. It's a bigger story than Lecky dealt with in his history of 'rationalism' and 'morals' under the declining Church." (25th ed., 1941, p 94)

NOTES

(1) The quotation is from "Woe Unto You, Lawyers!", 1939, by Fred Rodell, professor in the Yale Law School. One will find more on this subject in "War and Education", pp 157, 349, 409. Isabel Paterson in "The God of the Machine", traces the 'contract' in English law back to Rome. Contract binds the slave, the apprentice, the wage-earner, the debtor to those who can, with the courts, police and state, enforce the contract.

In Boston, most Anglican of American cities, one hears much of 'lawr an' awda'. Law is a particularly English conception and serves to protect the upper classes from the aggressions and depredations of impoverished people of lower caste. Gresham's Law is much revered by economists and others. James Harvey Rogers, professor of Economics, when asked what was taught at Yale responded, "I laugh to say they are still taught a brand of economics hardly distinguishable from that of John Stuart Mill. And what will probably be funnier still to you, economics is frequently taught as a body of doctrine and of principles to be learned and retained." (Cf "War and Education", pp 237)

Any generalization as to behavior of men or planets is referred to as a law. "The idea of the relativity of what had been regarded as 'laws' was also expounded in German universities. Rudolph Jhering, who lectured in jurisprudence at Giessen, Kiel, and Göttingen, taught that validity of legal rules was determined by results; thus he constructed a social theory of law. Schmoller's historical approach to

economics did much to undermine the classical view of absolute laws. . . . Certainly these Germans and others did much to quicken in their American students a sense of the priority of public to private interests; this was in good Prussian tradition. No doubt the preoccupation with welfare economics of Ely, Ross, E. J. James, and the younger Americans who came under their spell,—Bemis Commons, and others—owed much to the German concept of the role of the trained expert in civil service and welfare activities." (Merle Curti, "The Growth of American Thought", Harper, 1943, p 584)

(2) The *New York Times* editorially denounced Beard's book as "the fruit of that school of thought . . . which denies to man . . . the capacity of noble striving . . . that seeks always as the prompting motive either the animal desire to get more to eat or the hope of filling his pockets. If this sort of teaching were allowed to go on unchecked . . . we should presently find educated American youth applying the doctrine of economic determinism to everything from the Lord's Prayer to the binomial theorem." Beard wrote to Butler, "The University is really under the control of a small and active group of trustees who have no standing in the world of education, who are reactionary and visionless in politics, and narrowly medieval in religion".

Beard has generally seen farther ahead than most of his colleagues and consequently has often been attacked. But eventually the tail enders catch up with him. In the tremendous volume of his writings, he has had the most notable collaborators. Beard has been honored with the presidencies of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association and many others. Foreign governments have made use of his vision and expert knowledge. His later works have been generally heralded and accepted. His "Basic History", which touches ever so lightly on the motivation of those who brought about recent events, resulted in a chorus of bitter denunciation from the hysterical haters, those frustrated self-righteous moralists whom the war has stimulated to revive heresy hunting. The erstwhile sane Lewis Mumford leads the lynching mob in the *Saturday Review of Literature* which, under the enterprising Norman Cousins, has become the leading publicity organ for the war mongers.

(3) The failure of academic book reviewers to fully appreciate Curti's great work is perhaps due to his courage in courting unpopularity by failure to yield to the fashionable hysterias. His honest recognition of the influence of German culture in the development of American intellectual thought runs counter to the propaganda of war time which must necessarily belittle and besmudge the enemy. Of our entrance into the first World War, Curti remarks, "The German refusal to accept President Wilson as a mediator, as the world leader in reconstruction, made the final decision—on his part—less difficult". This mild statement is bitterly attacked as an unpermissible heresy, as an accusation of "moral delinquency of a President" by the wise and catholic Christian Gauss in the *Saturday Review*. Curti dares look history honestly in the face as so few today have the courage to do. His job is to investigate the origins of our culture.

"The enthusiasm for German culture that was expressed in the years following the War of 1812 was rather the culmination of a growing interest than a sudden discovery. . . . In the general reaction against Great Britain incident to the war, it was natural to look for intellectual sustenance elsewhere.

"In 1816 Edward Everett went to Göttingen, and somewhat later George Ticknor, George Bancroft, and Joseph Cogswell. All came back enthusiastic about German scholarship and determined to elevate the intellectual life of America by

shaping its universities and schools according to the German pattern. Everett failed to effect the transformation of Harvard, but Bancroft and Cogswell had better success at the Round Hill School which they opened in Northampton, Massachusetts. Modelled on a gymnasium of the more liberal type, this celebrated school during its first eight years attracted 293 students from nineteen states.

"The little stream of students that sought the German universities" continued to broaden, and in the nineties there were "more than two thousand. . . . In all, some ten thousand Americans matriculated in German universities between the War of 1812 and the First World War. In addition, a vast body of American-trained scholars imbibed from their German-trained mentors the university ideals of scholarship.

"What caught the imagination and aroused the devotion of American students in German universities was their emphasis on the disinterested pursuit of truth through original investigation."

Nicholas Murray Butler in his autobiography, "Across the Busy Years" (Scribner, 1939), recalls, "Each great scholar whose lecture-room was entered, if it were only for a single visit, left an ineffaceable impression of what scholarship meant, of what a university was, and of what a long road higher education in America had to travel before it could hope to reach a plane of equal elevation."

In this time, when we have been perverted with hate propaganda, it is refreshing to revert to what was written by great men and writers in a time of sanity. But there are men today who can still see how much we owe to German culture. Laurence Locke Doggett in his autobiographical "Man and a School: Pioneering in Higher Education at Springfield College" (Association Press, 1943) ascribes the origin of the whole Y.M.C.A. program for physical education in this country to the influence of the Turnvereine and their national school at Milwaukee,—“Dr. Charles Follen introduced physical education at Harvard. He is described in the Harvard catalogue for 1827 as ‘instructor in German and superintendent of the gymnasium’ ”.

Edmund Wilson in "The Shock of Recognition" tells more about Follen, "that excellent and worthy German", beloved at Harvard, who "felt the want of intellectual freedom in the people about him".

(4) Prof. Jones tells how Walter Hines Page "bombarded the President and the Secretary of State with letters that are sheer propaganda, and finally helped to sweep this country into the orbit of British politics." When a student at Randolph-Macon College, Prof. T. R. Price taught him to love not only the English language and English literature, but, above all, to love England itself. "Years afterward, when this particular pupil became Ambassador to Great Britain, his admiration for England informed all his speeches, his letters and his interpretations of great events. Price day after day filled his plastic mind with the greatness of England's writers, thinkers and statesmen. England became to Page his 'mother' land. English literature to him meant writing produced in England. For American authors he had a lack of sympathy that, viewed in the larger outlook of today, was a limitation." (Burton J. Hendrick, "The Training of an American: The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, 1855-1913, Boston 1928, pp 60-67).

OUR MENTAL JUNGLE

Our minds are so cluttered with uncorrelated facts from our contacts and our schooling, and with left overs from the dead past, that we have difficulty finding our way in the present, much less the way to the future.

How ideas have come to us, where they originated, who promoted them and for what purpose,—all these are modern questions. To our ancestors all truth was revealed. Questioners were heretics, to be burned in the public square. In these degenerate days doubters of the popular myths are merely smeared in the public press, or cast out as pariahs from the academic world. But few dare yet to penetrate the mental jungle to investigate the content of our minds. Isn't it intolerant to question beliefs? Certainly the opinions of another should be respected, and to inquire into a man's motives is tabu.

CUTTING NEW TRAILS

In tropic jungles American boys with bolas and bulldozers are cutting their way, destroying the strange, impeding, and to them loathsome vegetation. To the scientific mind of David Fairchild there is great beauty in this plant growth. When New England was being settled these same plants had been scientifically described and lovingly drawn by the artist-scientist Rumphius. Far from the great centers of the control of thought, he could follow his investigative tendencies without hindrance. Moreover the study of plants as a part of God's design was not considered heresy. (1)

The development of these plants can be traced through fossils in the rocks over millions of years. Our ideas on the other hand have come to us within a few thousand years. However, the growth of ideas contributing to our mental content is as subject to study as to origin and pattern as is plant growth. Examining our atavistic tendencies toward everyday superstitions, the psychologist Edgar James Swift, entitled his book in 1931 "The Jungle of the Mind". Boas, Sapir, Malinowski, from the anthropological approach, have shown how, since words were functionally used, the assumption that the meaning is identic to speaker and hearer leads to maladjustments.

Freud exploring below the surface found in our minds unsuspected pockets, rich ore for science. Korzybski has shown how semantic and physiological patterns of behavior uncorrelated become distorted resulting in the maladjustments characteristic of our society today. Trigant Burrow in his "The Biology of Human Conflict", 1937, burrowed deeper

into the maladjustments of our nervous system. When these newly blazed trails are opened to travel for the common intellectual, not the 'common man', we will discover many new fields for further scientific investigation.

HOW WE GOT THAT WAY

The phylogeny of our mental content when more fully investigated will reveal how we got that way and may show us how we can better use our mentality. Burrow's phylobiology extends semantics backward to origins much as paleontology carries biology back through the geologic ages.

The first function of life is to take in food and next to produce new individuals. As sense organs developed, observation was largely for the detection of food, the opposite sex, and dangers to be avoided in order to survive. As man ascended from the ape, his persistent curiosity enlarged experience. But the knowledge on which we depend for our present daily comforts is recent. Awareness of the resources of the earth and the forces of the cosmos which we so freely use today is, for the most part, of recent centuries or even decades. (2)

A little hindsight will help to understanding. A hundred years ago my ancestors believed the world had been designed, and evidence brought to light by the microscope only proved the intricate workmanship of the great designer. Still earlier under the New England hierarchy my forebears escaped the penalties for heresy by accepting and not questioning. They remained unaware of a vast range of phenomena that is commonplace to me.

In the last ten thousand years, since man learned to grow his food, domesticate animals, and invent new tools, a great variety of perceptions, reactions, and transmissions have come to be stored up in the cortex of his brain. This constitutes what the anthropologist refers to as culture. It is not the same in the poor cracker of the Appalachians as in the peasant of the back country of Japan. Each has a musical ear accustomed to a scale that the other would not appreciate but would consider horrendous. They have been told different things by their shamans and priests. One we call Buddhist, the other Fundamentalist.

Some twenty thousand years ago there appeared in Europe Cro-Magnon man, a mutation, what the biologists call a sport. His brain was as large as ours. His sense organs brought information of the outer world to cause brain cells to function so that through association tracts memory developed. As the number of perceptions and reactions and correlations increased intellectual content was enriched.

A hundred thousand years ago our ancestors were capable of perceiving, that is, their senses brought to their cortex for recording and for

future reference, still fewer and simpler observations which would contribute to their survival. A rounded flint in the stream bed, it was observed, could be split so as to give a sharp cutting edge which would facilitate killing and skinning the animal caught in a pit or trap.

WHAT'S ON YOUR MIND?

Nothing the day you were born. The nerve cells which function in memory were then only partially developed. Movements then made were automatic reactions to stimuli or inherited nerve transmission patterns. The motor reactions of the child long remain awkward in a way we consider cute because the nervous impulse over the incompletely medullated axone is diffused.

In the ontogenetic process of maturing, we recapitulate the phylogenetic process of our ancestors. We inherit no knowledge but are born in ignorance. All we know, all that we can bring into consciousness in the process of growing up, is due to acculturation from the adults about us. They see to it that our minds are well stocked with ideas and conceptions that they have derived from others, handed down from the past. Only the occasional individual in the tribe perceives something that the others have not before recognized. If he lets it be known, he is perhaps stoned as a heretic. If he gets it across, he becomes a genius, an artist, a seer, and influences all human mentality through all future time.

Most of us go through life ignorant, proud of our little stock of ideas. But the most mentally torpid, even college professors, have to maintain a front. They do this chiefly with a collection of cherished opinions.

Now an opinion is a conclusion that has been arrived at from incomplete and inadequate data whereupon a mind shuts close like a steel trap and preserves that opinion against all comers. Perhaps the time will come when any man will be ashamed to hold an opinion. Instead, he may come to entertain multiple hypotheses through which the phenomenon might be explained and to welcome the critic who points out the weakness in any of them so that he may gradually eliminate and devote his attention to improving those that survive.

WHAT IS THOUGHT?

A pleasant feeling suffuses those who are led to believe that they are thinking. But that relatively rare activity is likely to bring cerebral fatigue and consequent irritation. What's taking place is usually 'thobbing', 'mulling', entertaining half ideas or mental pictures which do not involve very active cerebration, functioning of the cortical elements and the association tracts.

We are in the habit of using the word 'thought' as though it were an

entity. The whole subject of thought and intellect as treated even by the psychologists is still woolly. Some claim that there could be no thought until there were words, that thought was a development subsequent to language.

Cerebral activity involves an increased flow of blood to the brain. If the arteries become encrusted with lime salts, the blood supply cannot be adequate. Sclerotics, whose flow of blood to the brain is insufficient, are unable to look ahead and revert to old memories and ancient ways. Similarly, if too much blood goes to the viscera, there cannot be much activity of mind.

The functioning of the brain, like any other organ of the body, is dependent, too, on the composition of the blood and other fluids by which it is continually bathed and nourished. The chemical composition of these fluids may be altered by substances poured in from the glands, or by artificial injections.

A good brain may be unusable if the glands are out of balance and this may be brought about by continual irritation, resentment, frustration, as occurs so commonly in the acculturation of the young. A large annual output from our schools so affected keeps our asylums filled with cases of this sort.

WHAT IS INTELLIGENCE?

What can you do with thought if you have it? Perhaps that is a matter of intelligence,—something associated with the structure of the brain as well as its functioning. The intelligence testers, until recently, were quite sure that the I.Q. was something fixed at birth, but today we are fairly satisfied that an individual's intelligence as it is measured may be affected by his environment. Identical twins under very different surroundings have come to show marked variation in their I.Q.s.

Intelligence, then, has something to do with one's capability of using the apparatus with which he was endowed at birth. More is involved than brain. The dichotomy of body and mind is an artefact, the result of inaccurate observation and faulty generalization. This long cherished doctrine is an absurdity now to the clinician, to the somatologist, to those in a position to know, to those who have seen body and mind working together and a disfunction in one accompanying a disfunction in another.

Intelligence is really a matter of awareness, of being conscious of reality, the world about us. We are not aware until we are awakened. We may be put into a state of unawareness by a blow on the occiput, or by injections into the blood stream. Restoratives may bring us back to consciousness. Or we may first be made aware by those who point out to us what we have never seen. The gorgeousness of the sunset had never been recognized

until Turner put it on canvas. To Montaigne and all, up to the end of the eighteenth century, the mountains were a source of horror. Appreciation of their beauty and majesty, which has become almost a religion with some today, has grown upon us within little more than a century.

Our mental content is the result, then, not only of our own but of others' experiences who transmitted them to us. Only when recorded in the cortex so that they can be recalled and related to other experiences do they become a part of what we call our intellect. Thought may be considered the process of bringing about these associations so that relationships come to our consciousness.

STRAIGHT AND CROOKED THINKING

Metaphorical phrases like the above have to make their way through the jungle of our mental content, which has had a long slow growth. Seeking to give expression through sounds, words came into use which from earlier associations have become emotionally charged. The danger in the use of these loaded words is that they distort normal thought processes so that the word does not convey what was intended.

The first World War relied on the spoken or written word. The propagandists promoted wars by the use of colored words, enhancing nationalistic hatreds and race prejudices. England sent her great writers and eloquent speakers to present her point of view, and Wilson wore himself down hammering out on the typewriter the eloquent words he spoke so feelingly. Words were necessary to promote the ideology that one side was good, the other evil.

In this second war, words of the far-reaching radio voice, or controlled print still play their part. But the film creates directly the mental picture that the words only help to build. The comic strip, a revival of the primitive pictograph, reinforced by words, presents the idea more quickly to simpler minds. For 'unifying the nation', for creating hatreds, for propaganda purposes in general, these modern methods more effectively than words establish straight or crooked thinking, fix the mental set more directly to the illiterate, the deaf, the dumb, the populace.

What we call straight thinking is possible enough if the mind is cleared of all but some assertions assumed to be fundamental, on which one may logically build some mental structures. Thomist thought starts from authoritative assumptions which must be accepted though they can not be proved, and arrives by straight reasoning at foregone conclusions that have little to do with the world we live in.

Mortimer Adler has no difficulty in thinking straight, but Einstein's thoughts on relativity preclude the possibility of straight lines and travel in curves. When all our ideas came from another world and had to do

with preparing us for it, all this mattered little.

Juggling with assumptions from the theology of the past still interests some, but there's more hope in the origin and characteristics of the elements that make up the jungle of the mind. Only so may we sort our atavistic concepts from those that can be tested by observation and experiment.

NOTES

(1) To Dutch Amboina in 1653 came G. E. Rumpf of Hanau "and fell in love, as a naturalist can, with the hundreds of fascinating plants which he found around him. He spent his life there, slowly going blind as he worked over his collections, delineating and describing the uses and characters of the plants he had collected. A fire ruined his sketches, and he was forced to make them over again with the aid of assistants. His first book, on its way to Holland to be printed, went down when a 'Frenchman' attacked and sank the Dutch ship. Undaunted, he set to work and rewrote the whole book. This second book reached Holland safely but was not published until fifty years later, in 1741, long after Rumphius was dead." This "Amboinsch Kruid Boek" "or "Herbarium Amboinense" "took rank immediately as the most remarkable work of its time, filled as it is with descriptions of hundreds of new species of plants, descriptions which stand today as models of accuracy and care". (David Fairchild, "Garden Islands of the Great East")

(2) "The Dawn of Mind", 1936, by a German palaeo-ethnologist, R. R. Schmidt, explains the origin of religion, the development of what he calls the soul, and the beginnings of art. "The Making of the Modern Mind", by J. H. Randall, Jr., 1926, is a preliminary examination of a much neglected subject and interprets religious thought and the new ideas that came with the Renaissance and leads to understanding how out of them grow the social ideals of the present day.

The chapters thus far, and the concluding chapter, pp 571-80 should be read as of the year 1944-45. The intervening chapters, pp 49-570, except for the notes, are made up of selections from successive annual editions of the Handbook, of the year indicated at the head of each page. These five hundred pages have been reduced from a total of some thousands of pages.

EDUCATION FROM PRINT

Democracy has put its faith in education, schools in the printed word. Within a century the minority who could read has become a majority.

The war stimulated interest in reading. Though war books led in popularity there is an increased demand for books more serious, looking to the future from the educational, theological, or sociological point of view. (4th ed, 1918) (1)

BECOMING BOOK CONSCIOUS

A broader view of education has resulted from the many defects revealed by the war. As the frontiers of educational thought are enlarged, each year brings more books that appeal to parents. Books on education up to the dawn of the century were largely reprints or translations of older or foreign works. Other than Milton's fugitive pamphlet and Huxley's "Education", published in 1861 in a very small edition, few of us could mention offhand any notable book on the subject written before 1870. (9th ed, 1925)

Not only is America becoming more book conscious but its taste in book reading is improving. As we look back over the lists of best sellers of previous years, we can not but be impressed with the gradual improvement in taste, and the seriousness of intent on the part of this great public that is being for the first time induced to buy books. (14th ed, p 53) (2)

The improved taste of the American people in slowly developing reading habits, can rarely be traced directly to the departments of English in our schools and colleges. In innocence and ignorance, but conscientiously, without awareness or comprehension, the half million teachers of English are creating a distaste for good reading, and particularly if between book covers. To their methods, to their influence is due in large part the 'escape' of our reading public to the magazine, the newspaper and the movie. (3) Even in the best schools and in the best universities the great majority of our youths and maidens acquire the habit of evading or turning their backs on books.

Though our schools ignore the fact, it is safe to say that eighty per cent of those now 'taking' English in school and college will turn their backs on a good book because of school-acquired distaste for what they regard as English 'literature'. Half a million teachers of English have not followed the routine laid down for them by their superiors in vain. And so our people, under compulsory universal education, with English taught

in every grade in every school every day, are not a reading people. They have been cured of reading by their teachers of English (16th ed, 1932, pp 55-7) (4)

READING HABITS

Reading in an older generation was one of the most desirable, one of the cheapest and rarest recreations. Before education was for all, some boys and girls acquired a taste for reading imitatively in their homes from seeing their elders read, or from browsing and discovery, or though inspiration from those who loved books. In this day of 'compulsory' education, too much has been left to the schools. Any they have failed. True, there are more readers today than ever before. But little credit is due the schools.

Teachers of English are generally those who did not shine in any particular subject in school and college, who chose English as the easiest subject in which to get by. But we still have in our schools teachers who love books, who have a feeling for language and a passion for literature, and who outside their courses and requirements for college preparation sometimes succeed in imparting this to their pupils more or less surreptitiously and in spite of head masters. Such men and women are rare in college, but they exist, expressing themselves in spite of faculty obloquy, by lecturing to women's clubs or editing columns of live stuff in papers that go to the millions

'Copey' at Harvard imparted to students admiration for the artists of the written word, but with what contumely was he met when he first came to Cambridge, a mere reporter! He won his recognition first from book-hungry freshmen, and labored for underclassmen nights unconscionable hours for a score of years before he got tolerance and university recognition. But though he has become a haloed saint, a tradition, no one at Harvard has recently had the temerity or the taste to follow in his footsteps. Quicker advancement could be won through boot-licking. (17th ed, 1933, pp 57-61)

The reading habits of a people are the result of their schooling. For teaching reading is one of the primary functions of the school. And reading is the one activity learned in school that most of us make use of in later life. For of the twenty million pupils that were in school twenty years ago how many today write a hundred words a year? The percentage is very small. Writing is confined to the few. The other ninety-five per cent write a few postcards during their two weeks vacation and sign their names a score of times each year. But millions read. Look at our newspapers.

As a people we are dependent on the daily press. Not yet have we

learned how unreliable our newspapers are, that they have failed to bring out important news, that they suppress news in the interests of those who own or influence the owners of the newspapers.

In the past year the *Publishers Weekly* has printed a number of articles on the failure of our educational system to develop book readers. M. Lincoln Schuster in his article "Can College Graduates Read?" in the February 24, 1934, issue elicited general agreement that colleges and schools have in the main failed to teach their students to read either for enjoyment or for profit. Charles B. Driscoll, editor of the McNaught Syndicate, asked, "But why should you expect a college graduate to read? He isn't taught to read, either in college or in the pre-college schools?" Clyde R. Miller, of Columbia University, wrote, "Unfortunately most schools and colleges do very little to create the reading habit".

In a later issue May 26, Sanford Cobb, in an article "College Graduates Do Read—Some!" reported on the reading habits of Yale graduates and showed that while they spent 29 per cent of their leisure time reading, they spend 26 per cent of it in exercise, 13 per cent on theaters and the like, 10 per cent on conversation, drinking and social activities, and 8 per cent on cards. (19th ed, 1935, pp 37-8)

BOOKS AS WINDOWS

Books open windows into other worlds. Through books we may in imagination live in far lands, among strange people. We may even reconstruct the past or envision the future. There are windows looking in so many directions that those who have acquired the habit of using books lead richer lives. Books are tools which help us, through the recorded experience of others, to arrive at our own ends. Books put us in touch with the thoughts of other minds and other times which make available to us the heritage of the race.

If it weren't for the schools we might all be book readers. There is so much of interest to be learned from books, and our natural curiosity is so great! If it weren't for the world, some people might not read so much, for reading for many is escape. And many a boy, and girl too for that matter, turns to books because he gets little satisfaction on the playground or among his fellows. So there are two chief motives that lead one to read,—escape, which sends us to detective stories, crime, travel, living the lives of others vicariously; and curiosity, a desire to know.

If instruction had not dulled the keen edge of curiosity, then the graduates of our schools would be interested in knowledge and what has been accumulated and set forth in books. They would be better informed and consequently more alert. If they had not been frustrated by the school processes, they would be more interested in doing as well as knowing,

less ready to escape. Most of us who read do so to escape from the world we dare not face.

Let's suppose that schools and colleges taught reading, that they sent forth their graduates with an interest in reading, a taste for books. Let's suppose that our schools and colleges were interested in the knowledge that has been accumulated and were desirous that their graduates should have the means of getting at this knowledge, of drinking at the Pierian Spring. Let's suppose that they left the graduates with their natural simian curiosity undulled, with a desire to explore, discover, to learn, which is inherent in all of simian ancestry. If the schools had created this taste for reading, not reading for escape, then the college graduate, the man in the office, the citizen on the street, would have greater curiosity about the world he lives in, he would be more alert to opportunities to do his part. (20th ed, 1936, pp 59-64)

NOTES

(1) The first World War made us more aware than ever before that the information and ideas that made up the mental content of the American people were or could be, more or less controlled. It seemed desirable to follow the reading habits in the ensuing years.

From the 4th to the 20th editions, 1918-1936, we continued to survey and report on the production of books in this and other countries. With detailed statistics, the information given probably ran to a total of a hundred pages for that eighteen-year period, from which in this chapter only the briefest selections are made. The first World War brought decreased production due to diversion of labor and cellulose for war purposes. The number of books published increased to normal by 1921 and reached its peak ten years later. In 1932 we reported, "There has been a steady increase in the number of titles of new books published in the United States from 1923 through and including 1931, except for the year 1930. There was a slight drop in 1930 to 8100." From that time on there was a falling off as a result of the depression. The more recent boom in publishing has not been due to the increase in the number of titles published, but the volume has been due to best sellers and cheap edition reprints. Probably more books written in the last few years remain unpublished as poor risks, that is not profitable, than ever before.

The number of titles of new books published in the U. S., with slight fluctuation, was for a decade about 10,000. Other countries greatly exceeded this number. In Great Britain the number of new titles published in 1931 was 14,688, and 1932 showed a slight increase. France published 9822. A decrease was shown over 1930 in Denmark's 3138, Hungary's 3620. Germany's output was 24,074, and Italy's 12,193. But the figures of foreign publications include pamphlets and paper bound books. Nevertheless for a study of reading habits the figures are comparable, for paper bound books are not popular in the U. S.,—people read newspapers.

(2) A best seller today has a sale three times as great "as it did ten years ago", Malcolm Cowley reports in surveying "The Literary Business", *New Republic*, Sept. 27 and Oct. 11, 1943. Fiction and war books come first. Scholarly books that used to sell 1200 copies "have lately been selling only 1000 or 800. Next

year such books may not be published at all, even if their literary value is beyond question." The result of publishing for a mass market will be conformity, because publishers will take few risks. Best sellers are 'sold' to the public, as explained in the 11th edition, 1927, pp 26-8. Book clubs are multiplying. Advertising has been determined by experiment so that it is now possible to increase or decrease membership at will. One alone has 600,000 members and anticipates one million after the war. Not only does it provide mental pabulum, but it determines who shall take it.

Reporting on "The Boom in Books", Nov., 1943, *Fortune* shows us how almost anything can be pushed down the public's throat. "Book clubs are the institution most frequently charged with the growth of best-sellerism in the U. S. . . . The returns on a popular book today are so great that authors can hardly resist writing with the book clubs and the movies in mind, and the publisher can hardly resist giving most of his attention to what he hopes to market outside the handful of regular trade publishers. . . . As more and more people read the same books and as more and more publishers seek to create a common demand, the standardization of U. S. culture necessarily proceeds at a dangerous pace." Authors and correspondents go to the same cocktail parties, meet and talk the same language, so they themselves become standardized robots. It is only this type of author that the publisher is interested in. He wants to meet a standardized market which has long been in preparation by our advertising agencies, public relations counsel, publicity bureaus, or our rulers.

"Book publishing will emerge from the war as big business, backed by big capital and as shrewd in its merchandising practices as the toothpaste manufacturers. . . . After knowing the secret of mass production for centuries, publishers have now fathomed most of the secrets of mass distribution. . . . Now there is scarcely a drugstore, five-and-ten, or newsstand that does not deal in books of some sort. One reprint publisher alone has 70,000 outlets", Richard H. Rovere tells us in "Books: The Big Money Moves In", *Common Sense*, Feb., 1945. Pocket Books, most successful of the reprint series, has sold more than 100 million books in five years. The Armed Services Editions has distributed more than 35 million copies of current books.

(3) A double spread in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Jan. 27, 1945, with portraits of some twenty authors and their enthusiastic endorsements of *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine* provides a demonstration of the reading tastes of our literary mentors. "It [the whodunit] has been denounced as 'the lowest of the literary lusts' and elaborately praised as 'the natural recreation of noble minds'. People who read mysteries have been diagnosed as sufferers from 'an unhappy childhood, business worries or a maladjusted sex life.' . . . Today one out of every four titles published in the English language is a mystery story. Among some 5,000,000 copies of mysteries printed in the U. S. each year, discriminating readers are offered a choice among scores of attractive titles ranging from 'Murder With Your Malted' to 'The Case of the Kipper Corpse.'" (John Bainbridge, "Ellery Queen: Crime Made Him Famous and His Authors Rich", *Life*, Nov. 22, 1943)

Sumner of Yale, whose interest was in folkways, reviewing Giddings' analysis and classification of America's book reading habits, tells us, "Giddings found that 50 per cent of the books published aimed to please and appealed to emotion or sentiment; 40 per cent aimed to convert, and appealed to belief, ethical emotion, or self-interest; 8 per cent aimed to instruct, were critical, and appealed to reason. The other 2 per cent contained all the works of high technical or scientific value,

lost really in an unclassifiable residuum. . . . The predominance of the emotional element in popular literature means that people are trained by it away from reality. . . . They are day-dreamers, or philistines, or ready victims of suggestion, to be operated upon by religious fakers, or politicians, or social innovators." (William Graham Sumner, "The Scientific Attitude of Mind", reprinted in "Sumner Today", 1940) These escapists who are afraid to face facts, to look the future in the face,—how can they be the hope of the race?

"Now really learning to read is no mean achievement. Certainly many 'educated' people have never learned to do it in anything like the full sense of the term. Our most reliable psychological and college aptitude examinations are very largely tests of the candidate's ability to read intelligently" writes Louis Foley in *Educational Administration and Supervision*, May, 1943. Even Adler, who writes on "How to Read a Book", gives evidence of having read within a narrow range, little more than his "Hundred". I. A. Richards, who followed with "How to Read a Paragraph", has probably read more.

"The Art of Rapid Reading", 1929, by Walter B. Pitkin, is one book I strongly recommend to Mortimer Adler. He might get over more ground and broaden his vision. Then, too, there is "The Fine Art of Reading", 1929, by Robert E. Rogers of M.I.T., emphasizing the value of good books with the purpose of sharpening appetites. Both of these were reviewed in the 14th edition, 1930, pp 54-5.

"Our grandfathers may have had the little red school house, but we have the little-read teacher." "We consider it gross flattery when teachers are accused of being dangerous radicals. Half of 'em don't know a left wing from a right, except in fried chicken." (From E. E. Preston's contributions to the "Educational Whirl", *Clearing House*, Nov., 1938)

"Until educators are better educated, until they show a more lively and genuine interest in books, until they realize the plain and simple function of books as practically indispensable intellectual food, it is doubtful whether the general public interest and appreciation will increase. . . . The first and most important task in educating the American public to the values and uses of books is to educate the educators, to persuade them to read and own a few books." This is quoted from W. T. Couch's reply, *Publishers Weekly*, Aug., 1930, to R. L. Duffus' "Books: Their Place in a Democracy", 1930, a study undertaken for the Carnegie Corporation to ascertain if the American people could be made book minded. (15th ed, 1931, pp 62-3)

SOMETHING NEW IN EDUCATION

As faith fades in the old and long accepted, individual initiative brings to the fore new theories and practices to be tested. Some with modifications are finally adopted, though long opposed by the traditional minded.

The intense faith of the American people in education, amounting almost to a fetish, perhaps heretofore has not been wholly justified. Formal education has in the past been an effort to perpetuate sets of ideas,—for a political system, a religious sect, or a social clique. There is something human about this desire that children should grow up in the way of their fathers, but a larger and better view of education has gradually dawned.

PARKER AND DEWEY

In the eighties and nineties dissatisfaction began to mar complacency. It was felt that all was not right with education. This led to tinkering with the curriculum and the introduction of new subjects, which conservatives denounced as fads,—and fads they were, often mere excrescences grafted on without any organic relation. But there were fertile minds at work, mostly outside professional circles. Even bankers and philosophers played a part. (1)

Colonel Francis Parker's work at Quincy, Mass., in the eighties marks the beginnings of a constructive experimental method. His attempt to relate the work of the school with the outer world and connect school life with real life caught the popular imagination and introduced a new attitude in education. Transplanted to Chicago and further fertilized and developed by John Dewey, his ideals resulted in the establishment of the Francis W. Parker School in 1900, which from the first was frankly based upon the dynamic value of interest in work and devoted to relating the pupil's study to his own life and experiments. (2)

Other tendencies, deeper and more fundamental, have also been at work. The "psychology for teachers" as presented in the nineties was an impractical aspiration. But as methods were developed and fundamental principles grasped, substantial work of direct human value was done in the laboratories of psychology and animal behavior. Out of all this application of the scientific method to the processes of brain and mind has come a leavening influence. Interpreted and applied by Edward L. Thorndike it has given us the beginnings of a scientific method in education. Fused in the mind of John Dewey with ideals of democracy it has exerted a great and broadening influence. So the work of Dewey and Thorndike

touches the subject of education at every point. The nineteenth century school was a place in which the teacher spent the larger part of his time and energy in suppressing the bodily activities of his pupils. It was a place not so much for the exchange of ideas as for the exchange of all children's and other diseases,—a clearing house for measles, chicken pox, and whooping cough. The informal, joyous, active, experimental school which is so largely the outgrowth of Dewey's stimulus and teaching seems a bedlam to the old-fashioned routine teacher. Just so our American democracy seems to the Prussian junker. Life is not so systematic and so ordered as the old time school discipline. (3)

REDDIE AND LIETZ

The New School necessarily became a 'movement' in Europe, as well as in England. There the traditional 'Public-Schools-as-the-nurseries-of-empire' are so strongly entrenched in the tradition of the 'Battle-of-Waterloo-won-on-the-playing-fields-of-Eton' that any innovation to survive must become a 'movement', that is, must have a propaganda with driving power. It grew out of the work of a group of enthusiasts in England among whom the poet, Edward Carpenter, was a leading spirit. The whole purpose was to let a little light and fresh air into the musty traditions of school teaching.

Dr. Cecil Reddie started Abbotsholme in 1889, and his school became the model and type of many to follow. Bedales was the first coeducational school on this plan, established near Petersfield, Hants, in 1893, by J. H. Badley. Dr. Hermann Lietz, who had worked for a year at Abbotsholme and published a book on his experiences there, founded the first of his Landerziehungsheime in 1898. M. Edmond Demolins, the French writer and sociologist, transplanted the New School to French soil. His Ecole des Roches was opened near Verneuil in 1899. The New School Movement had a rapid and promising development on the Continent and particularly in Germany. (4)

INTEREST AND FREEDOM

In England as in America there has been a general movement toward less repressive methods in education, less of punishment and drudgery, and more of interest and freedom. The conviction has steadily grown that Anglo-Saxon education has been too much tainted by Puritanical distrust of the child. We are beginning to realize that it is our part only to help in natural processes, that, however vigorously the rod is applied, however much we repress, we may not inevitably achieve the child's salvation. As in medicine, so in education, greater scientific knowledge has lessened dogmatic certainty. There is less reliance on specifics and pan-

aceas, and an increased desire to work in harmony with existent natural forces. (5)

The immature, short of death, will inevitably mature without assistance. No child can escape education,—it is only a question of what kind. We pedagogs thought we had the secret, but the diet provided has not been fully assimilated.

From a gradually growing faith in the value of interest in education we are coming to a full realization that the only education that educates is self education. Only that which encourages and promotes effort on the part of the child himself is of value. Even we who have been through the educational mill with all its formalism and repression find that we still have some capacity out in the cold world, even without teaching, to learn occasionally some new thing.

NOTES

(1) The promotion of experimental schools in the United States at this time was due largely, as always, to those outside the professional field. Much credit goes to Mr. and Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, who naturalized the Italian Montessori plan on their front porch, and later established and endowed the Scarborough School on their estate. Early pioneers in experimental methods were Mrs. Marietta L. Johnson in her School of Organic Education at Mobile, Ala., and the outstanding innovations in elementary education by J. L. Meriam at the University of Missouri, Professor O'Shea at Wisconsin, Professor Horn at Iowa, and many others. Arthur E. Morgan, the engineer, at Dayton had been influential in establishing the Moraine Park School for the benefit of the children of the great manufacturers there centered. A list of thirty-eight modern and experimental schools dating in origin from 1906 up to 1917 was published and all this and much more reported on hopefully in the 1918 edition of the Handbook, and followed through successive editions thereafter.

(2) At this time Colonel Parker and his revolutionary work had been largely forgotten and information was difficult to come upon. He first became known to me as a teacher at San Bernardino, California, under Alex Frye, author of the well known series of geographies, who was a teacher under Parker both at Quincy and Chicago. As additional information became available I reported on Colonel Parker's great work and influence in successive editions: 1925 p 20; 1931 pp 35-6, 50; 1932 p 62; 1937 p 36; 1942 p 51; 1943 p 37; and with the publication of reminiscences of former co-workers, more completely in "War and Education", pp 149-50, 157-60, where it was shown how much he owed to Charles Francis Adams, John Stuart Mill, and Auguste Comte. The part played by the four Adams brothers in the development of American thought is interestingly dealt with by Ralph Henry Gabriel in his "Course of American Democratic Thought", 1940.

(3) When John Dewey in 1896 was starting his new school at the University of Chicago, he searched the shops without avail for furniture to take the place of the old-time desk. No one could comprehend his needs, until finally "a dealer with more discernment than salesmanship said, 'I am afraid we have not what you want. You want something at which the children may *work*; these are all for *listening*.'"

The story of early experimental schools is told by Harold Rugg and Ann Schumaker in "The Child-Centered School", 1928 (13th ed, 1929, p 60) When in 1919 Evelyn Dewey, daughter of Professor Dewey and joint author with him, in "New Schools for Old" reported on progressive schools, we reviewed it at some length in the 1920 edition.

(4) In this 1918 edition we listed 15 in England, 24 in Germany, 10 in Switzerland, 11 in France, 2 each in Austria and Poland, and 1 each in Sweden, Belgium, Italy, and Spain. In 1907 the movement was brought to the United States by Dr. E. A. Rumely, who established the Interlaken School at La Porte, Indiana. Charles R. Morris of Milton, Mass., in *School and Society*, May 1, 1943, tells much of this "Daniel Boone Idea in Education", as reported in the 1943 edition of the Handbook, p 36. The Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles was founded in 1899 and for some time published yearbooks. In the 1920 edition we reviewed "The New Schools in Europe", an article by its director, A. Ferrière, and in successive editions, particularly 1925, 1929, and 1930, we continued to report on books and articles on "The New Education in Europe".

(5) The Progressive movement in America was brought to a head when in 1918 Stanwood Cobb organized the Society for the Advancement of Progressive Education, later known as the Progressive Education Association. The progress of this was noted and reported on in the Handbook in 1936 edition, pp 25-6, and in the 1937 edition, pp 35-6. In the 1942 edition, p 51, we wrote:

In America the Progressive Movement received a great impetus from the inspiration of Stanwood Cobb. He had been a teacher in Roberts College, Constantinople, and in the Sargent Travel School in Europe, and a member and organizer of the Harvard Liberal Club. In 1918 he discussed with me the possibility of a similar group by which educators might become known to each other. The purpose was to bring comfort and support to those who were instigating progressive movements in education. President Eliot of Harvard responded immediately. And so was born the Society for the Advancement of Progressive Education. With an annual subsidy from Avery Coonley the organization produced a beautiful and inspiring official publication. Some of the members were idealists. Some were just commonsensical people who wanted to get out of the rut, who, like Colonel Parker, could imagine or devise better ways. As must happen to all movements, this tide of idealism ebbed.

In the 1943 edition, pp 37-44, summarizing the movement, the changing ideals, the success of the "Eight Year Study", we wrote: Even the most conservative schools have today been influenced and in some measure adopted something of the procedure, so that in the more enlightened centers the majority of schools public and private are more or less progressive. The progressive schools themselves eventually became respectable. They were respected and accepted and even became fashionable. Then they had to guard their position, and today there is little that is experimental about them. Every progressive movement, every new crusade, every promotion of new ideas is a real adventure which calls for leadership, bold thinking and bold speaking, taking risks. But when one pauses to think that probably never yet has a single human being on the face of the earth attained his utmost development and capacity, it is an adventure and a risk worth taking.

AFTER THE WAR WAS OVER

Enthusiasm for reconstruction in education and anticipation of 'a land fit for heroes' was necessarily stimulated by the political leaders to maintain morale, only to lead to disappointment, stagnation, and reaction.

Every country at war felt the stir of the new epoch. The war necessitated reassessment and inventorying of resources. War revealed shortcomings in education due to tradition and complacency in preceding decades. Everywhere among the survivors there was demand for more and better education. (1)

RECONSTRUCTION IN ENGLAND

An epoch-making event, one that marked the culmination of one phase of the intellectual and social revolution that has been going on in England during the past three years, occurred on July 17, 1918. On that date, after almost a year's debate, the House of Commons passed the Fisher Education Bill to give England a national system of education, years in advance of anything we have yet achieved in America. (2)

And yet this great event passed almost unnoticed in the American press. Our press has similarly through ignorance or design kept the American people uninformed in regard to the intellectual and social revolution in England and France. Nor is England's educational advance an isolated phenomenon. It marks a step in the national reconstruction which aims to establish the highest democratic ideals for which the world is now at war.

Nothing short of a great and prolonged war could have brought England to so radical a change of attitude toward education. Secondary education which heretofore had been a luxury for the upper classes is now provided for all, not in a philanthropic or charitable spirit but as a means of national defense, as a necessity of national life.

This was not a reform foisted upon the country by a handful of enthusiasts. It was the demand of the people which could not be gainsaid or postponed. There is an awakened social consciousness, a feeling of responsibility for the future; a conviction that man not only can, but must, so control events, so direct not merely governmental and legislative affairs but also social conditions, during the period of reconstruction, that the future will be insured against a recurrence of world catastrophes.

The spirit of the people is voiced "In the Fourth Year", by H. G. Wells,—"This and no other is the hour for educational reconstruction. It is in the decisions and readjustments of schools and lectures and courses,

far more than anything else, that the real future of Great Britain will be decided. Equally true is this of all the belligerent countries. Much of the future has a kind of mechanical inevitableness, but here far more than anywhere else, can a few resolute and capable men mould the spirit and determine the quality of the Europe to come."

PROMISE OF ADVANCE

The first serious step of the government to improve the educational situation was the appointment to the Ministry of Education early in 1917 of Herbert A. L. Fisher, the first professionally qualified educator to occupy the post, which previously had been one of the minor awards to the politically active. On August 10, 1917, Fisher in an illuminating and impressive speech introduced into Parliament the First Education Bill, for "the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby". It was based on the belief that the future of the nation could be insured only "by offering to every child the opportunity of enjoying that form of education most adapted to fashion its qualities to the highest use". This was no piece of "patchwork legislation" such as the Labor Party has warned against. A new structure is to be reared on historic foundations. (3)

The progress of the Bill was slow. The *Journal of Education*, London, June, 1918, said, "The Bill has been delayed again and again, while measures described as being of great urgency were passed into law in a few days. These delays have given time to the enemies of popular education to muster their forces and prepare 'amendments' designed to wreck the measure. Ominous whispers are heard to the effect that the Government is prepared to stand by the Bill only so long as it commands a substantial support among the electorate, and so constitutes a genuine political asset. Any considerable signs of opposition in quarters which command votes will, according to credible rumour, involve the speedy dropping of Mr. Fisher and his proposals. The Bill, in short, exists on sufferance, and will become an Act only if the big-wigs of the political world decide that its progress into law will not impede their own doings. . . .

"The real enemies had previously agreed to accept the principle of the Bill and allow it to be read a second time, in order to avoid the charge of being reactionaries or opposed to popular education. Their general tactics were to reserve their fire until the committee stage was reached, and then to pour in a great mass of amendments, ostensibly intended to improve the Bill but in reality designed to kill it by prolonging discussion and evoking such difference of opinion as would make the Government feel that the measure was of doubtful political value, and not worth the time which its consideration was demanding. This subtle device has

brought into existence some twenty pages of amendments, and the first two days of the committee stage were only a mere preliminary skirmish."

Through May and June occasional days were given to its consideration by the House of Commons in Committee. Clause by clause it was fought through. The *Journal of Education and School World*, London, July, 1918, said, "The Bill, though very far from satisfying the ideals of earnest educationists or from ensuring to all children the education by means of which they are 'capable of profiting', nevertheless contains the germ and the promise of a great future educational advance." (4th ed, 1918, pp 71-80) (4)

'THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION'

The stimulus of the war-revealed shortcomings of English education yielded thoughtful books on educational problems, the output not only of educators but of the best minds in England. Viscount Bryce's "Essays and Addresses in War Time", 1918, his presidential address to the British Academy, considering the possibility of future wars, lays the cornerstone of a new edifice of historical method. Lord Haldane in "The Future of Democracy", 1918, tells working-men why education matters to them.

"The Public School System in Relation to the Coming Conflict for National Supremacy", 1917, published for the Committee on the Neglect of Science, is significant of the new spirit in education which is scrutinizing the traditional subjects and methods and insisting that they show value which will count in the struggle for national supremacy. The new education must be in closer touch with the progress of society. Lord Rayleigh writes the preface,—“Let us hope that the next generation of English public school boys will have more to show for their time spent in school than could be claimed for ours”.

Education and politics are inextricably mingled in England and a number of books reflect serious thought along these lines. Victor Gollancz and David Sommervell, in "Political Education at a Public School", 1918, assume that the classics are doomed as the basis of a liberal education and urge that there be substituted the study of politics, history, and literature. An experiment along these lines in an English public school is described. In "The School and the World", 1919, they still further elaborate their ideas. "The Future of Education", 1918, by F. Clement C. Egerton, is a thoughtful contemporary diagnosis and forecast. (5)

"Cambridge Essays on Education", reprinted 1918, deal with underlying aims of education "in times of anxiety and discontent". In the introduction Viscount Bryce declares that the chief end of education is "to fit men to be at least explorers, even if not discoverers, in the fields of science and learning; to fit them to be leaders in the field of action; to

give them the taste for, and the habits of enjoying, intellectual pleasures".

J. L. Paton idealistically looks to education for the making of the future. "Education is the science which deals with the world as it is capable of becoming. Other sciences deal with things as they are, and formulate the laws which they find to prevail in things as they are. . . . A new age postulates a new education. The traditions which dominated hitherto must one by one be challenged to render account of themselves. . . . The aim of our education cannot be fulfilled until the education of other peoples is infused with the same spirit. Education, like finance, must be planned on international lines by international consensus with a view to world peace. Only so can it fulfill the ultimate end which already looms on the horizon, 'Becoming when the time has birth, a lever to uplift the earth and roll it on another course'." (6)

W. R. Inge tells us that "the ideal object of education is that we should learn all that it concerns us to know, in order that thereby we may become all that it concerns us to be. . . . The wise man is he who knows the relative value of things. . . . The largest part of social injustice and suffering is caused by the unchecked indulgence of the acquisitive instinct by those who have the opportunity of indulging it, and who have formed a blind habit of indulging it."

W. Bateson emphasizes the importance of the biological approach to the whole subject of education and concludes, "Rather must a people familiar with science see how small and ephemeral a thing is the pride of nations, knowing that both the peace of the world and the progress of civilization are to be sought not by the hardening of national boundaries but in the substitution of cosmopolitan for national aspiration."

RESURGENT LABOR DEMANDS

In England labor played a principal part in educational reform. Its wisdom and accomplishment is in part due to the fact that intellectuals have harmoniously cooperated. "On almost any day in August for the past ten years, casual visitors at Oxford may have noticed on more than one college lawn, small groups of working men and women in eager discussion with those who were obviously college tutors", writes Albert Mansbridge in the *Atlantic*, August, 1919. These groups were members of the Workers Educational Association. It was this association together with the British Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress which supplied the motive power that put across the Education Act. (7)

The Workers' Education Year Book has become a potent educational and political force. "Our business", say the editors, "is to appeal to the imagination of the reading public and to make it feel what we hold to be indubitable—that no phase of reconstruction so much demands attention

as education." The best intellects of the empire furnish contributions to the Year Book,—Shaw, Galsworthy, J. A. Hobson, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Viscount Haldane, A. E. Zimmern, W. Temple, Edmond Holmes, Margaret MacMillan, S. G. Hobson, G. D. H. Cole, and other prominent educationists and publicists

The lead of English labor for higher education of the workers has been of late taken up in this country. There is a growing demand on the part of workers for advanced educational facilities which shall be under their own control. The reconstruction program of the American Federation of Labor presented at the Atlantic City Conference, in 1919, maintained that "education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind to the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress".

A SOCIAL PROCESS

Our education should "enable every man to find his place and to use it, not for himself only, but for society, in the service of noble ends", declares the N.E.A.'s Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools. (8)

Educational leaders fresh from work in the war zone spoke with seriousness and hopefulness at the 1919 meeting of the N. E. A. The more impressive and significant tendency evident in the atmosphere of the entire convention was the general adoption of the idea of education as a social process and the discarding of the old-time emphasis on education as mental, intellectual, and moral discipline. (9)

Education has an instinctive basis and function, William E. Hocking holds in his "Human Nature and Its Remaking", 1918. Its *milieu* must be a society which has developed "social self-consciousness and self-criticism". Though such a society must necessarily continue to reproduce the type from which it springs it must also, if it is not to decay, provide for the growth beyond and to insure this, for variation from the type.

Idealists have pictured what education might be if it were designed to produce the utmost development of each individual. But such an ideally produced individual should have an ideal environment to live in. In this as in all other things there must be compromise. Only as we improve our social system can we improve our education. To attempt to put into practice under existing conditions an ideal education such as you may have conceived, is to lead to disappointment. But it is only through taking a step at a time in revising procedure, by trial and error that we find new and better ways of living our lives and living with our fellows. We have been fascinated, lured and deluded with all sorts of will 'o the wisps, clouds by day and pillars by night, false leaders, false doctrines, easy ways

to salvation, ideal systems of training. The important thing for us educators and parents is to see straighter and more clearly what is before us, to strip away the falsity, the myth, to be a bit more realistic without losing our idealism. If we keep our heads in the clouds, we must keep our feet in the mud.

REORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

President-Emeritus Eliot in his "Defects in American Education" points out some specific failures of the schools and calls for more training of the senses with resulting skill, and the development of the pupil's interests. Dr. Eliot emphasizes new methods which if adopted are sure to yield larger and better results. In "After the War Reflections of a School Master", Claude Fuess lays bare the shortcomings of the best secondary schools.

"The Creative Impulse in Industry: A Proposition for Educators", 1918, by Helen Marot, had from the first such notable sponsors as John Dewey for education and Robert B. Wolf for industry. Perhaps the greatest feature of the book is its happy and timely achievement in relating the ideas of these two men on the conduct of education, born of contact with adolescents, and on that of industry, the result of experience with workmen.

The pith of the book lies in pointing out that maximum production is not, under our existing system, attained, either in industry or in education, and that to increase it each worker in the school room, or in the factory, must be given greater incentive, and this incentive must necessarily be based on intrinsic interest of the worker in the task before him. The chief difficulty is to get people to accept new ideas. Russians can, she tells us, because uneducated. But we educated people have our minds so filled with traditional and institutional ideas that have come with our formal education, that we have little capacity to entertain new ideas. This idea has been elaborated by Franz Boas in the "Mental Attitude of the Educated Classes", in the *Dial*, Sept. 5, 1918.

EDUCATION IN FICTION

Education only a few years ago was regarded by men of affairs and women of intellect as an unmitigated bore to be left wholly to the pedagogs. Looked to as the hope of the future, today it has an appeal for the popular mind unknown in precedent decades. It has been seized upon for imaginative treatment by the novelists. Books now are put forth with 'Education' in their title because it helps to sell them though they may have little to do with education, and are written by those who know little about the subject.

"Salt: or the Education of Griffith Adams", 1918, by Charles Norris, is

one of the most successful of these. It is a somewhat raw and vivid picture of the educational influences which have shaped many American boys. Crude, vital, throbbing, it reflects and appeals to the popular critical attitude toward present day education and as such is significant, in spite of its exaggeration, its failure to picture accurately, its lack of reasoned criticism or helpful suggestion. But such books are of value for they stir the emotions and intensify the wave of popular opinion, making possible support for constructive measures when adequately presented.

H. G. Wells' "Joan and Peter: The Story of an Education", 1918, tells of the search for a school, and pictures the chaos and aimlessness of existing educational conditions in England. Oswald in search of knowledge goes first to the Imperial Education Department. But what do they know of schools! He is referred to the advertising columns of the periodicals, and "said the official with extreme detachment 'Usually, of course, people *hear* of schools'. 'Oh, my God!' groaned Oswald." As he investigates he learns "that education in the public schools of Great Britain was not a forward-going process but a habit and tradition, that these classical School Masters were saying 'nothing like the classics' in exactly the same spirit that the cobbler said 'nothing like leather', because it was the stuff they had in stock."

"The Undying Fire", 1919, dedicated to "All School Masters and School Mistresses and Every Teacher in the World", is an eloquent and impassioned plea for the humanizing and socializing of education. It sets forth a vision of education as it may be and must be if the world is to be saved. Men have lived, Wells says, "in an uninformed world with no common understanding and no collective plan, a world ignorant of its true history and with no conception of its future. Into these horrors they drifted for the want of a world-education. Out of these horrors no lesson will be learned, no will can arise, for the same reason." Callous, cynical, seared is the teacher who will not get inspiration from this glorified tract.

EDUCATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

A most promising field for the investigation of the results yielded by systems of education lies in the study of the specific educational processes to which have been subjected men who have left full records. No broad comparative study of this kind has ever been scientifically attempted though numerous men of eminence have left records of their own education which might well form the basis for such an investigation. Two notable biographies of the past year add greatly to this available material.

"The Education of Henry Adams", 1919, has distinction and personal charm which mask the astringent, analytic, hopelessly unending search for purpose in life. The life and story of the education of this over-

educated man is the most severe, deliberate criticism yet indicted of education as it is and has been. Only one thing he asked,— education, preparation to live in the world that was coming to be, and his experience, as he half humorously records it, led to 'betrayal'. Charles Francis Adams in his autobiography is even more bitter in his criticism of the education to which he was subjected. Family, culture, social environment, schools, Harvard College were all oppressive, not stimulating factors in the lives of these two brothers. Can those responsible for the educational systems of today and the future, so adapt and modify our traditional education as to prevent the recurrence of their sense of failure and feeling of bitterness? Henry Adams, sincere and earnest in his striving for the unattainable, became cynical and self-contemptuous and was finally turned back on the past,—a medievalist.

"My Reminiscences", 1918, by Raphael Pumpelly, is an autobiography of a very different stamp and a most refreshing corrective to the preceding. Read in conjunction, Pumpelly's narrative stimulates profound reflection as to the negative value of formal education and the positive value of developing intrinsic interests at the critical moments of life. Pumpelly had an unusually varied, interesting, and purposeful life, and his narrative of adventure, achievement, and personal interests is not only readable but fascinating. It is of value to educators, because of the influences fully set forth which determined Pumpelly's intellectual interests and career, and because of his mature reflections on the influences of his environment, heredity, and education, and the application of the results of his own interests. He says: "I was never able to write a composition as was determined for life at the age of eight, when his mother read to him Hugh Miller's "Old Red Sandstone". This led him to collect fossils in the rocks about his home. His school days were irregular and not particularly fruitful. Evading college, he educated himself by following out his own interests. He says: "I was never able to write a composition as demanded at school", but if readability and sustained interest in a narrative are evidences of capacity to write, then Pumpelly's method of training in English might well be followed by the academic teachers of the subject. This same method he recommended to his son with success when "he was troubled about producing, as a freshman, his first theme". Let the teacher of English read the book to understand it.

KEEN CRITICISM

"The Higher Learning in America", 1918, written by Thorstein Veblen more than a dozen years ago when he was professor at the University of Chicago, is published for the first time. With mature thought, in language unreserved, vigorous, confident of its finality, Veblen severely arraigns the

whole American university system. Because of material requirements, and in violation of spiritual aims, the universities have fallen utterly under the control of business men. "Those principles and standards of organization, control, and achievement that have been accepted as a matter of course in the conduct of business are accepted in the organization of the university, with the result that it ceases to be an institution of higher learning." The clerical bias has been replaced by the business bias. Because the quantitative standard of measuring output has been adopted instead of the qualitative, they have failed.

Charles Beard has reviewed this book in the *Dial* under the title of the "Hire Learning in America". But Veblen's mood will permit of no lightness. With ironic austerity he enunciates principles and condemns prevalent practices that deviate therefrom. He holds that the trend of the system is in the wrong direction. The course must be changed. But the great service Veblen has performed does not lie in his constructive suggestions. He cannot show us how universities are to be conducted without money or how those who supply the funds whether private benefactors or the community are to be induced to relinquish interest and control. (5th ed, 1920, pp 43-78, 83, 88-91, 101)

NOTES

(1) "What grand and promising slogans they were,—'A world safe for democracy', 'Homes fit for heroes', and a whole lot more that helped to stimulate men in the trenches while the war was still on, and to embitter them when it was over and some of them had been reduced to selling matches in the gutters. There were so few who had heroic homes and so many new dictators. Will history repeat itself?" asks Vernon Bartlett with bitter conviction in the *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 15, 1944.

"We mouth the old worn-out phrases. 'History repeats itself' and 'Man cannot learn from history'. . . . Human beings are born into the world, ignorant, uneducated. They spend a few years learning a little something by experience and a little something by thinking, and then they die. What little we have learned we have not been able to pass on to the new generation. . . . Humanity ignores the beacon lights of history even if pointed out for its attention", explained Senator Shipstead, *Congressional Record*, Nov. 5, 1943, p 9283.

History tells us how men acted at a time under conditions. It is a story of human behavior. The patterns of behavior may repeat. What little we learn is taught by our parents, schools, radio, movies, comic strips. If "history repeats itself" it will be because of the ignoring of the same significant commonsense facts, and the indoctrinating of the same behavior patterns which lead to repetition of the same blunders and stupidities.

(2) In England as elsewhere hopes were high for reform. Reconstruction was in the air. Government would take over and allocate the resources of the earth to those most needing them. England would go forward to a new, more glorious future. Maurice William in "The Social Interpretation of History", 1920, gives a cue to the temper of the times. "The English Government will extend its social

and labor legislation in order to promote the efficiency of the workers. Transportation and distribution will be socialized because productive capital and social interests will require it. The profit principle in production will as usual be the last to be dethroned. England will, in all probability, be the second nation to develop into a full-fledged Social Democracy." In Germany too, William tells us, "the Government will begin by making a study of production with a view to suggesting improvements. This will be followed by regulation of production. . . . The greatly increased efficiency which is bound to be the outstanding phenomenon of new Germany will compel the capitalists of England to seek the assistance of their Government in an effort to compete." (Cf *Harpers*, Dec., 1943)

Even by 1921 it was apparent that England's glorious hopes were not to materialize. In the 6th edition we reported, "The great day in England has not yet arrived. There is no present indication when the government will cease its excuses and act. As usual when efforts are being made to thwart the public interest, the plea of economy is being raised, no other effective argument apparently being available." In the 7th edition, 1922, we reported the official suspension of the Education Act of 1918,— "The educational situation in England has been one of stagnation and reaction. The 'Appointed Day' when the provisions of the Act were to go into effect, after repeated postponement, had been set for January, 1921, but late in 1920 the government decided that 'schemes involving expenditure not yet in operation are to remain in abeyance'. Thus was abandoned the feature of reconstruction resulting from the war of which Great Britain had reason to be most proud and which most clearly marked progress toward the attainment of ideals for which the war was fought."

Of the collapse of this program the Manchester *Guardian* said: "The interests which had fought it when it was still a Bill were not reconciled to it by the mere fact that it had become the law of the land. From October onwards protests against educational expenditure were made in the House of Commons—by a band of members to whom the very idea of educating the children of common men and women seems in itself an extravagance. . . . The suspension of the Education Act is ostensibly temporary. But no time limit has been fixed at the end of which this 'temporary' suspension is to end. The opponents of education have tasted blood and are not likely to be less exacting in the future." (7th ed, 1922, p 39)

Later in his "Shape of Things to Come" H. G. Wells did not hesitate to declare that "confusion, wars, plagues, and general frustration are the indirect result of an ancient and outmoded conception of education".

(3) All this reads like the propaganda put forth again in the forties when the rulers of England made history repeat itself by fooling the people in the same way. In 1941 the 25th edition reported on "Education in England",—"The Political Situation", "Educational Reform Defeated", "Again Educational Reconstruction", "Shaw's Warning", "A New Social Outlook for England", "The Malvern Proposals", pp 43-9. In 1942 the 26th edition, separately published as "Education in Wartime", further reported on "Reconstruction Again",—"Aroused Hopes", "Popular Demands", "Suspicious Skeptics", "Tories in the Saddle", pp 151-6. "War and Education", 1942, carried chapters on "Reforming Static Education", pp 169-72, "Maintaining the Social System", 173-88, "Hopes of Reconstruction", pp 189-206, reviewing numerous writings hopeful, iconoclastic, and skeptical, and quoted T. E. Lawrence as first printed in the *Atlantic*, March, 1939,— "Yet when we achieved and the new world dawned the old men came out again and took from us our victory, and re-made it in the likeness of the former world they knew."

Youth could win, but had not learned to keep."

(4) Twenty-six years later in August, 1944, there was a repeat performance. "The Education Bill" finally passed the House of Lords. Earl Stanhope emphasized that character must be founded on religion. Lord Mottistone moved an amendment to provide instruction in the duties of citizenship, including the duty of defending the country and the maintenance of law and order, to which Lord Addison raised the objection that "Hitler would rejoice at words like these; it was the very thing he had been doing in the last 15 years to the children of Germany". (London *Times* Educational Supplement, July 15, 1944) (Cf p 471)

(5) "The Future in Education" was again the concern of educational writers twenty years later. Sir Richard Livingstone delivered himself of a slender volume so entitled which went through many editions, in which he advocates a retreat to the old 'liberal education' of the classicists. (Cf "Preserving Privilege", pp 129-32 in "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944)

(6) 'International education' is a verbalization that becomes at times a glittering symbol with which to hold the attention of idealists in the weary days when wars are going badly. In 1914 on the outbreak of the war, on the train going up to address a little group at Cornish, New Hampshire, I made notes on the backs of envelopes. A few months later when the agents of the Department of Justice broke into my house, all the papers they took were eventually returned to me after forty calls at their Office, except those notes. In the opinion of the ignorant men in control, those were too dangerous. A year or two later internationalizing education was popular among the most respectable discussion groups. From 1922 on for several years the introduction of the Handbook, from the 7th to the 10th editions, yearly carried a section on "Internationalizing Education", and again in the 17th edition, 1933. Again in the fifth year of this second war we have a recurrence of interest in the subject. Idealistic discussions, far removed from reality and possibilities, keep the people occupied while their rulers work their will. (Cf 29th ed, 1945)

(7) With the formation of labor unions, the demands of working men for something better than charity schools led to pressure for public schools in New York City as early as 1820. From 1830 to 1860 the laboring classes began to organize and to formulate their views on various public questions including education, Paul Monroe tells us in "The Founding of the American Public School System", 1940. (Cf "War and Education", p 81)

(8) Idealism among educators was riding high due to the inflation of enthusiasm in the war for democracy. Woodrow Wilson had stirred the conscience of the world, and many a high spirited, high minded man, returning from the slaughter and the chaos, resolved to make a better world. There was a community spirit that took impetus from Percy MacKaye's "Caliban", first produced in 1916 and again later in the Harvard Stadium, in which a thousand or more people from all the communities round about with great enthusiasm joined in the production. Reflecting the idealism of the time, MacKaye wrote in his preface, "Over seas . . . War, Lust, and Death are risen in power to restore the primeval reign of Setebos. Here in America, where the neighboring waters of his 'vexed Bermoothes' lie more calm than those about Shakespeare's own native isle, here only is given some practical opportunity for his unterrable spirit to create new splendid symbols for peace through harmonious international expression. As one means of serving such expression, and so, if possible, of paying tribute to that creative spirit in forms of his own art, I have devised and written this Masque. . . . Caliban . . . is that

passionate child-curious part of us all (whether as individuals or as races), groveling close to his aboriginal origins, yet groping up and staggering—with almost rhythmic falls and back-slidings—toward that serener plane of pity and love, reason and disciplined will. . . . The theme of the Masque—Caliban seeking to learn the art of Prospero—is, of course, the slow education of mankind through the influences of cooperative art.” Shortly after, the participants in the masque were in the soup-lines, the returning veterans selling apples on the street corners.

(9) This idea that education is a part of the social process has been growing upon educators due to the influence of sociologists and anthropologists. “Education, emptied of all social content and conceived solely as method, points nowhere and can arrive nowhere. It is a disembodied spirit. When education is thus generically conceived, it is a pure abstraction. Moreover, it is not education”, wrote George S. Counts in his “Social Foundations of Education”, 1934, Part IX of the Report of the Commission on Social Studies.

“Schools always have been and probably always will be comparatively late expressions of the society that creates them as an instrument . . . behind the more advanced thinking of the society. . . . A school is a powerful and hardly forged instrument designed by the state to carry out its own designs: it is not a proper, or even a good, tool for altering those designs”, wrote Henry W. Simon in his “Preface to Teaching”, 1938.

“Education inevitably suffers from the cultural lag”, says Charles I. Glicksberg, *School and Society*, June 7, 1941. “Since its object is to conserve values, it remains of necessity a *conservative* institution, a traditional and binding force. Functionally dependent upon society, it can not advance too far ahead of the main body of social thought and practice. One of its primary purposes is to adjust the young to a fairly stable community of culture, to pass on the achieved values, the accepted beliefs and the established ethics of the social order.”

Comprehension of all this had failed to reach Bagley as late as 1939. Writing on “The Significance of the Essentialist Movement in Educational Theory”, *Classical Journal*, March, 1939, he said schools fail where they regard “the primary function of education as a social institution” and follow “an educational theory” which has “discredited and belittled the significance of a mastery of what we commonly call subject-matter”.

Education as “A Social Institution” was dealt with in the 25th edition, 1941, p 41, as “A Social Function” in the 26th, 1942, p 209.

HUMANIZING KNOWLEDGE

As archeology has pushed back the historic record, while psychology has thrown light on how the written record was distorted, it becomes increasingly possible to make use of the new knowledge for human betterment.

Only within the last few years have we generally realized that however history may pretend to be the politics and economics of the past, it is almost certain to be, in its inspiration, propaganda of the present. Historical writers, generally speaking, have been propagandists, arguing more or less subtly for conservatism or liberalism, for America or England or Germany. Absolutism, nationalism, capitalism have each required their own interpretation of history, and historians have met the requirements. The modern endeavor to make history scientific and objective has not wholly altered the tendency and may not for some time.

REMAKING HISTORY

H. G. Wells in his "Outline of History", 1920, produced an entirely new kind of history. It, too, is propaganda, but instead of being in the interest of a class or a nation, it is to promote the idea "that men spring from one common origin, that their individual lives, their nations and races, interbreed and blend and go on to merge again at last in one common human destiny upon this little planet amidst the stars". (1)

He paints with a broad brush as in the frescoes of Renaissance art. "Half the duration of human civilization and the keys to all its chief institutions are to be found before Sargon I." If Greece is slighted, if Rome is discounted, China, Buddhism and Islam are well presented. The world scene passes before us as in the movies. We hear the reindeer roar where Paris roars tonight; we see the Babylonian hawker spreading his wares before the Egyptian ladies; we see the modern Cretans a thousand years before Homer, bull fighting as in Spain today; we witness Caesar's dalliance with Cleopatra.

The book made a great splash in England as well it might. G. K. Chesterton remarks on its "astonishing scope and its admirable proportion. . . . There is something like good stage management and more like grand strategy, in the way in which the pageants of archaic empires and alien religions wheel into position or pass into order." (6th ed, 1921, pp 121-2)

The old concept of history as something fixed and necessarily truthful is dead. The essential thing in history is the interpretation of the psychological attitude of peoples and personalities of the past. History is then

the paleontology of psychology. The preparation of history texts for use in schools affords opportunity to introduce, consciously or unconsciously, national or personal attitudes. Until more aggressive and highly organized propaganda brought it into prominence this was little noted. (2)

HISTORY IN THE LARGE

Understanding of other peoples and of the past that made them as they are, is one of the greatest desiderata that the war has accented. The academic attitude of dividing all knowledge into watertight compartments has too much persisted. History has heretofore been handed out in neat packets of cut and dried material of little human interest. It has been Greek or English or American. Reform in the teaching of history, making it of vital interest and human value, has emanated not from the universities or schools, but from writers who are making it a subject of popular appeal. (3)

In an article "History for Everybody", *Yale Review*, Wells met his critics individually and severally and had a delightful time disposing of them. In "The Salvaging of Civilization: The Probable Future of Mankind", 1921, he outlines measures of educational reconstruction, tending, in his belief, toward the establishment of a wide thinking, wide ranging education upon which a new world may be based. He also suggests the necessity of a world Bible which shall present the great ideas which are the heritage of the race in form so all may know them.

Robert Briffault's "The Making of Humanity", 1919, is a brilliant and passionate intellectualist presentation of human progress and the obstacles it must meet. With vivid swiftness he brings before us the whole procession of humanity from earliest times and gives us a sense of motion and progress, makes us see with clarity that man's progress has been limited by his psychology, and how the non-rational institutions he has set up have hindered his development. (4)

"The Story of Mankind", 1921, by Hendrik Van Loon, a great book with all the defects of genius, has been almost unreservedly hailed by reviewers with acclaim and praise. Sketchy, personal, opinionistic it is. Errors of the most egregious sort appear. But adult criticism of the book is beside the mark. The only way to test its value, its interest, its greatness, is to put it in the hands of, or read it to, children of ten or under. Then one may with proper humility appreciate what Van Loon has done. The whole story of mankind is fascinatingly, vividly, triumphantly told, with illustrations by the author that appeal to the child mind. (5)

Archeology, anthropology, ethnology were once formidable barriers behind which investigators accumulated details of the early history of mankind. Only within a few years has a broadened vision made it possible to

present these fragments in relation to the whole so as to make a human story of gripping interest. A flood of books has appeared which illumine with the spotlight here and there something of man's most interesting past. (6)

PREHISTORY

Enormous range has been added to historic vision by archeological research of recent decades, and this has added interest to history as atmospheric depth adds interest to a landscape.

"Early Civilization: An Introduction to Anthropology", 1921, by Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, treats popularly the development of man in all his cultural aspects,—economic, social, artistic, political and religious. "Primitive Society", 1920, by Robert H. Lowie of the staff of the American Museum of Natural History, is a rather recondite and incomplete treatment of the development of social organization, especially such matters as marriage, family, property, justice, and omitting mention of religion, mythology and folk lore. Carveth Read's "The Origin of Man and of His Superstitions", 1920, presents with animation and enthusiasm an interesting and plausible theory of how, as the result of geologic and climatic conditions, arboreal apes were obliged to take to the ground and become man.

"Prehistory: A Study of Early Cultures in Europe and the Mediterranean Basin", 1921, by M. C. Burkitt, a text on prehistoric archeology, is an obvious attempt to write down to the reader and at the same time to retain a flavor of erudition. "The New Stone Age in Northern Europe", by John M. Tyler, is a discreet and unpretentious popularization of knowledge not generally accessible. Its great thesis is that the great advance in human development occurred in the Neolithic Period, and that most of the germs and many of the determinants of our modern civilization can be found in the habits, customs and life of that time. (7th ed, 1922, pp 23-4, 44-7)

MIND IN THE MAKING

That the public is hungering for sound knowledge that will answer the age old question "What is man?" is evidenced from some recent best sellers. Our schools and universities have denied us vital knowledge. And here comes a man who, freed from previous harassment of academic restrictions, supplies that craving.

"The Mind in the Making", 1922, by James Harvey Robinson reveals the successive stages in the development of mind,—the savage mind, the beginning of critical thinking in Greece, our medieval intellectual inheritance, and the scientific revolution of the last three hundred years.

The mind of each of us is a depository and a reflection of all this past, and the past still imposes limitations on our mental processes. "In all our reveries and speculations, even the most exacting, sophisticated, and disillusioned, we have three unsympathetic companions sticking closer than a brother and looking on with jealous impatience—our wild apish progenitor, a playful or peevish baby, and a savage. We may at any time find ourselves overtaken with a warm sense of camaraderie for any or all of these ancient pals of ours, and experience infinite relief in once more disporting ourselves with them as of yore. Some of us have in addition a Greek philosopher or man of letters in us; some a neoplatonic mystic, some a medieval monk, all of whom have learned to make terms with their older playfellows."

With the broad ethnic and philosophic sweep of his vision, Robinson has little faith in ideal reconstructions of the social order, "although experiments and suggestions should not be discouraged". Though he believes we should be open minded in regard to all suggested improvements, "what we need first is a change of heart and a chastened mood which will permit an ever-increasing number of people to see things as they are, in the light of what they have been and what they might be". (8th ed, 1923, pp 38-41)

SHAMEFULLY UNEDUCATED

In "The Humanizing of Knowledge", 1923, Robinson sees the scientist as a wonderer, an inquirer, willing to accept as fact only such observations as can be tested. Scientific progress has evinced itself in three distinct ways, "in revolutionary generalizations based upon scientific data, in scientific inventions, and in notions of our own place in the order of things". (7)

The knowledge of even the college graduate is amazingly unscientific. Traditional beliefs constitute the greater part of the intellectual content of man, as was pointed out by Veblen in "The Place of Science in Modern Civilization". Men adhere to such lore because of familiarity, immobility, and imitateness. The great mass of our principles are of this sort. "Most of our beliefs are very ancient and of untraceable origin, even though they be set out in very precise and logical terms by a Thomas Aquinas or a Calvin." Man naturally depends upon his emotions, his feelings, more than upon his intellect.

Science, on the other hand, "includes all the careful and critical knowledge we have about anything". Scientific knowledge, though subject to criticism and revision, is wholly different from the lore which fills our minds. The results of anthropological and psychological research conflict with religious or social preconceptions, and any conflict arouses inter-

est. Aside from these three points of contact, exact inquiry into the details of the universe about him is of little interest to the average man. It is even ridiculous. What does he care whether there are ten thousand or fifty thousand species of beetles? (8)

Actuated by concepts of what he believes to be eternal verities, with traditional lore, ethical and social, controlled by tabus and emotions, man has little interest in the findings of the scientist as to the nature of the things about him. Men like Chesterton go so far as to say that science is "a thing on the outskirts of human life, which has nothing to do with the center of human life at all". And yet Matthew Arnold described the aim of education as "the getting to know on all matters which concern us the best which has been thought and said in the world; and through this knowledge turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits". But educators have never had the courage to do this, even if they had the knowledge.

Such new knowledge is always disturbing. "Teaching must be made as little disturbing as possible." Teachers who disturb must, like Socrates, be put out of the way. Veblen in "The Higher Learning in America" and Upton Sinclair in "The Goose-step" and "The Goslings" have made clear how teachers are held in line when necessary.

Robinson believes that "Education ought to be largely devoted to the issues upon which the young as they grow up should be in a position to form an intelligent opinion. . . . We are all shamefully uneducated, and this lack of scientific insight is naturally more striking in those that dedicate themselves to intellectual interests than in the average citizen, absorbed in assuring himself and his family a livelihood." (9th ed, 1924, pp 57-8)

NOTES

(1) "The last, the weariest, most disillusioned year of the great war", 1918, Wells tells us, brought about the situation which impelled him to write his "Outline". The picture he gives of the time illumines how history is now being made to repeat itself. "Men were not sure whether they were facing a disaster to civilization or the inauguration of a new phase of human association. . . . There was a copious discussion of possible new arrangements of world politics; of world-treaties for the abolition of war, of leagues of nations, leagues of peoples. Everyone was 'thinking internationally', or at least trying to do so. But there was a widespread realization that everywhere the essentials of the huge problems that had been thrust so suddenly and tragically upon the democracies of the world were insufficiently understood. 'How had these things come about?' they asked. . . . Men and women tried to recall the narrow history teaching of their brief school-days and found an uninspiring and partially forgotten list of national kings or presidents. They tried to read about these matters, and found an endless wilderness of books. . . . Multitudes of people . . . were seeking more or less consciously to 'get the hang' of world affairs as a whole. They were, in fact, improvising 'Out-

lines of History' in their minds for their own use. . . .

"For some time before he began this 'Outline' he had been working upon the problems of after-war settlement and the project of a League of Nations; in the days, that is, before the late President Wilson took possession of that proposal. Such work necessarily involved participation in the disputes and organization of various propagandist unions and societies. The discussions in these associations brought out very vividly the vital importance in all political activities of a man's conception of the past. . . . All the people who were interested in these league of nations projects . . . had the most vague, heterogeneous and untidy assumptions about what the world of men was, what it had been, and therefore of what it could be." ("Outline of History", 1926 ed, Vol I, pp 1-2)

(2) Someone a long time ago discovered that if he could teach the songs the people sing he could control the nations. History teaching, too, may be used to create and control national emotions which are the springs of action. Those who would exert power, then, have naturally sought to control the character of the history taught. History has always been written as propaganda. Mommsen wrote a history of Rome to strengthen Kaiserism; Bancroft wrote a United States history to make the eagle scream. The fact that history has always been influenced by this psychological slant has led to the present revolt.

The new history is less interested in political and diplomatic events and biographical episodes, and more concerned with vital economic, social, scientific and cultural aspects of human development. This trend is interestingly discussed in "The New History and the Social Studies", 1925, by Harry Elmer Barnes, then the very live and unacademic head of the history department of Smith College. He makes clear the nature of the new history and the several social studies, showing mutual relationships in the fields of geography, psychology, anthropology, sociology, science, economics, politics and ethics. It is not only history that has been influenced by the new developments: the point of view and technique of social science also have changed. For those to whom the whole field of social and political thinking is a matter of tag-ends and tatters, Barnes performs a real service in "Sociology and Political Theory", 1925, a companion volume to his "New History". He tells how the walls of the older political science began to tremble; how in the end they fell, and how the modern sociologists marched in and took possession. By marshalling before us in a remarkably accurate and comprehensive way the work of sociologists, he is able to produce a vivid sense of the extent to which the older views in politics have been effectively undermined. (10th ed, 1926, pp 85-6)

Such keen analysis and understanding of the historic record cannot be permitted in the universities. It would interfere with the plans and schemes of those who give financial support and exert control. Barnes' teaching is not welcome in the universities today.

(3) "The Menace of Nationalism in Education", 1926, by J. F. Scott deals largely with France, Germany, and England, and what they are doing to poison the Pierian spring by teaching blatant nationalism through the medium of social studies. "The writers of texts impregnated with the spirit of intense nationalism are laying the psychological foundations, not of national security, but of a new war." "Public Opinion and the Teaching of History", 1926, by Bessie L. Pierce, tells of the attempts that have been made to control the teaching of history in our public schools. It is a shameful story of how, in the name of patriotism or religion, little children's minds have been poisoned with the prejudices of their elders. (11th ed, 1927, p 55)

(4) Thirteen years later Briffault in his "Breakdown: The Collapse of Traditional Civilisation", 1932, showed the great advance that had been made in our conception of the history of man and his institutions.

Robert Stephen Briffault has a brain that functions and perceives and discriminates. Its analytic and synthetic powers enable him to interpret and find meanings where none are apparent to more conventionally conditioned minds. Much of this may be due not only to genetics but to his education, which left him unconditioned. Born in London, privately educated in Florence and London, he went to New Zealand at the age of eighteen, where he achieved prominence as a practicing surgeon. The World War brought him to Gallipoli, France, Flanders with the Fifth York and Lancaster, twice decorated. He retired from medical practice and devoted himself to study of human problems, and is generally known as a writer on philosophy and social anthropology. Having viewed the Empire from both sides of the globe and the middle, he has become a keen critic of British political methods and in his later years made his residence in Paris. His thought and writing are marked by outspokenness, brilliance in expression, penetration of generally accepted myth, but marred by a teleological attitude, ascribing conspiratorial motives to ruling classes over long periods of time, and by a tendency to dogmatize and to prognosticate. For other references to and quotations from works of Briffault, see index.

(5) This stimulated interest in prehistory for adults and children continued. In the 1929 edition we reviewed more books on the subject:

Even the newspapers today bring to our attention through reports of excavations the extension of history into a remoteness undreamed of when we teachers pursued its formal study. The discovery of Sumerian records, 4200 B.C., or of Minoan inscriptions, even earlier, are now subjects for dispatches and cables. What was earlier than the mythological becomes recorded fact and even more definite stratigraphic factual evidence of our ancestors is carried back to dated periods of twenty-five or fifty thousand or more years ago.

A comprehensive, well written, proportioned picture of our ancestors and collateral relatives over many thousands of years is given by Herdman Fitzgerald Cleland in "Our Prehistoric Ancestors", 1928, beautifully illustrated with reproductions of the art and crafts over a period of tens of thousands of years, and taking full cognizance of the most recent discoveries. This is probably the best book for the school library on the habits, customs, beliefs of our common forefathers. It gives a vivid picture of the long, painful path we have traveled; of the triumphs and defeats we have met; and helps us to an understanding of the present and the future. Here we learn that our Cro-Magnon ancestors had physiques, and brains, even better than ours perhaps, and an art that commands our admiration.

How much our historical vision has been lengthened is made apparent again by Stephen King-Hall in "A Child's Story of Civilization", 1928. Charmingly written for a very real young child, it is good reading for children of any age, even though their hair be gray or they have no hair at all.

"The Stream of History", 1928, by Geoffrey Parsons tells the whole story of man and his earth "so swiftly and simply that its essential parts will stand forth in their due relationships unobscured by detail". The breath-taking titles of the chapters indicate the sweep of the narrative,— "The Mystery of Life", "From Amoeba to Man", "The Coming of Man", "Hunters of the Old Stone Age", "Herdsman and Farmers of the New Stone Age", "What Primitive Man Thought and Felt", "The First Civilization of the Far East", "Civilization Before Greece", "The Story of

Greece", "Rome", "The Dark Ages", "The Rise of the East", "The Renaissance", "The Age of Science". It is especially satisfactory because the story of Minoan civilization and the origins of Chinese culture, elsewhere so falsely and disproportionately treated or untouched, are here most satisfactorily treated. (13th ed, 1929, pp 35-7)

(6) A few of the books reviewed but omitted for lack of space still have value. Joseph McCabe's "The Evolution of Civilization", 1922, is a stimulating survey of civilizations wrecked by imperialism. More substantial and of lasting scientific value are: "The Racial History of Man", 1922, by Roland B. Dixon, which propounds his general scheme of racial classification, strongly opposing the then much discussed theory of diffusion; "Social Origins and Social Continuities", 1925, by Alfred M. Tozzer, based on his life with the primitive peoples whose ceremonies and customs he discusses. "Human Origins: A Manual of Prehistory", 1925, by George G. MacCurdy, was based on an intimate knowledge of prehistoric sites in Europe. "Man Rises to Parnassus", 1927, by Henry Fairfield Osborn, bearing the subtitle "Critical Epochs in the Prehistory of Man", brings up to date his earlier "Men of the Old Stone Age". (8th ed, 1923, pp 40-1; 10th ed, 1926, pp 72, 84; 12th ed, 1928, pp 41-2)

(7) Robinson's third book and perhaps his greatest, "The Human Comedy", was left incomplete on his death. Harry Elmer Barnes, one of his favorite pupils, completed it (cf p 345). Robinson has been an inspiration to a great many men and did more to start the so-called 'New History' movement than any other except Beard. For the opportunity of both these men to do what they did, we owe much to Nicholas Murray Butler, who created such a situation at Columbia that both Robinson and Beard withdrew, helped to establish the New School for Social Research, and produced their most influential books. As Robinson pointed out in 1912, since Comte gave a name to the science of humanity, history has had to be concerned with all the branches of the 'social sciences',—ethnology, archeology, folklore, cultural anthropology, social psychology,—with the result that history has had a history.

(8) Man, like Prometheus, has been chained to the rocks of his environment while the vultures of circumstance plucked at his vitality. The rocks, the very nature of the earth's crust, the character of his habitat have determined even his existence and what he should do with it. Whether he should be a hunter, an agriculturist, or a fisherman, whether he should have numerous descendants or none, all these things are due to the form and content of the bit of earth crust on which we and our ancestors were bred. In Java, of two agricultural regions, two hundred miles apart, on equally level land, under the same administrative, economic, and climatic conditions, the one on fresh volcanic fertile soil, the other on old lateritic soil, the one supports 1700 people to the square mile, the other but 380. (12 ed, 1928, p 41)

STUDYING SOCIETY

Sociology, long suspect as an intruder on the domain of theology, improved its position as war gave impetus and anthropology and the study of behavior brought understanding of the problems of living together.

The study of society is making progress towards the science that is to be. The old prejudice of boards and trustees against teaching sociology in schools and colleges, because the first syllables of the word are the same as those in socialism, seems to be breaking down. (1)

Sociology, as Professor Ross has somewhere said, may be made to include almost all knowledge of value to the race. Sociology is not a distinct science, but made up of the applications of anthropology and economics and nearly all the sciences, in so far as they apply to human society. (2)

OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Notable books, some on new patterns, some real contributions to human thought and knowledge, have recently appeared. "Studies in the Theory of Human Society", 1922, by Franklin H. Giddings, is the result of keen thinking. With the view that activity results from the storing and degrading of energy, he concludes that "human history is a psychological, or behaviouristic equilibration". (3)

"History is adventure, and the urge to adventure is the cause of history", for Giddings. His practical attitude towards the problems of society may be gathered from the pronouncement, "The whole world at present is intellectually muddled and morally bedevilled. It is trying to reconstruct society upon a hypothetical equality of all mankind. If it succeeds, it will destroy historic achievement from the beginning, and will send mankind to perdition."

Social psychology, the joint working ground of the sociologist and psychologist, attempts to determine "the laws that come into operation wherever many live and act as one". There is an ever growing body of interpretation and theory, but the doctrines and conclusions of the science are largely attached to the names of McDougall, Trotter and Tarde. (4)

The significant doctrines of the different schools have been brought together by Morris Ginsberg in "The Psychology of Society", 1922. The most important conclusion reached is that "the conception of a social or group mind is of no great value to social theory, and that it is fraught with danger, particularly in the realm of social philosophy". (5)

"Principles of Social Psychology", 1922, by James Mickel Williams,

supplements his previous work on "The Foundations of Social Sciences". He maintains that all problems of the social sciences are fundamentally psychological. He describes the conflict of interests which shows itself in economic, political, professional, family, cultural, and educational relations. (8th ed, 1923, pp 47-50) (6)

THE SCIENCE OF LIVING TOGETHER

This science of living together, of social adjustment, is rapidly enlarging its significance. Social psychology is social behavior, conscious or unconscious, for the purpose of adjustment to the whole environment, psychic and physical. Social psychology has to do with inter-social stimulation, the reactions of men one to another, a web of habits shaped by social influences that form the ground-work of personality which, warped so that reasonable adjustment is impossible, produces the defective or the criminal.

A group of brilliant thinkers have taken the lead in development of this subject,—in America, Ross, Giddings, Cooley, Elwood; in England McDougall and Wallas. Naturally, they have not seen eye-to-eye. They have followed different trends, and there have come to be two distinctive standpoints in the subject today. The first, sociological, involves the group as the unit of study; the second, psychological, deals with the individual in social situations. The past years have seen the publication of a group of notable books which approach the subject from divergent points of view. "Fundamentals of Social Psychology", 1924, by Emory S. Bogardus, is a masterly survey of the whole field, reviewing the successive steps in the advance of the science since Tarde. The 'Publics' Professor Bogardus defines as quasi-temporary groups made possible by the invention of the printing press, railroad, telegraph, telephone, and radio, whereby large numbers of people may feel and think alike and be aware of a community of feeling without coming into each other's presence. Although these 'Publics', he says, "are coming to the fore as powerful human groupings, they are still in the prescientific stage. They are monsters of gigantic force but of little brain. These hippopotami among groups require scientific examination. Since the average level of Publics in the United States is, perhaps, that of the sixth or seventh grade, they have little poise or self control. To imagine a million or fifty millions of children twelve years of age functioning in groups will explain the weakness of Publics."

Bogardus looks forward to the time when the combative spirit of man will be directed to fighting the evils of which he knows, instead of being organized blindly to fight the peoples of other lands, of whom he knows little. (7)

"Social Psychology", 1924, by Floyd H. Allport, deals with the subject as the science of the behavior and consciousness of the individual. Through learning, which largely involves the process known as "conditioning", habits are built up which furnish us with the concrete features of conduct. With this fundamental behavior pattern are connected the emotions and feelings. "Personality is preeminently the social aspect of the individual", whose traits are a combination of original nature and its transformations under family, playground, and other group environment.

EDUCATION AND SOCIOLOGY

"Foundations of Educational Sociology", 1924, by Charles C. Peters, in its first sentence apologizes for the pretentious title of the book, suggesting that it would be more accurate to call it "The Beginnings". The title might more simply be, "Why Boys and Girls Go to School", or "Why Schools". It even gets back to the old, old saw, "What is Education?" But before preparing any answer to this question, it attempts to arrive at some scientific attitudes.

The opening chapter realistically describes the author's happening upon a cabinet maker's shop. Each busy workman was supplied with the best of tools. His workmanship was of the highest grade. But no one was able to explain or to reveal what he was doing. The pieces in the making were of very solid material, firmly glued and nailed together, but in the final processes they took no useful or recognizable form. After similar experiences in a great tailoring establishment, where men were busily and efficiently cutting up goods under efficiency experts for no discoverable purpose, the author awakes to find that it was all a bad dream.

Then he goes into a school room and describes the conduct of a class in Latin. He listens to the translation of good Latin into barbarous English, the teacher courteously explaining that she is teaching Caesar so that, next year, her pupils could translate Cicero. Cicero would prepare them for Vergil, Vergil for college Latin. And the latter would prepare them to teach Latin to still other generations. "Latin", the teacher pointed out, "has been worked over for so long that it is the best taught of all the school subjects. It is the one subject that enables the student to square himself with present day problems." The dreaming author felt terribly ill. Again he worked his toes and clenched his fists and pinched himself. But he could not wake up.

The book as a whole is readable, stimulating, challenging, and will lead us to examine into what we had considered fundamental concepts: Is a public school education suitable for every child? Is book learning the curse of our generation? Are young men unnecessarily wrecked by a college career? Do schools do positive harm? Is teaching

sometimes a crime? Something of what he puts forth here will remain in the foundation work of the new science, whether as a corner stone or as mere rubble is yet to be seen. (8)

SOCIAL CHANGE

The relationship between our natural and social heritages and their relative significance in social development is dealt with by William Fielding Ogburn in "Social Change: with respect to Culture and Original Nature", 1923. The single thesis is that man is biologically unfitted for his present artificial environment, that there has been a "cultural lag", and that there is consequently a lack of adjustment between our artificial environment, our institutions, and man which aids in filling our penitentiaries, asylums, and slums. Ogburn points out that our material culture develops rapidly, owing to discovery and invention, but our non-material culture, law, custom, ethical codes, institutional organization, change much more slowly. Vested interests speed up the one and retard the other; but still more this is due to the very quality of man himself, interested in discovery and invention, in acquiring things and finding short cuts thereto, but bound by tradition and the habit of forgetting the unpleasant. (9)

"Social Discovery", 1924, by Eduard C. Lindeman, attempts to show that the group is the unit in which social change is accomplished. To understand social trends one must observe the group in conflict. The individual by himself accomplishes little that is socially important. Living, the supplying of needs, production, and distribution have become such complex processes, in which so many work together, that we can not undertake to understand social drifts and tendencies from a study of the individual, but must deal with large groups. Lindeman's attitude is similar to that of the pathologist in observing the workings of the complex human organism.

"Social Psychology", 1923, by Robert H. Gault, approaches the subject from the standpoint of one interested in the aberrants of society. "The very hub of social progress, then, is a growing psychic background of such quality that the people who possess it are growing daily more and more capable of mutual understanding and cooperation, and more and more inclined thereto. . . . This is equivalent to the statement that social progress is always a slow, gradual process." (9th ed, 1925, pp 74-9)

"Social Progress: Studies in the Dynamics of Change", 1926, is by Ulysses G. Weatherly, who came to economics through the fields of history and anthropology, admirably prepared for the writing of this book. "Adaptation is a process which is never finished", and therefore "social patterns are worth preserving only as they are capable of continuous re-

shaping to meet changing needs and changing experience”.

THE ROOTS OF SOCIETY

One of the most original thinkers and forceful personalities that has ever been confined within academic walls was William Graham Sumner. Never hesitating to state the truth, even though making enemies in the process, he was beloved of his pupils. (10) One of them, Albert Galloway Keller, has carried on Sumner's work. Twenty-seven years after its inception by Sumner, the first two volumes are published of “The Science of Society”, 1927, a most painstaking scientific investigation into primitive habit and the roots from which our social forms, customs, and traditions have grown. (11)

Reading Sumner, ethical and moral principles, ideas of what is or has been intrinsic, good or bad, all have to be revised. We find, with broader knowledge, mankind climbing upward by means of institutions and through practices which we have traditionally held to be fundamentally ‘vicious. (11th ed, 1927, pp 48-9)

NOTES

(1) Montesquieu in his “Spirit of Laws”, 1748, anticipated the science of mankind in his distinction between “the particular structure” and “the human passions” which had brought it about. Auguste Comte a century later became the father of sociology, the study of society. (Park and Burgess, “Introduction to the Science of Sociology”, 1921, pp 1, 3)

“The various sciences themselves, Comte contended, are related to one another in a sequence at once genetic and logical and to the complete body of knowledge which they collectively present he gave the name ‘Philosophie Positive’... The science of society is most concrete and special, and it is the final science to which all sciences that go before it are tributary. To distinguish the comprehensive social science from all fragmentary studies of society, dealing in their various ways with more or less definite divisions of social phenomena, and to mark it off as a body of pure knowledge from all programs of social reform, he called the social science ‘La Sociologie’. As Comte conceived it, sociology should exclude theological and metaphysical explanations, and keep itself distinct from ethical applications... Comte predicted sociology; he did not himself create it. The first strictly sociological treatise was the ‘Social Statics’ of Herbert Spencer, published in 1850.” (Giddings, 1922, pp 110-11)

“Ideally, sociology is the apex, the crowning fulfillment of all the sciences. It will correlate their theoretical contributions and comprehend their actual consequences; it will extend the sovereignty of knowledge over the social life of man... Actually, sociology is still a hodgepodge, a vast tangle and blur. It picks up the left overs of the other sciences; it sprawls over history, economics, political science, and anthropology; it spills over into education, government, and community hygiene... Disagreement is multiplied and exasperated by the natural disposition to come up with a single all-explanatory principle... Tarde found the key to the social process in imitation, Gumpłowicz in war and conflict, Giddings in consciousness of kind; Marx discovered the famous ‘iron laws’ that made history

go all by itself and were bound to make his wishes come true." (Herbert J. Muller, "Science and Criticism", Yale, 1943, pp 173, 177)

The American pioneers in the study of sociology were Lester Ward and Demarest Lloyd. It was Ward in his "Dynamic Sociology", 1883, who first directed attention to the great importance of the psychological in human affairs. "Lester F. Ward: The American Aristotle", Duke University Press, 1939, by Samuel Chugerman, analyzes in detail his thought and influence. "Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross", Dial Press, 1940, by Charles Hunt Page, places side by side the views of the "fathers" of American sociology, Ward, Sumner, Small, Giddings, Cooley, and Ross.

(2) E. A. Ross, because of his virile and uncompromising mind, has been repeatedly forced out of universities too small to hold him. The Far East as well as the benighted West has been his field. Though his work is done, others have built on it. But his multitudinous activities toward the betterment of man's relation to man have continued past three-score and ten. To him we owe the phrase "Social Control", the title of one of his early books and of a chapter in his "Principles of Sociology", 1920, which included one also on "Super-Social Control". From his study of domination and exploitation, of children by parents, young by old, women by men, the poor by the rich, he formulates 'laws of exploitation'. "Those bred to leisure are resolute to exploit."

In "The Social Trend", 1922, he pointed out among the threatened social dangers "Philanthropy With Strings". Much of philanthropy is bribery, "compounding a felony". Ross did not ingratiate himself with the great industrialists. When the Cambridge crusading economist John Graham Brooks was inquiring into employment conditions in Lawrence, he was advised, "We are trying up here to mind our own business. I wouldn't mind a bit if the rest of the world did the same." Ross remarks that there was "underneath the 'law-and-order' movement nothing but pecuniary alarm of a handful of greedy and arrogant local magnates, who by the unholy use of their financial power have been able to force the city authorities, the police-courts, the business men, the pulpits, and the newspapers to fight their battles!"

(3) "From Plato to Comte . . . to the Adams brothers" Giddings summarizes five distinct types of theories of history,—the "predestinational philosophies of the metaphysicians", other "philosophies of social self-determination", environmental or geographical interpretations of Montesquieu, Semple, Huntington, heritage theories of Comte, Buckle, Marx, and the "cosmic dynamics" or "degradation of physical energy" theories of Herbert Spencer and Brooks Adams. This theory was set forth by Brooks Adams in "The Law of Civilization and Decay", a new edition of which was published in 1943 with an introduction by Charles Beard. These theories are dated and do not stand the light that has been shed in recent years by many minds from new approaches. Prematurely based on insufficient observational data, they have nevertheless proved stimulating. Brooks and his brother Henry earnestly sought to discover some pattern in human affairs. Critical and lacking confidence in their own generalizations, they were nevertheless obsessed by the idea of "law", lineal cause. Buckle and Darwin had aroused Henry's hopes for an exact science of history. His disillusion was reflected in "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma", 1920, in which Brooks published posthumously three essays on history by his brother Henry. This was reviewed in the 6th edition of the Handbook, 1921, p 102. Brooks' own introduction, which occupies half the book, is far from optimistic. He tells of the tenacity with which the democratic dogma was held by successive generations of the Adams family. He dilates

on the marvelous vision John Quincy Adams held for the future of democracy in this country and how it came to naught. Because of the faith with which the Adamses and their contemporaries have in the past viewed democracy, the feeling now prevails that through democracy something like the millennium may be expected shortly. But Henry Adams came to hold the view that society is steadily undergoing a degradation of vital energy; that science is sunk in complexity and chaos and that democracy will probably follow the same course. The perception that fear and greed are the strongest of motives for human action has very probably inspired much of the pessimism manifest in the essays. Unfortunately for their own peace of mind, they overlooked the possibility of curbing greed. They failed to understand that greed in its ugliest manifestations arises from the primal and fundamental instinct of self-preservation which, as the psychoanalysts put it, may be "sublimated"; that is, which may be directed in an intelligently organized society toward useful and social ends and that the great problem of democracy is to devise a workable means of accomplishing this.

(4) During the period of rapid development of psychology and sociology, particularly from 1918 to 1936, scores of books on these subjects were reviewed in the Handbooks. In the twenties the titles were a bit apologetic at their attempt to wear a scientific garb. The department of philosophy, sired by theology, had only recently given birth to these intruders in the academic household. So we read of 'the elements', 'the fundamentals', 'the principles', 'the foundations' of 'sociology', 'psychology', 'educational sociology', 'social psychology', 'society', 'human society'. A little later the titles became a bit bolder and descriptive, but still the meagreness of the language led to a series of titles preceded by 'social',—'discovery', 'mind', 'change', 'differentiation'. Among these there stand out certain writers and thinkers, like Charles Horton Cooley of "The Social Process", 1918, John M. Mecklin's "Introduction to Social Ethics", 1920, Graham Wallas' "Our Social Heritage", 1921, and some scores of others who were contemporaneously noted.

By the thirties the sociologists were less hesitant in their titles. They wrote boldly of 'problems', 'trends', 'conflicts', 'functions',—interested in doing things instead of theorizing. But the survivors from the earlier period in the sociology departments still timidly dwelt on theories. Characteristic of the hopeful planning of the time are,—"Current Social Problems", 1936, by William Withers; "Education and Social Trends", 1936, by Raleigh Schorling and Howard Y. McClusky; "Education and the Social Conflict", 1936, by Howard David Langford. "The Social Functions of Education", 1937, by Robert M. Bear, is realistic, specific, stimulating. In "Social Institutions", 1936, Lloyd Vernor Ballard attempts somewhat naively an examination of the school, the public library, the state, the church. His chapter "Education: A Social Process" is for the best possible world, and his "Social Nature of Education" is planned to produce the perfect individual. "The School: A Social Institution" is a social group in which the roles of the administrator, the teacher, and the pupil are contrasted. "The pupil plays the role of an explorer as he acquires the lore of the race. The mores, folkways, customs, traditions, attitudes, achievements of groups are examined for their own sake, but particularly for their meanings in the personal experience of the pupil." That would be a wonderful school. In the next chapter he attempts a social evaluation of modern education which isn't quite so flattering.

(5) The "group mind myth" we owe to the German philosophers, specifically Kant and Hegel, who had national need of it. But it lingered long in the writings of some of the most eminent English political scientists, psychologists, and sociolo-

gists, notably Graham Wallas (cf "Collective Behavior", by Richard T. LaPiere, 1938; "War and Education", Sargent, 1942, pp 438, 447).

William McDougall's "The Group Mind", 1920, was an important landmark in the progress being made toward regarding man not as a rational animal but as actuated by a congeries of instincts, atavisms and emotions (6th ed, 1921, p 92).

In "The Social Mind", 1939, J. E. Boodin emphasizes, "A psychological group no more exists apart from its members than the molecule H_2O exists apart from its atoms. . . . But in fact individuals can be known only as functioning in some group. And they function differently because of the gestalt of the group. Apart from group relations they are mere abstractions."

(6) Williams isn't fooled by 'sovereignty'. What is contested for in a political democracy by political parties, which represent conflicting classes, is control over the masses. The voters "generally resent the idea of a class openly trying to control the government", while "they acquiesce in the traditional political control exercised by propertied classes. . . . The upper classes have held the social power, and therefore, the responsibility of enlightening the masses or keeping them in ignorance. . . . A people may be more effectually kept in ignorance by giving them education than by denying it."

(7) This book, dedicated to Ross, of whom Bogardus is a follower, went into a second edition in 1931. It remains a great and hopeful book. His earlier "A History of Social Thought", 1922, was an ambitious attempt to select from the world's literature the expressions of thought which relate most directly to human relations. (8th ed, 1923, p 48)

(8) A revised and rewritten edition of this book in 1930 was reviewed in the 15th edition of the Handbook as "moving forward even more boldly and intelligently than did the first edition". Looking back at it in 1945, it is just as bright and scintillating and stimulating as it was then. So many of the books on sociology and education deal in the ideologies and terminologies that were fashionable at the time, that they are dated within a few years. This book today remains as readable and horse-sensible as twenty years ago.

(9) Ogburn as director of research of President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends, edited their report "Recent Social Trends", 1933, "in the effort to interrelate the disjointed factors and elements in the social life of America, in the attempt to view the situation as a whole rather than as a cluster of parts". The "cultural environment called civilization" was looked upon as dynamic, as rapidly changing, and as displaying "startling inequality in the rates of change, uneven advances in inventions, institutions, attitudes and ideals, dangerous tensions and torsions in our social arrangements". (Cf "War and Education", pp 58, 63, 66, 435)

(10) The centenary of Sumner's birth was signalized by the publication of "Sumner Today" (Yale, 1940). The editor, Maurice R. Davie, in his preface pictures Sumner as "one of the greatest pioneers in the scientific approach to social problems; a vigorous, incisive realist with insight into life as it is and an appreciation of the underlying social forces; a hater of sham, hypocrisy, and weak sentimentality; a hard-hitting individualist, and a champion of the common man".

Sumner fundamentally changed our understanding of man and his manners, as a result of his broad comparative view of many types of men of many tribes and times and cultures and civilizations. A graduate of theological Yale and a theological student, a minister in a New Jersey church, he went to Geneva and Göttingen to study Hebrew and church history. That's what changed him. He wrote, "At

Göttingen . . . the professors . . . seemed to me bent on seeking a clear and comprehensive conception of the matter under study (what we call 'the truth') without regard to any consequences whatever. I have heard men elsewhere talk about the nobility of that spirit; but the only body of men whom I have ever known who really lived by it, sacrificing wealth, political distinction, church preferment, popularity, or anything else for the truth of science, were the professors of biblical science in Germany. . . . The most singular contrast between Göttingen and Oxford was this: . . . at Oxford it was not possible to get anything of great value from the university; but the education one could get from one's fellow was invaluable."

At Harvard in the nineties neither William James nor I ever heard of Sumner, the skeptic. He was at Yale. And anything at Yale was beneath contempt, of the 'out-group'. "Harvard was old Harvard when Yale was but a pup."

"William Graham Sumner; Critic of Romantic Democracy" is the subject of a chapter in Ralph Henry Gabriel's "Course of American Democratic Thought", 1940. "Sumner, the determinist, gave up the twentieth century for lost as he observed the drift of events in its opening years. . . . Realistic politics in America, Sumner thought, had come to be little more than a scramble among interest groups. The more powerful the State is made, the greater will be the prize for those who control it, and the more intense the struggle of pressure groups." Sumner looked upon socialism, imperialism, and militarism each as "the enemy of the free individual. He was convinced that the core of each doctrine was the coercion of the individual by the State. Yet he was convinced that the drift of the times could not be stopped. Canute could as easily sweep back the tide as a lonely, protesting democrat could check the march of western civilization toward disaster. . . . His objective was enlightenment and insight. His conviction was that the forlorn and probably futile hope of democracy was that the men who profess it should understand what they are doing."

Sumner was one of the early believers in cultural determinism. He found enlightenment in his anthropological studies. Individuals are ruled ultimately by what he called folkways or mores, and mores change as life changes. "Today almost all sociologists, I suppose . . . take literally, as a premise of inquiry, the old idea that morals are mores, historical and institutional. . . . Sumner's detailed study of 'folkways' is the obvious example of the conception that historically explains and logically justifies the rise of sociology—the conception of the far-reaching, all-pervading influence of the social environment." (Muller, "Science and Criticism", p 179)

A few months before his final illness in 1910 Sumner said to an intimate friend, "I have lived through the best period of this country's history. The next generations are going to see war and social calamities. I am glad I don't have to live on into them." (A. G. Keller, "Reminiscences of W. G. Sumner", 1933)

(11) Volume I dealt largely with the mores of "self-maintenance" through industry, invention, utilizing energy, and the result of such utilization, property, with regulative organizations, government, classes, war,—Volume II with various phases of "self-maintenance" and justification through religion, sacrifice, magic, and the like. Volume III, which appeared later, dealt with "self-perpetuation" together with the various forms of marriage, family, and attitude toward children and posterity, and also with "self-gratification" through pleasure, ostentation, prestige, and the like. Each topic was introduced with generalizations, followed by many quotations from the writings of travelers, discoverers, anthropologists, historians. Volume IV, called a "case-book", made up of items diligently col-

lected chiefly by Sumner, was put together by Keller with the assistance of Professor Davie. There is no particular arrangement of topics, and the only way of correlating them with the three text volumes is through the index, which runs double-column to 60 pages. The double column bibliography runs to over 70 pages. This is the greatest accumulation of references to anthropological material since Frazer.

In "Man's Rough Road", 1932, Keller gives us a popularized generalization of the four volume "Science of Society", which was reviewed in the 1933 edition, p 81.

Keller in the *Saturday Review*, Feb. 19, 1944, deals with "The Preoccupation with 'Face': Vanity as One of the Strongest Timbers of the Social Structure". We hear much about the Japanese "saving face". "At first sight, and despite our own expression, 'out of countenance', this idea of 'face' strikes us as a kind of Oriental curiosity, alien to our conceptions. . . . That we are as keen on face-saving as anybody else, though we may not call it that, is revealed above all, perhaps, in our reluctance to admit ignorance. In our very language are many evasions or euphemisms for . . . 'I do not know' . . . imbedded in speech." 'Doubtless', 'obviously', 'it stands to reason' are all equivocations to avoid admission of ignorance. "Education is a-drip with face-saving devices. Admissions of ignorance are precious by reason of their rarity."

Of the politician, Keller asks, "How far does he seek to cover mistakes by silence, side-tracking, the use of the red herring, the employment of excuse, alibi, back-fire, blame-shifting, righteous indignation, the emission of noble sentiments, name-calling, and the rest of the face-saving apparatus? . . . His election to office has demonstrated him to be a kind of superman. . . . He becomes more oracular. . . . Even to himself, his opinions become surprisingly weighty. He has acquired quite an addition of noble features, well worth saving, to his face. He must not let his face down. . . . Our politicians who are not getting along too well do not, of course, commit hara-kiri—though such self-elimination would have its points; but if there is any other face-saving device unfamiliar to them, it has not yet been identified."

Magnifying the ego, preserving one's own self-approval, what the prophets and Keller call 'vanity, as a social factor, is fit to rank along with hunger, sex-love, and fear of the supernatural, as a scarcely inferior member of a quartet of interests in response to which the major institutional structure of society has been evolved".

LEARNING ABOUT BEHAVIOR

In our attempt to understand the other fellow as well as what makes us do as we do, the scientific study of behavioral habits physical and mental makes possible analysis of motivation, character, human nature, and even genius.

The widespread application of psychological methods to education and industry received a great stimulus as a result of the work of psychologists in the war. Psychology, a rapidly developing science, will naturally have its frontiers pushed out irregularly in different directions by pioneer workers.

HOW WE BEHAVE

As we come to realize that in education we are dealing with a growing organism, with a developing mind, with phases of human behavior, the psychological and behavioristic points of view become more and more important. John B. Watson by experimental work on animals, and later especially on the human infant, did much to sharpen our picture of the habit forming mechanisms of behavior which accompany growth. (1) Watson's lectures and writings on behaviorism were couched in rather belligerent, dogmatic terms which not only attracted attention but aroused much opposition. (2)

"Why We Behave Like Human Beings", 1925, by George A. Dorsey, anthropologist, is full of fireworks. David Starr Jordan refers to this book as "one of the most remarkable in the whole history of popular science. It takes up every attribute, structure or function in humanity. . . . His short, pungent epigrammatic sentences suggest the paragraphs of a French novel rather than the heavy tread with which science, usually, especially in Germany, makes its progress."

The breeziness of Dorsey's writing has direct human appeal. "Why is not man as free as he might be? Because his mind is made up; his pride of opinion outweighs his desire to know; he dismisses realities with a 'God's in His heaven, All's right with the world' and neglects the first lesson he ever learned, which is, that he can learn. Because he refuses the dare thrown to him by nature herself. The human being that can learn no more has parted with the only priceless possession in human inheritance. The men, women or nations that harden in their mould, get set in their ways, crystallize their opinions and beliefs, and swear by and live according to their routine habits—such men, women or nations are old; senile decay is at hand." (3)

"Influencing Human Behavior", 1925, by H. L. Overstreet, shows how

human behavior can actually be changed in the light of our new knowledge gained through psychology". "Capturing Attention" he emphasizes as "The Key Problem" and controlling factor. Overstreet practices his preaching, catches and holds attention and stimulates mental activity. There is irrepressible and audacious charm in the way in which, avoiding the highbrow, he uses the language of the street, the salesroom, and the schoolroom. It will be only the most ossified teachers who will not have their technique improved by a careful reading. (4)

NATURAL HISTORY OF CONDUCT

C. Judson Herrick in "Neurological Foundations of Animal Behavior", 1924, explains how the mind arose as an instrument for the better control of behavior. Much of the book is really social psychology, as for example his treatment of the personality at any point of its development as a causative factor in the development of other personalities.

Charles M. Child in "Physiological Foundations of Behavior", 1924, gives us a clear and concise treatment of hereditary potentialities which in the face of environment become the physiological and morphological characteristics of the individual. Social integration as a reaction process among human beings, he finds, is in many respects similar to physiological integration in the development of an individual.

The behavior of the complacent clam is simple. The more irritable and responsive *Homo sapiens* and *Homo bubiens* present greater complexities. In "Complacency", 1925, Bruce Raup presents his conception that the characteristic features of human behavior appear only when we lose our complacency. Disturbance, loss of equilibrium, the antithesis of clam-like qualities, result in activity. The implications of this explanation of human behavior for education, and the possibilities of its application to current schoolroom practice, are immense. (10th ed, 1926, pp 69-71) (5)

"The Natural History of Our Conduct", 1926, is by William E. Ritter, zoologist of Harvard training. Mencken reviewing it writes, "What he shows, in brief, is that nature is an ass. Its most elaborate schemes to protect the individual and the species are constantly going to pot. Not only do men, with the best intentions in the world, and under the prompting of irresistible instincts, make war, get married, succumb to religious bugaboos and commit other follies, but the same or even worse things are done by woodpeckers, cockroaches and even algae. The argument by design here suffers a fatal fall. The ant that Solomon admired so extravagantly, it appears, is an almost complete idiot. The busy bumble bee has scarcely more sense than a Mississippi Congressman. The very protozoa in the sea-ooze go joy-riding and drink bad liquor. It is a pleasant book

to hand to your pastor."

"The Meaning of Psychology", 1926, by C. K. Ogden, is a concise statement of current developments. The author takes us on a psychological sight-seeing trip. He lectures on "The Mentality of Apes" and "Man's Linguistic Heritage", and doesn't hesitate to let us in on all the peep shows, but maintains a sane and well proportioned editorial attitude. He prefers workable explanations rather than phrases about inconceivable mysteries. It satisfies him to learn that "the broody hen sits on her eggs not through any passion of maternal love, but to allay a local inflammation". (11th ed, 1927, pp 31-3)

HUMAN MOTIVATION

Man in the nineteenth century, facing the mysteries of his world, dwelt on the question, "How did I come to be what I am?" Darwin pointed the way to the answer. Only within recent years have we learned that glands as well as nervous systems determine what we do, how we behave. Standing on the threshold of new fields of investigation, we are trying to answer the questions, "Why do I act as I do?" "What determines the nature of my conduct?"

"The Fundamentals of Human Motivation", 1928, by Leonard T. Troland, "attempts to answer certain questions which are of the utmost practical importance in human life, but which have not been adequately treated in available psychological texts". Inspired by Morton Prince, written under the eye of William McDougall and Walter B. Cannon, by a Harvard psychologist, tried out on Harvard classes, it naturally shows a comprehensive survey of the literature.

"The problem of motivation is the only important one in human life" echoes his master Morton Prince. If this is true, then this is a subject that should be of some interest to parents and educators. And still Troland believes this to be the first book to incorporate in its title the word "motivation". (6)

HABITS AND CHARACTER

We are "at last realizing that human conduct is a product of natural forces in much the same way as is the rest of the physical world, which is being so effectively understood and controlled", Percival M. Symonds rejoices in "The Nature of Conduct", 1928. "Society has become dissatisfied with the blind following of custom and with the traditional attempts of religion to control conduct...the validity of our mores and the methods used in forming conduct. We have become suspicious of a system that fosters war, slavery, persecution, and intolerance, and are anxious to see this whole question of human conduct brought out into the open."

There is "the traditional belief that character is a mysterious entity within the individual, which needs only cultivation to make it blossom forth. To this end exhortations have been uttered by preachers in the pulpit and teachers in the classroom." Some of the bolder of us have been saying, as would Loyola, "let me determine the habits of the child, intellectual, emotional and physical; let me train his reactions to external stimuli; let me coordinate those habits through training and direction; and I care not what his character may be." Symonds supports this attitude. "By studying all possible combinations of stimulus and response and the relation of these combinations to conduct, one is led inevitably to the conclusion that, after all, this elusive ideal, character, is really the organization of large numbers of habits. Such a conclusion removes the suspicion of sentimentality from character education and makes it instead a problem for scientific educational engineering." To all teachers and educators who prate of character education or education for character, its message is all-important.

"Building Character", 1928, is a symposium. The table of contents is a most appetizing bill of fare, each dish prepared by a chef notable in his own specialty. What science offers for character education is told by Mark A. May,—“A sound and scientific character education is sure to come, but it will not come suddenly. Great educational changes are the results of years of careful study and laborious research. So it will be with character education.” (7)

"Character education seen in perspective" is presented by Edwin D. Starbuck. What little of the old ethics, of respect for the old moral disciplines may have remained in the minds of the hearers, he demolishes. But in all this sweeping away of past misconceptions, there is "a promise of increments in race progress in comparison with which the past centuries will seem like blundering and stumbling. This new time is characterized by the application of thoughtful, even the most rigorous scientific methods to the study of character, what it is and how it develops." (8)

MIND AND PERSONALITY

Joseph Jastrow, thirty years professor of psychology in the University of Wisconsin, has produced a guide to everyday psychology, written in the form of journalistic paragraphs. In "Keeping Mentally Fit", 1928, he disarms his critics by explaining his desire to write in journalese toward the popularizing and humanizing of psychology. The paragraphs' titles are attention-catching: "Suppose You Were a Criminal?" "Why Do You Pose?" "Is There a Cure for Clinging Vines?" "Are You Fool-proof?"

"Exploring Your Mind", 1928, by Albert Edward Wiggam, consists of a series of interesting creative personal interviews with ten of America's

greatest psychologists. We look each of these men in the face and hear him talk. Edward Lee Thorndike, leader in educational research and initiator of comparative psychology reveals in his mental agility, as in his face, his kinship with H. G. Wells. We boast about our American improvements in tools. "I wonder if you ever thought about improving human language?" Professor Thorndike begins. "Here for example is language, the one instrument that we probably use more than any other, the instrument that man has probably used longer than any other, perhaps for millions of years, and yet we have scarcely made any effort to improve it." So we meet Cattell, the world's first professor of psychology; Terman, discoverer of gifted children; Seashore, founder of the psychology of musical abilities; Hartshorne and May, who are measuring morals. On this remarkably stimulating series of visits we learn to know ourselves and our abilities better than ever before. (13th ed, 1929, pp 44-53)

"The Human Mind", by Dr. Karl A. Menninger, 1930, is a companion volume to Dr. Logan Clendening's "The Human Body" and somewhat similar in treatment. It deals with mental hygiene and personality, mental maladjustments and motives. In the chapter "Motives" we study the sources and distribution of the power that motivates the human brain and determines the multitude of psychological, biological and physiological drives that man is heir to. That is, it deals with what we do, how we do it and why we do it, and so may interest only a very few parents or educators.

"Let us define mental health as the adjustment of human beings to the world and to each other with a maximum of effectiveness and happiness. Not just efficiency, or just contentment—or the grace of obeying the rules of the game cheerfully. It is all of these together. It is the ability to maintain an even temper, an alert intelligence, socially considerate behavior, and a happy disposition." So it would seem to Dr. Menninger that if we all had healthy minds it would not matter whether or not we were educated. There would be no need for asylums, prisons or schools or any other institutions which have been devised to preserve society in this welter of unhealthy minds. (15th ed, 1931, pp 75-6) (10)

HUMAN NATURE

"Know yourself", said Socrates. But he failed to tell us how we might arrive at self knowledge. It has been left for the twentieth century psychoanalyst and psychologist to help us carry out the old Greek's injunction. Alfred Adler in his "Understanding Human Nature" realized that was the hardest thing for human beings to do. To help them to know themselves and to change themselves, he brought rich fruitage from the work

of other psychologists and psychoanalysts, from the laboratory, the clinic, and a wide experience with the mentally imperfect. And all this was fused in the alchemy of his mind to the one end of doing good.

During the Middle Ages collections of "exempla" were made the basis for sermons. We have something of this method applied to the presentation of that side of behaviorism of *Homo sapiens* which we call human nature. Charles Duff's "This Human Nature", 1930, is easy reading and punctures current superstitions and conceits. His method of treating this human nature is to present its manifestations under diverse conditions through all time. This provides the solvent for that ancient bromide "You can't change human nature". His instances of human behavior culled from history show conclusively that it has changed,—and often for the worse.

Max Schoen takes his subject seriously in "Human Nature: How It Grows and How It Operates", 1931. Of the four schools of psychology,—the mentalist, the behaviorist, the mechanist and the psychoanalyst,—all except the behaviorist, he believes, complement and supplement each other. Notable perhaps is his treatment of personality and genius. Outspoken is his denunciation of the quack popularizer of psychology. (11)

"The Biological Basis of Human Nature", 1930, by H. S. Jennings, is based on the new science of genetics. Its terms are not found in the dictionaries of fifteen years before and yet its terminology like that of psychoanalysis is essential to all educated readers. There is no way in which problems of heredity and environment may be discussed intelligently without a certain minimum use of such terms as genes, chromosomes, Mendelian heredity and sex-linked inheritance. Heredity, Jennings believes, has been overemphasized at the expense of environment as a determining factor in human development. His treatment of the subject is human and at times there is humor in his disclosure of the frailties and fallacies of human scientists. Behaviorists and eugenicists are set in the niches assigned them.

WHAT IS GENIUS?

Genius, which so long baffled us, is beginning to yield to understanding and analysis. Intelligence we can measure in a way. Infant prodigies of high I. Q. do not necessarily make geniuses. Great musical talent in early youth often persists. If youthful talent receives recognition, whether it continues to grow or to wane will depend upon factors within the personality of the individual, the conditions under which he lives and the recognition which he continues to receive. In a future scientifically controlled society we may be able to breed and cultivate geniuses for the production of music or poetry or other things that delight our

aestheticism, just as we now breed fruits or combinations of yeast and bacteria to produce flavors in wine and cheeses to delight our other tastes.

To the Greeks genius was linked with divinity. To the modern it has been linked with insanity. Seneca suggested that wit and madness were near of kin. N. D. M. Hirsch in "Genius and Creative Intelligence", 1931, summarizes and classifies the theories of various writers as to the nature of genius, but to him remained unknown the following.

"The Problem of Genius", 1932, by Wilhelm Lange-Eichbaum, presents briefly the conclusions of the author based on biographies of more than eight hundred persons who have been regarded as geniuses. The large proportion of these are pathographies. Lange-Eichbaum says "talent is the hereditary endowment which will enable an individual, should circumstances become favourable, to fulfil particular tasks, mathematical, musical, sculptural, etc." Is genius, as commonly supposed, "a mysterious form of hereditary equipment provided once for all at birth"? It is not a biological appanage of the individual at all. That individual is only the bearer and sustainer of genius. He is usually talented but not necessarily so, and becomes famous through a fortunate concatenation of circumstances. The genius is some one who 'has put it across'.

'Genius' is fugitive. 'Geniuses' wax and wane. Was Shakespeare a genius? That depends on what we think of him. To his contemporaries he was merely successful. For the following hundred years he was almost unknown. Then his fame rose abruptly. Revealing is the author's diagram showing the fluctuations in the fame of five who have been for periods during the last six centuries recognized as geniuses. Of these two, Holderlin and Grünewald, are today almost wholly unknown. Walter von der Vogelweide met with success late in life, then was forgotten for five hundred years, later brought to fame by Wagner in the "Maester-singer", and is now generally regarded as a genius. Other geniuses of the past are today forgotten. Again Goethe, recognized as a genius even in his early years, has continued with fame undimmed, the center of much German propaganda. But what will the future do to the author of "Werther's Sorrows"? (16th ed, 1932, pp 80-2) (12)

NOTES

(1) Watson's study of human infants convinced him that their behavior is so quickly shaped by the environment that it is difficult to see what types of behavior are inherited and which are learned. James had prepared a long list of instincts which he thought were inherited but Watson showed that they were acquisitions, adaptations to conditions. For "instinct" he found he could substitute "fundamental emotional responses or patterns". And these he reduced to fear, anger, and love. He explained, "The infant is a graduate student in the subject of *learned responses* by the time behavior such as James describes, imitation, rivalry,

cleanliness and the other forms he lists, can be observed!" (Winkler and Bromberg, "Mind Explorers", 1939)

G. Stanley Hall at Clark popularized child study. With his pupils, who included Gesell, Terman, Barnes, he published hundreds of investigations of children's thoughts, habits and behavior. Our child guidance centers, our progressive schools, owe much to him. (Cf "What Makes Lives", p 77)

Bird T. Baldwin at Iowa State University carried on still further studies on the growth of children from two to six. His "Psychology of the Pre-School Child", 1925, though not a psychometric manual, takes up most of the performance tests, with discussions of each. Out of this work have developed in recent years child clinics, which give special attention to emotional disturbances which may often be laid at the door of improper training and poor environment.

Arnold Gesell at Yale since the early twenties has carried on studies on the behavior of infants, with intensiveness and great detail. His book "The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child", 1925, was based on systematic observation of fifty normal children for six years at ten successive ages from four months through five years. The emphasis throughout is on the normal aspects of behavior. Since that time he has continued his studies on the human infant and its growth, publishing a great series of monographs, some of them elaborately illustrated from motion picture films of the earliest doings of babies. The patient methods of science under his hand have yielded results, brought exact knowledge into the world about the behavior of the human infant. In the 19th edition, 1935, pp 83-4, I wrote: "We are just beginning to learn about babies. Hundreds of millions of mothers have had the opportunity but it remained for Arnold Gesell to learn much from scientific observation, from photography. With the scientific study of the early stages of our offspring still in its infancy we may yet learn much of value. Books on the subject multiply and become more and more scientific." Other books of Gesell's were reviewed in the 13th ed, 1929, p 68; 15th ed, 1931, p 86; 26th ed, 1942, p 207.

Gesell's "The Embryology of Behavior", Harper, 1944, tells of the behavior and responses observed in embryos, up to eight weeks, and fetuses prematurely born or removed from the womb surgically, as well as through movies of fetuses. Movement and response to tickling can be detected at eight and a half weeks. At sixteen weeks blinking, swallowing, tongue movements, clenching of the fist are observed. At twenty-four weeks the fetus hiccups, opens its eyes, and makes a noise if born prematurely. Gesell "believes that all this throws a good deal of light on mental development. Much of what has been considered learning, he thinks, actually has nothing to do with education but is a natural, inevitable process of mental growth, progressing by pre-determined stages independently of the environment. . . . His pioneering study may lead to explanations of some of the 'fundamental riddles of science'; e.g., the nature of life, the meaning of genius, etc." (*Time*, Jan. 8, 1945). (Cf also "Without Social Heritage", pp 43-4 in "What Makes Lives", Sargent, 1940)

(2) The late twenties saw a flood of books on behavior. Walter S. Hunter's "Human Behavior", 1928, cautiously approached Watson and Freud without full acceptance. The Shermans' "The Process of Human Behavior", 1928, dealt scientifically with the growth of the nervous system, the first human responses, influences of the emotions upon behavior and personality. "Political Behavior", 1928, was Frank Kent's shrewd, practical truth-telling about our living politicians, the future dead statesmen. (13th ed, 1929, pp 48-9)

John Broadus Watson, ahead of his time, bold and dogmatic in his presentation, met with the severest criticism. "The Battle of Behaviorism", 1928, reported the famous debate between Watson and William McDougall. "The Religion Called Behaviorism", 1928, was the diatribe of an endocrinologist who denounced Watson as a shaman. In 1930 a symposium of nineteen of his critics and enemies was published under the title "Behaviorism: A Battle Line". Watson replied with a revised edition of his great work, "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist". Stripped of all personal idiosyncrasies, we find at the core the simple proposition, "All complex behavior is a growth or development out of simple responses".

In "What Makes Lives", 1940, the introduction of the 24th edition, Watson's career was reviewed: As a youth from the Carolinas, at Chicago he came under the influence of John Dewey and the psychologist James Rowland Angell, later president of Yale. Watson's work was with animals, because as they are limited linguistically the only way we can understand the animal mind is through watching their behavior. He found that animals learn by the trial-and-error method so it occurred to him that if reasoning was not used necessarily by animals, perhaps it had been overrated. At Johns Hopkins where he became a full professor in 1907, Watson came in contact with Yerkes who was giving his time to experimenting in animal behavior. Their resulting investigations showed that our conception of instincts as accounting for animal behavior was merely a lazy way of explaining what had not been previously investigated and analyzed. Watson concluded that if emotional responses, fears, and habits could so easily be built, then they might be eliminated by reconditioning.

Human behavior, he believed, could be explained without assuming consciousness, which he declared was only that part of one's mental experience about which *one could talk*. You are conscious only of those events for which you have words. Even thought, he asserted, is a conditioned response. The only way we can know of another person's thought is from his behavior, the gestures he makes, the words he speaks. The muscular organs are conditioned to make the articulate sounds which we recognize as words and which we interpret as standing for thought.

For a time the behaviorists rode hard and aggressively. Academic scandal and jealousy and Watson's abandonment of science for advertising combined to bring behaviorism into eclipse. But this behaviorist explanation, though linked with Watson's dogmatic revolt, was bigger than any one man. It was the kind of truth that crushed to earth was bound to rise again.

The brilliant mind of Edwin Bissell Holt was one of the first in America to correlate the work of Pavlov, Watson, and Freud, and to use the results to clarify behaviorism, which he called "the one great luminary in the psychological sky". Holt's "Concept of Consciousness", 1914, begins with the "Renaissance of Logic", in which E. V. Huntington has done so much work on a mathematical plane. Someone reminds us that the clock struck while we were absorbed. We heard it but we are not conscious until reminded. Then the reflective function, which is independent of consciousness, comes into action. "The response of the nervous system, which . . . cannot be described except in reference to that which is responded to, is the subject-matter of the nerve physiologist and the experimental psychologist alike."

"In the light of Pavlov's work", says Lancelot Hogben in "The Nature of Living Matter", "the problem of conscious behavior, or, as we should now say, conditioned behavior . . . becomes the problem of defining how new reflex systems can be built up. . . . As concept *Mind* is replaced by *Behavior*. . . . A new school of

psychologists has come into being with the express object of making a physical science, relieving man, the celestial pilgrim, of his burden of soul." And Hogben in "Science for the Citizen" predicts, "The new outlook is that science is not exclusively occupied with the behaviour of nebulae, nasturtiums, internal combustion engines, and the indigo dyes. It is also engaged in discovering how to control the behaviour of the lower animals, and may eventually extend its scope to include archbishops and dictators."

"Today . . . human behavior has come more and more to the front. . . . Man's interest has been progressively away from . . . a speculative philosophy of behavior and toward . . . a biology of behavior", Trigant Burrow points out in "The World As Will", *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Jan., 1939.

Behavior "is, and always has been, a major problem of biology. Living things are doers", writes Raymond Pearl in "Progress in the Biological Sciences". "Behavior is basically a biological problem. We shall get on to an understanding of it when biologists again set at it in earnest." (24th ed, 1940, pp 81-6)

Summarizing "What Psychology Has Done for Us", *Christian Century*, May 21, 1941, Elmo A. Robinson writes, "First in importance among the contributions of modern psychology is the concept of behavior, not the philosophy of behaviorism. . . . The concept of human behavior as something to be observed in the same dispassionate manner as one observes the movements of plants or planets or plasmas was suggested by the study of the activities of animals and infants, from whom no reports of introspection can be obtained. One can introspect only one mind, namely one's own. But one can observe the behavior of many persons, and the observations may be challenged or verified by other observers. . . . It is probably generally agreed by professional psychologists that psychology is in some sense the science of human behavior."

(3) Dorsey, though a scientist, wrote in a most readable, offhand way, giving us new explanations without denunciations. His popular magazine articles were brought together in a volume "Hows and Whys of Human Behavior", 1928, bearing flippant titles that give us a jolt,—"Why Men Are Born Gamblers", "What Should Every New-Born Have?" "How Much of Your Brain Do You Use?" "Why Aren't We the Happiest People?" (13th ed, 1929, p 49)

(4) Overstreet has proved a popular writer and lecturer and has strongly influenced the intelligentsia. "About Ourselves", 1927, is the result of discussions with his students, making practical use of information that would otherwise be locked up in scientific treatises or the minds of specialists. By pointing out clear likenesses between others and ourselves, he turns our vision so that we see, to our astonishment, the germs of abnormality in ourselves and discover a way to greater self control. We recommend this to teachers as a spring tonic. (12th ed, 1928, pp 51-2)

(5) Behavior two generations ago was a school ma'am's word, confined almost wholly to children who transcended the regulations or ethical standards of the school room. Gradually we have learned that the behavior of children is the result of external as well as internal factors, that environment plays a large part, that the children's behavior was largely what the school ma'am and school board made it. From the scientific study of the way animals behave we have come to make this application. Yerkes' experiments with the earthworm and its education carried potent lessons for every school teacher, not yet learned. Human behavior is not all human. It is mostly animal behavior. One can learn a lot about human nature in the barnyard, and there is little new to be learned about humans if one has spent

much time in observing other simians in the monkey house.

Even the things that we consider intrinsically human, our religion, our inventions, in part came from earlier, now extinct, species of *Homo*. It was high time for the appearance of the first book tracing "The Evolution of Human Behavior", 1932, by Carl J. Warden of Columbia, which deals with changes in human structures, and mental activities which have resulted in cultural trends. The development of the hands, posture, changes in habits, all have had their part in modifying our brain and behavior. Racial differentiation, the variability of individuals, show that evolution is still going on. What makes us behave as we do is not primarily, as we once supposed, our creed, our belief, our love of God, our fear of Hell. Our behavior is determined by the difference in the glandular secretions, varying with the species, breed, quality of the individual. But this is affected by the environment. Even so simple a matter as a change of a few degrees in temperature may alter behavior.

The fundamental stuff of personality, Edward Robinson points out in "Man As Psychology Sees Him", 1932, is made up of the unconscious attitudes, habits and beliefs together with the complex, internal conflicts that reside in the individual. These are influenced by the behavior and customs of others about him. As a moderate behaviorist Robinson attempts to make clear why we act, think, feel, talk, behave as we do. (17th ed, 1932, pp 90-1)

(6) There are many types of motive,—that is, many different things may start the motor,—money, profit, self-interest, dominance. "The Importance of Motive", "Duty", "Drives", "Feelings", "Attraction and Repulsion", "Fear", were discussed in "What Makes Lives", 1940, pp 87-104:

What moves men? How far does heredity, instinct, the past, enter into and affect the immediate motives that lead men to a useful or wasteful life? What drives one man to devote sixteen hours a day to a research problem, another to become the dictator of a people? The answers to these questions have changed in the last twenty years. They will change more in the next twenty. We don't know all the answers now, but we have some understanding and perspective. The lag in coming to understand what determines our actions is in part due to the social tabus on questioning another's motives. A man's morals may be open to public inspection and display. If you are interested in them, then you will be considered highly moral. But a man's motives,—no, no, that's tabu. "He meant well" is the charitable explanation.

(7) "The Philosophy of Character", 1924, by Edgar Pierce, is an ambitious product in metaphysics most painstakingly put together. "Formative Factors in Character", 1925, by Herbert Martin, is a psychological study of moral development in childhood. (10th ed, 1926, p 86) These are books that may bring comfort to those school masters who, as one gathers from their school catalogs and talks, have for their chief obsession 'character building'. But these gentlemen would derive little comfort though possibly some enlightenment, from the three volumes of the Yale "Character Education Inquiry".

The third and final volume, "Studies in the Organization of Character", 1930, by Hugh Hartshorne, Mark May, and Frank Shuttleworth, from quantitative and statistical studies furnishing the basis for graphs of the degree of honesty, concludes that "honest and deceptive tendencies represent not general traits nor action guided by general ideals, but specific habits learned in relation to specific situations which have made the one or the other mode of response successful. For deceptive children, success has come to be defined in such a way as to encourage and permit

dishonest methods for attaining it. . . . Again, deception does not decrease with age or grade. The school teaching regarding dishonesty and school methods of suppressing certain of its manifestations do not materially affect its appearance when opportunity is offered for practicing it, even when the gains to be won are relatively slight. If suggested to pupils that marks on a test will count on their monthly grade, the amount of deception at once increases." The first conclusion of the whole study is "prevailing ways of teaching ideals and standards probably do little good and may do harm". (15th ed, 1931, pp 79-80)

The first volume of the Inquiry was "Studies in Deceit", 1928, a pioneer work, reviewed in the 13th ed, 1929, pp 51-2: There seems to be a correlation between cheating and retardation, and the less intelligent are the more deceptive. Those schoolmasters who are really interested in education for character and not merely reiterating the old trite phrases will be rewarded by a careful study of this book.

A second volume, "Studies in Service and Self-Control", 1929, carried on under the supervision of E. L. Thorndike, was reviewed in the 14th ed, 1930, p 70: Self-control is found to be "specific and is functionally related to the situations to which the responses are made. Children cannot be divided into two groups, the well controlled and the badly controlled: most of them are moderately controlled." In matters of sex, girls are found better inhibited than boys. The authors conclude: "The tendencies to be of service to others, to exercise self-restraint, and to overcome obstacles or fatigue are learned just like any other skill."

(8) The use of the term character by J. Pierpont Morgan, Endicott Peabody and others as standing for thorough conditioning and consequent predictability is explained in "The Future of Education", 1944, pp 101-3. A more fundamental understanding of what determines character may be obtained from the investigations and writings of the endocrinologists and somatologists (cf pp 93-8).

Oscar Riddle of the Carnegie Institution tells us that every individual in his form, size, functioning, behavior, thought or lack of thought, morality or lack of morality, is the result of the action of the tiny little pituitary gland that lies at the base of the brain. "This master gland governs your thyroids, your adrenals, your reproductive glands, your pancreas, and perhaps most of those other glands of your body which secrete substances called hormones." This gland exists in all vertebrates and in the higher consists of several parts each secreting a separate hormone. Writing on one of these hormones, "Prolactin, a Product of the Anterior Pituitary, and the Part it Plays in Vital Processes", *Scientific Monthly*, Aug., 1938, Riddle tells us, "These pituitary hormones act upon the nervous system while the nervous system likewise shares in regulating the output of one or more of these hormones. . . . Till now mankind has made its history—its conquests, its arts, its literature, its laws, its religions, its philosophies—while wholly ignorant of one of the two physical sources from which the abilities of an individual human being are derived. . . . Now, for the first time in the long history of man, human beings partly know a series of substances which largely control the rhythms of reproduction, the fuller expression of growth and some aspects of temperament and behavior."

Biochemist Henry Borsook of Caltech declared that within a hundred years "neurologists will be able to control the evil in mankind on a scientific basis",—and by evil he meant of course that kind of behavior that we do not like. "In the future when a man behaves in a criminal manner, we will not say he is crazy or vicious. . . . Instead we will know that too much pyruvic acid has accumulated in his thalamic cells, or that there is no cocarboxylase, a high-brow term for Vitamin B₁, operating in his thalamus. We will be able to tell that he did not grow enough

association neurones descending from his cortex, so that now he does not deliver enough acetylcholine to his mid-brain." (*Time*, Dec. 12, 1938)

(9) Psychology, which split off from moral philosophy for the study of the soul, is hardly yet a science, though it has split up into innumerable schools and may well disappear completely. As Kurt Lewin remarks in his "Dynamics of Personality", 1935, it is a branch of biology. But he points out that most psychologists are still in bondage to Aristotle. Supposedly it is the study of the mind,—and that we know now to be a process, 'minding', which involves glands as well as brain, so that the dichotomy between mind and body is obsolete (cf Stanley Cobb, "The Borderlands of Psychiatry", 1943; Sargent, "The Future of Education", p93).

(10) Menninger's other books, "Man Against Himself", 1938, "Love Against Hate", 1942, and his remarkable family, father and brother, all psychiatrists, as well as his inspired teacher Elmer Southard, and the development of interest in mental hygiene due to the inspiration of Clifford Beers, were extensively commented on in "Human Affairs", the introduction to the 22nd edition, 1938, pp 122-4, and the 27th edition, 1943, p 125.

There have been a few physicians in every age and country who have been able to combine with medicine some philosophy, and there are still a few, Karl Menninger reminds us, reviewing Gregory Zilboorg's "A History of Medical Psychology", Norton, 1941, a remarkable book which follows the flickering flame through the centuries, revealing the growing "perception of the non-materialistic elements in human suffering, in illness, in personality disorder and physical affliction". Psychiatrists insist, what to many still seems preposterous, that human "physical and chemical and psychological and social processes are but different aspects of a continuum", as Menninger puts it.

All these psychiatrists and mental hygienists have been influenced by Freud in varying degrees, and many dissident schools of Freudians have developed in recent years. Freud dawned on the intellectual landscape with the turn of the century, casting a gloom over a once cheerful scene. Denounced as indecent and improper, Brill in New York and Coriat in Boston were his first American disciples to speak out. Psychoanalysis in the years after the first World War became a fashionable topic for sophisticates. Nevertheless when it was first taken up in the Handbook, squeamish school masters were inclined to regard it as sexy stuff, to be avoided. In 1919 a few books were first listed, but under the heading "Psychology—General and Educational", including those of Adler, Jung, Pfister. In 1920 when first introduced into the Handbook as 'psychoanalysis', the subject was treated rather cautiously and tentatively, listing Bjerre's, Ferenczi's, and Jung's books of the day, as well as H. W. Frink's "Morbid Fears and Compulsions: Their Psychology and Psychoanalytic Treatment", William Healy's "Mental Conflicts and Misconduct", and Wilfred Lay's "Man's Unconscious Conflict", the latter of which was emphasized as important for teachers and quoted Lay, "If we wish to reform education, I know of no better means to that end than instruction of teachers in psychoanalysis".

In the four succeeding years from 1921 to 1924 additional space was given to the increasing interest in the subject even on the part of educators. Again in 1929 to 1931 several pages were given to more popular books on psychoanalysis. In "What Makes Lives", 1940, a chapter "Discovering the Mind" was given to the pioneers who made possible our modern understanding of intelligence, mental hygiene, and all that has come out of these, reviewing Winkler and Bromberg's "Mind Explorers", 1939.

"Health and Hygiene: A Comprehensive Study of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion", Jacques Cattell Press, 1943, by Lloyd Ackerman, is a volume of 900 pages, invaluable to those who have to do with safeguarding the health of the young, parents or school people. Modern and up to date, it is notable that 200 pages are given to the "Hygiene of the Emotions and the Intellect",—"Attitudes, Behavior Patterns, and Personality Traits", which are seen to result in "Frustrations, Conflicts, and Modes of Adjustment" and give rise to "Mental Diseases, Disorders, and Deficiencies". The prevention of these and "The Promotion of Mental Health" is still within the range of possibility.

It is noteworthy that of late school psychologists and psychiatrists are on the staffs of schools of modern tendency. One head master, who became a neurasthenic, after recuperation took a medical course, a post graduate course in psychiatry and is now again a practicing head master and mental hygienist at the same time.

(11) The inviolability of human nature to change, one of the most treasured concepts of those who have learned nothing in the last thirty years, has been repeatedly exploded in informative and scientific works. In the Handbooks from 1936 on, numerous books on the subject were reviewed. Dr. John Morris Dorsey's "The Foundations of Human Nature", 1935, is a "Study of the Person" against "Man's Biological Background" (20th ed, 1936, pp 73-5). In the 21st edition, 1937, a chapter, pp 116-20, was given to "The Nature of Human Nature" and recent literature on the subject, and another to "Primitive Behavior", pp 110-13, giving insight into human nature as found among preliterate peoples. Tom Harrisson, since founder of *Mass Observation*, in "Savage Civilization", 1937, told of living with the cannibal people of the New Hebrides, whose population and culture had been almost destroyed by their contacts with the whites, their diseases, through exploitation, missionaries, and black-birding. Harrisson translates a Malekulan song, "The black fights and the white runs away, but he comes back with a weapon that shoots fire and kills the black, who has only a spear". The years 1941 to 1945 have amply verified the black's anticipation. Reviewing Harrisson's book, we remarked:

For these absurd kinky-headed black primitives, Harrisson has only respect. We Christians could never have justified slave holding the blacks if we had recognized the Negro as superior to us in his esthetic perceptions. Nor could Kipling have sung the praises of the British imperialists if he had had understanding of Indian art or philosophy.

12) "A nation's resources of intellectual talent are among the most precious it will ever have. The origin of genius, the natural laws of its development and environmental influences by which it may be affected for good or ill are scientific problems of almost unequalled importance for human welfare", Lewis Terman was quoted in *Private School News*, Jan. 20, 1926, which editorially commented, "The intellectually superior child is at last receiving his long delayed recognition. The widespread and almost superstitious belief that intellectual precocity is psychiatric is gradually fading." Terman's "Genetic Studies of Genius", in three volumes published from 1925 to 1930, were reviewed in the 10th, 11th, and 15th editions of the Handbook. For further comment on genius, cf "War and Education", pp 342-3.

WHAT ARE BRAINS FOR?

Our brain is an ancient heritage about which we can learn from remote and lowly relatives. Understanding of the nature of intelligence is recent. With full use and control of the brain, man may become master of his destiny.

This brain of ours, to the supposed development of which in their pupils so many pedagogs have sacrificed their lives, has a story of its own. Some millions of years ago, there appeared on the spinal cord or neural tube of some lowly ancestor a sort of boil, an excrescence, an extraordinary proliferation of cells, which has since persisted. This rather wild phylogenetic fantasy as to the origin of the brain need not be taken too seriously, though it is true that something like this changed the course of organic evolution. What are brains for? To make for survival, for adaptation and adjustment.

ALMOST HUMAN

For years, and especially since the development of the behaviorist school, leading psychologists have looked forward anxiously to a study in detail of the mentality of apes. The historic spring of 1914, when the attention of the world was centered on marching armies, found Professor Wolfgang Kohler of the University of Berlin marooned on the island of Teneriffe where a colony of African chimpanzees has been established for scientific study. For four years Kohler continued his research, and the results of his methodical observations are recorded in "The Mentality of Apes", 1924. The bulk of the volume is concerned with experiments undertaken to discover in what ways and to what extent chimpanzees possess and use insight or intellect, above and beyond mere habituation or rote learning. The reader will be impressed by the similarity of Kohler's methods to the intelligence tests which are used so extensively in this country, often in identical form, with men. (1)

Kohler shows that such behavior as he has observed cannot be accounted for either in terms of instinct, because the situations are too novel, or in terms of trial and error, because the solutions come too suddenly, or in terms of imitation, because the animal has never seen it done. There remains the alternative of supposing that chimpanzees, like humans, sometimes "see the point". Kohler does not advance any positive theory of intelligence and does not hesitate to compare the behavior of children, apes, and hens when confronted with the same sort of problem.

Robert M. Yerkes of Yale, after some time at the estate of Senora Abreu in Havana, where probably the most comprehensive collection of primates

in the world has been established, published his first hand studies, "Almost Human", 1925. The great apes, the author shows, are man's nearest relatives. Their brain, in its general conformation, resembles that of man; yet, while possessing a well developed voice and various ways of using it, they lack anything like a highly developed and efficient language. The animals were found to be friendly and affectionate in varying degrees, though some of them exhibited a decided capacity for playing tricks. The volume contains chapters on the anthropoid approximation to human speech, the sex and family life of apes, the care of captive primates and the secret of success in keeping and breeding the great apes. At the close, Professor Yerkes urges the need of a more complete study of the primates in the interest of psychological science, and he records without criticism Mme. Abreu's own deliverance to the effect that "the chimpanzee has a soul". (2)

THE DISCOVERY OF INTELLIGENCE

Aristotle tells us it was Socrates who discovered intelligence. But for a thousand years Aristotle was forgotten and Plato set the pace and established the educational style of the Western world. When the Arabs brought Aristotle back, that led Aquinas to change the pattern. All through this Western man has spasmodically struggled to show intelligence, to free himself from the yoke of creeds and institutions.

This is the story Joseph K. Hart tells in "The Discovery of Intelligence", 1925. Dr. Hart believes the triumph of the modern age is not the solution of problems set by an earlier order, but the sweeping away of the order which set the problems. He sees in the history of education a slow and frequently impeded progress toward this inner freedom. The schools are yet to be liberated from rigid formulas which hinder the process of freedom. But man loves his old chains. Unless the better man can take man in hand, freedom will never come. Education is the answer, a new education based on the principles of thought and freedom.

The eighteenth century marked some success in the winning of freedom, but led man to regard himself as a reasoning animal. As to this anthropologists and psychologists of the twentieth century are somewhat skeptical. (10th ed, 1926, pp 72-4)

THROBBING AND THINKING

Thoughting might have been added to this title. Usually when one says, "I thought", it means, "I was dormant mentally". So Henshaw Ward has devised a new term around which he has written a book, "Thobbing", 1926. The sub-title, "A Seat at the Circus of the Intellect", with the quotation on the title page, "Passion and prejudice govern the

world—under the name of Reason.—John Wesley, 1770”, and the dedication to Clarence Day, author of “This Simian World”, give us the leitmotif, the key, and the tempo.

“Wishful thinking”, the same old game under Freudian variations which we begin as children,—“I wish I were”,—constitutes much of the intellectual life of the various varieties of Homo. How then, can we expect that even the average man can collect and weigh evidence, and arrive at sound conclusions? We can’t. What we do is to “Think the Opinion that pleases us and then Believe it. The initials of the three words form a much needed verb, to THOB.” So into the circus Henshaw Ward brings the leading proponents of each school of thought and displays them *thobbing*. It is a many ring circus.

“Thinking About Thinking”, 1926, by Cassius J. Keyser, is a little red book as befits its subject. Jabbing his fellow scientists, he starts out with “Psychologists have not yet been able to tell us what thinking is”. And as for thinking, “though we cannot define it, we know enough about it to know that there are many kinds”. He asks, “Is all thinking organic behavior?” And then introducing autonomous and postulational thinking, he describes the importance and availability of autonomous thinking and the detection of postulates. Inevitable conclusions give us the theorems of Euclid, but there are non-Euclidean systems like those of Lobachevski and Bolyai. As to autonomous thinking, he, knowing his fellow mathematicians, says, “Anyone having talents above the level of a moron’s can be led into a fair understanding of it and be disciplined in a measure to follow its ways”. (3)

RATS AND MEN

From men of zoological training, who spent their earlier years squinting through a microscope or digging over the ooze of mudflats for slimy specimens, have come great revelation, thought, and teaching. The rat, like man, originally a tree living animal, has come down to the ground and has progressed with man. Both originally were scavengers, living by their wits and so developing their brains. Now man looks down contemptuously upon the rat. But C. Judson Herrick has learned from the rat, as Wheeler learned from the ant. For a generation and more the author and other neurologists have been studying in brain tissue, under the most delicate and highly refined chemical color technique that man has yet developed in any field, the cells in whose chemical activities are born the nerve impulses, the delicate neurons which in bundles carry the nerve impulses from the cell to cell, from sense organ to nerve center, and to muscles. (4)

In his “Brains of Rats and Men”, 1926, Herrick surveys the origin of

the cerebral cortex. This new roof on a recent front porch of an ancient structure is here presented in its biological significance as the seat of the intellectual, emotional and moral life of man, all of which are the result of biological functioning through chemical changes in the neurons. This is a big theme, so big that it will be incomprehensible to most and consequently cannot be accepted. It will be way over the heads or under the feet of most philosophers. To prepare for reception of such concepts the long biological approach is needful. (11th ed, 1927, pp 30-2) (5)

LEARNING ABOUT LEARNING

The revelations of increasing knowledge make the learning process seem more important than educators had realized. Instincts have receded into the background. Everything has to be learned. We have to learn to speak, to love as well as hate. (6)

In this field Edward L. Thorndike has been the great revealer. Yerkes, Jennings, and Thorndike were pioneers in experimental investigation of the ways in which protozoans, earthworms, and other animals learn. (7)

Learning in the amoeba or the human adolescent or adult consists in establishing what we call memory. This must result from a modification, a more or less permanent change, in the physical or chemical constitution of some part of the organism. The effect of the original stimulus may wear off. We say it is forgotten. (8)

Thorndike in "Human Learning", 1931, discusses the nature and evolution of the subject, restating what has previously been known and giving the result of experiments carried on during the past three years. (9)

MASTER OF DESTINY

One hesitates to revert to an old fashioned subject but the brain is actually of historical and archeological interest. Anthropologists tell us of that surprising biological sport which appeared in western Europe about 25,000 years ago. Cro-Magnon man had a cranial capacity equal to or greater than our own. Embryologists tell us that the number of brain cells does not increase after birth. Physiologists and psychologists tell us that the greater portion of the brain cells in our cortex which we inherited from long ago, remains unused, inactive through life except in the rare individual who is usually regarded as a crank and a nuisance. But scientists still take an interest in this subject even if educators and statesmen do not.

Frederick Tilney in "The Master of Destiny", 1930, has written "A Biography of the Brain". This is revised and rewritten from his earlier work, "The Brain from Ape to Man". In his study of the fossil brains of earlier man, he traces the progressive enlargement of the frontal lobes to

the culmination in Cro-Magnon man, but he tells us that the human brain is still in its infancy, that the creation of a "better world" and the future progress of mankind depend chiefly upon the further evolution of a still better brain than the one we have now. The rank and file of mankind use but a small fraction of their potential brain power. If the schools could turn their attention from their traditional books to inducing and helping youth to use more of its brain power "there would be created a more intelligent world to live in, with fewer hatreds and fewer struggles". (15th ed, 1931, p 75) (9)

NOTES

(1) To school masters who had long been intent on 'building character' 'training the mind' and 'developing spiritual values', the idea of applying a measuring rod to their results was horrendous. Rods they could apply in another way. When in the 1916 edition we wished to introduce these radical subjects, it seemed desirable to call upon academic authorities to present them in brief. So my friends Arthur O. Norton and Robert M. Yerkes wrote for me respectively the chapters on "Measuring Educational Results" and "Measuring Intelligence". Shortly after Yerkes, drawn into the Army, developed the Alpha and Beta mental tests which were applied to millions of recruits.

Yerkes in 1941 at the meeting of the American Philosophical Society, discussing "Psychology and Defense", remarked, "Ours in 1917- 1918 was the initiative and leadership in this new field of professional service; to-day leadership has passed to the Nazis, who have an unparalleled organization to deal with problems of propaganda, morale, personnel and like matters of human engineering" (*Science*, May 23, 1941). The story of "Measuring the Immeasurable" and the part played by Cattell, Thorndike, Yerkes and others, is told in some detail in "What Makes Lives", pp 75-6.

In successive early editions of the Handbook the advance in the technique and the books on the subject were consistently reviewed. Notable among these early books published in 1918 and 1919 were: "The Mental Survey", by Rudolf Pintner, on intelligence tests for school children; "Measuring the Results of Teaching", by Walter Scott Monroe, a collection of standardized tests for teachers' use; Arthur S. Otis' "Group Intelligence Scale"; Lewis M. Terman's "Intelligence of School Children"; and Shepherd Ivory Franz' "Handbook of Mental Examination Methods".

The Bureau of Educational Experiments took up the subject and published year after year "Psychological Tests Revised and Classified". As tests caught on, the number multiplied to thousands. Up to 1929 we continued to report all this, though long before that time testing had become a matter of newspaper ridicule. Edison, the inventor, seeking assistants, started with the premise, "Only one man out of a thousand who has been to college is any good, and only one out of twenty-three is able to think". His own particular test, with queries of such freshness as "Where do prunes come from?" elicited profane comment from the academic.

(2) In "The Ape and the Child", 1933, Mr. and Mrs. W. N. Kellogg tell how when their own baby was seven months old they adopted a chimpanzee baby of the same age, taking her from her mother at the Yale Anthropoid Experiment Station. Then the two were dressed, fed, helped exactly alike until they were eighteen

months of age. The chimpanzee was mentally more advanced than the human baby, coordinated better, knew her picture books better. At the age of sixteen months she responded to sixty phrases and commands, was not imitative, was more emotionally excitable, possibly more affectionate than the human baby. Were the experiment to be repeated the authors would place the chimpanzee with a family of somewhat older children, more nearly of her own mental age. We have much yet to learn from the apes. (18th ed, 1934, pp 80-1)

John Daniel, a gorilla, was during his early years the friend and companion of Miss Cunningham, who has written her reminiscences of him as she might of a loved nephew. E. G. Boulenger, "who lived at the time in a flat exactly opposite the distinguished ape, has many pleasant personal recollections of John Daniel, with whom he was privileged to be on familiar terms", as he tells us in "Apes and Monkeys", 1937.

Yerkes' latest work, "Chimpanzees: A Laboratory Colony", 1943, has many observations in regard to intelligence and education that are of great interest to educators. He writes, "I wish here to call attention again to the unescapable fact that what the ape does not see, or otherwise sense, it cannot learn to respond to. . . . Whatever the organism dealt with, the practical importance of knowledge of the conditions of learning cannot readily be overestimated. In chimpanzees such conditions are complex and variable. . . . The principal known conditions . . . are: attention, motivation, complexity and configuration of the situation, temporal relations of experience, suggestion and imitation. . . . Like attention, motivation is necessary for learning. Interest and desire may be thought of as motivating conditions. . . . Really significant differences in sense or receptivity between the ape and man have not been discovered. There are obvious perceptual dissimilarities which we generally interpret as favorable to us."

(3) "The Art of Thinking", 1928, by Ernest Dimnet, a wise and witty Frenchman, was a gracefully written best seller. He tells us, "The Art of Thinking is the art of being oneself". But that takes courage and most of us lack it. All our institutions, educational and religious, suppress such independence. Even the habit of omnivorous reading tends to narcotize. To get facts at first hand and to take time to review them is essential to thinking. (13th ed, 1929, pp 53-4)

"The Art of Straight Thinking", 1929, by Edwin Leavitt Clarke, is subtitled "A primer of scientific method for social inquiry". He explains how it is that people misinterpret ordinary testimony and observations, and why it is we believe so many things that are not so. (14th ed, 1930, p 71)

"Straight and Crooked Thinking", 1932, is by Robert H. Thouless of Glasgow University. One of the thirty-four causes of crooked thinking is the use of dangerous words that stimulate glands and deaden reason. "Effective Thinking", 1931, by Joseph Jastrow, is an acquired art. Prejudices, false beliefs stand in the way. "Beliefs are accepted largely on their social credentials, and yet selectively by reason of temperament." (16th ed, 1932, pp 85-6)

(4) Three years later Herrick in "The Thinking Machine", 1929, tells us the intricate patterns of adjustment by which life is guided are capable of analysis. "Neither volition nor any other spiritual capacity is debased by this knowledge of how it works and how to develop and refine it. This power of self-control and self-culture by voluntary effort and intelligently planned exercise is the badge of our humanity. It is the most glorious thing we have." (14th ed, 1930, p 70)

(5) Herrick has made excursions into almost forbidden philosophical fields. In his "Fatalism or Freedom", 1926, he sanely finds a justification for what might

be called a go-getter philosophy of life. The great men of all time, he shows, have risen above their limitations. They have been free, while the great mass have merely salted the earth with their bones. Freedom or fatalism is a question of energy, of strength, as it always has been. (11th ed, 1927, pp 30-1)

(6) "Under certain conditions people can learn how to love war and hate peace and under other conditions they can learn . . . and do learn to love peace and at the same time engage in war. There is no psychological inconsistency in this", and "we know how human beings learn to hate and to fight, to fear and to escape, to love and to defend, and to follow leaders. These are the basic psychological foundations of war and peace", Mark May tells us in "A Social Psychology of War and Peace", 1943. (Cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 37-8)

Judah Marmor in *Psychiatry: Journal of the Biology and Pathology of Interpersonal Relations*, Nov., 1942, cites investigations that show that even "so fundamental a reaction as the sexual behavior" of apes and monkeys must be learned. "Both Bingham and Maslow have observed that in contrast to the smooth efficient performance of experienced males, young male apes or monkeys, or adults that have had no opportunity for sexual experience or sexual observation, reveal themselves completely ignorant of how to proceed when first mated, and go 'through a long series of fumbling approximations and adjustments that look remarkably like trial-and-error learning'."

(7) For particulars about the extraordinary initiative, industry, and productivity of Thorndike, cf "What Makes Lives", 1940, pp 28, 76, 80. His most monumental work, "Human Nature and the Social Order", 1940, runs to well over a thousand pages and "presents certain facts and principles of psychology which students of sociology, economics, government, law, and other sciences of human affairs need to know. . . . Competent thinkers agree about the importance of improving man's knowledge and control of human nature. We obviously need to understand persons and institutions so as to predict and direct their activities."

(8) The biologists have given us a fundamental understanding of the nature of learning and memory, carrying their investigations back to the most primitive animals and the reaction of protoplasm which resulted in learning hundreds of millions of years ago. The psychologists have made great contributions to the understanding of the learning process. But the anthropologists have given us a broader understanding.

Conditioning is a word of relatively modern usage, an adaptation from the physical trainer. F. H. Giddings early emphasized in "The Mighty Medicine" that "education is continuing reconditioning. It can be good or bad." In "Conditioning and Learning", 1940, Ernest R. Hilgard and Donald G. Marquis review the literature on conditioning. The impression one gets is that learning and conditioning are not identical. Conditioning is learning, but not all learning is conditioning. This excellent guidebook for future investigators has a bibliography of 973 items, nearly all published within the last fifteen years. (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 61-70,—"The Learning Process", "Thorndike's Investigations", "Illusions About Inheritance", "The Illusion of National Traits", "What Is a Person?", "Registered Experience", "The Urge to Learn", "Learning Among Primitives", "Learning for Use", "Culture Is Learned Behavior", "Conditioning and Learning", "Education and the Cultural Process")

The sociologist has added his conception of 'social learning'. In "Social Learning and Imitation", 1941, Neal E. Miller and John Dollard emphasize, "Human behavior is learned. . . . Learning principles can, of course, operate only under

specific material or social conditions. For human beings these conditions are those imposed by the society in which a particular individual lives. . . . No psychologist would venture to predict the behavior of a rat without knowing on what arm of a T-maze the food or the shock is placed. It is no easier to predict the behavior of a human being without knowing the conditions of his 'maze,' i.e., the structure of his social environment." (Cf "Education in Wartime", the separately published introduction of the 26th ed, 1942, pp 207-220,—"What Is Education?", "Understanding Growth", "A Social Function", "Perpetuating Our Way of Life", "Social Learning", "Reward and Punishment", "A Conditioning Process", "Cultural Coercion", "Individual Distortion")

(9) What have we learned? What is knowledge? What is truth? "Our Knowledge of the External World", 1929, by Bertrand Russell, deals with these questions which still agitate metaphysicians. Once the truths of philosophy, religion and science were looked upon as of wholly different natures. Through such books as this, we begin to glimpse that while most things that have been accepted as truth by man in the past are false, pictures of his imagination, actual truth is truth by whatever road it is reached. "Ever since Thales said that all is water, philosophers have been ready with glib assertions about the sum-total of things." Ever since 1914, when Russell said this in his Lowell Lectures on "Our Knowledge of the External World", he has continued to make specific the problems of philosophy, the attempt to define those questions to which knowledge can offer a definite answer. This book is the result of all his thought. (13th ed, 1929, p 40)

(10) Tilney's magnum opus, published in two volumes in 1928, "The Brain from Ape to Man", the result of half a lifetime of study, presents comparative studies of primates' brains which point "conclusively to an evolutionary process which has run parallel with corresponding expansions in behavioral development". (13th ed, 1929, p 41)

■

THE ANTHROPOLOGIST LOOKS AT EDUCATION

Comparison of our own folkways by the anthropologist with those of other peoples, of the process of growing up, and conditioning the young to the culture of their elders, leads to understanding of education.

The confining four walls of school rooms have too long limited our educational activities and interests. Our teachers have needed a larger conception of their function. That they have to do with superintending the process of growth and development, they have learned from the biologist. How children grow up among other peoples they are learning from the anthropologist.

TRANSMITTING THE CULTURE

We attempt to give shape to the adolescent through education. That's a job of greater portent than most teachers have yet envisioned. For whatever works we create, whatever books we write, it is only our survivors who can make use of them. The adolescent that we are shaping then is the tool with which we may affect the shape of things to come.

The mere matter of passing on such knowledge as we have inherited from the past, of transmitting the culture, is a lesser task and easier than preparing for the future. But so long has the teacher been looking over his shoulder at the past that he has become stiff-necked and cannot get his eyes on the future. Under such guidance each generation stumbles into pitfalls and struggles blindly on.

Only the few escape complete stultification by our educational priesthood and domination of the old men of the tribe. It is these few, whose brains still function, to whom we owe the more efficient ways of doing things than their fathers taught them. Long ago the world was young. As mankind has become older it has accumulated added knowledge as time has passed.

Antiquity could be excused for knowing little because of its youth. But pedants and pedagogs with inverted vision worship this immaturity. Francis Bacon thus explained this absurdity,—“The old age of the world is to be accounted the true antiquity; and this is the attribute of our own times, not of that earlier age of the world in which the ancients lived; and which, though in respect of us it was the elder, yet in respect of the world it was the younger”. (1)

Among primitive peoples education, as with us, follows a highly complicated traditional pattern. With them, too, it has had for its chief function the perpetuation of ideas, attitudes and folkways. Whether in

an evangelical theological institution or in elaborate puberty ceremonials, the purpose of education has been essentially the same,—to perpetuate and pass on to the next generation the traditions and ideas held by the old men of the tribe. (2)

How social heritage colors the life of the individual, shapes his behavior, and creates his character is shown by Nathan Miller in "The Child in Primitive Society", 1928. Writing on "The Significance of Primitive Education", Miller hastily glimpses the education of adolescents among many primitive races and concludes, "It would be valuable occasionally to look into the theoretical basis of modern educational systems to discover the rationale of it all. . . . It appears that the sense of modern education may be so utterly traditional as to resemble the 'primitive' type described here."

MAINTAINING TRADITION

It is among the most primitive peoples that institutions are most firmly established. The aborigines of Australia, whose customs have changed little perhaps in a hundred thousand years, demonstrate this as is revealed by Sir Baldwin Spencer in "Wanderings in Wild Australia", 1928.

On knowing and understanding the natives and their customs, this scientist finds them not as others have, the most degraded of human beings. Living with them he feels that he is becoming acquainted with customs, institutions, modes of thought, that were characteristic of his primitive ancestors twenty to forty thousand years before.

Standards of morality, of sex relations, are so high, so unchangeably fixed that death inevitably is imposed for infidelity. Marriage within a tribe is permitted only between sharply defined groups. And where this folkway is transgressed the violators are invariably hunted down and slain. While no conclusions are directly drawn by the author as to the bearing on our modern education, the work bristles with implications.

The traditional preparation of the adolescent for adulthood involves much more severe discipline than the most old fashioned English school master would approve, and much more rigorous ritual than the learning of innumerable rules of Latin grammar. The author describes in great detail a four months' long ceremony which he witnessed, by which the members of the Arunta tribe initiated the adolescent youth into adulthood. The elaborate practices transmitted by the oldest members of the tribe transcend in intricacy the traditions of our oldest western educational institutions, and the numerous prolonged conferences and meetings of the old men in preparation for each morrow's ceremony make the faculty meetings of our oldest universities planning a commencement ceremony seem trivial.

COMING OF AGE

Since the early studies of G. Stanley Hall the period of adolescence with its social adjustments to the folkways has been intensively studied especially in this country. But Margaret Mead gives us a vivid and scientifically accurate picture of adolescence in a primitive tribe. Living in a Samoan village for many months, with facility in the language she became intimately acquainted especially with the young girls, and writes most interestingly of "Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization", 1928. In Samoan society it is the exceptional girl, ambitious for recognition, who has difficulties in adjusting herself; whereas the adolescent who is complacent and easy going, who would fit perfectly in Samoan society, under our civilization often develops a case of maladjustment. The constantly mounting percentage in our civilization of maladjustment and mental disease is due to conditions imposed upon the adolescent which might rationally be changed, though that change would involve a readjustment of our folkways and of our attitudes toward morality and sex life.

If the mental health of the race is to be improved or preserved, if we fear for the future generations, if we realize that the young are shaped by the influences of loving parents and conscientious teachers, and the mores to which they are subjected during adolescence, if we are alarmed at the increase in mental disease and the growing population of our insane asylums, then we must welcome such studies which give promise of pointing the way to better mental health in future generations. The "Educational Implications" which Dr. Mead draws are provocative of profound thought and suggest the necessity for a revision of many of our old attitudes. (3)

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Great contributions to education have come from anthropologist Franz Boas and his two pupils, Dr. Mead and Dr. Benedict. (4) In his "Anthropology and Modern Life", 1928, looking upon the American scene with the anthropologist's eye, Boas considers sex, crime, education from the point of view of one who knows many cultures, primitive and complex.

"The causes that make for cultural stability" depend upon "automatic actions based on the habits of early childhood. . . . The firmer the habits are instilled into the child, the less they are subject to reasoning, the stronger is their emotional appeal. If we wish to educate children to unreasoned mass action, we must cultivate set habits of action and thought. If we wish to educate them to intellectual and emotional freedom care must be taken that no unreasoned action takes such habitual hold upon them that a serious struggle is involved in the attempt to cast it off."

Boas' chapter on education is "loaded" for the educator. Most of our so-called "Education for Citizenship" is education for cultural stability. Even those primitive peoples that seem individually most free are bound by religious traditions and social customs, irrational and meaningless to us, Dr. Boas finds. "It is not difficult to see that the same conditions prevail among ourselves. Families and schools which assiduously cultivate the tenets of a religious faith and of a religious ceremonial and surround them with an emotional halo raise, on the whole, a generation that follows the same path. . . . To say the least, the cultivation of formal religious attitudes in family and school makes difficult religious freedom."

Our public schools, hardly conscious of the conflicts, instill automatic reactions to symbols, patriotic or religious, at the same time attempting to develop the mind and character of the individual. In our older and better established educational institutions, those richest in tradition, "we are apt to follow the habitual activities of our fellows without a careful examination of the fundamental ideas from which their actions spring. Conformity in action has for its sequel conformity in thought. The emancipation from current thought is for most of us as difficult in science as it is in everyday life. . . .

"Every segregated class is much more strongly influenced by special traditional ideas than is the rest of the people. . . . For this reason it is often found that the restriction of freedom of thought by convention is greater in what we might call the educated classes than in the mass of people. No wonder that they create conflicts in the minds of the young, conflicts between the automatic attitudes that are carefully nursed and the teachings that are to contribute to individual freedom. . . . It is necessary that the crises and struggles that are characteristic of individual life in our society be investigated in societies in which our restraints do not exist while others may be present, before we assume all too readily that these are inherent in 'human nature.' " (13th ed, 1929, pp 32-5) (5)

NOTES

(1) In "Transmitting Our Culture" ("What Makes Lives", 1940) it was pointed out that each generation has advanced because it could build on what it had inherited from what had gone before. E. A. Filene, addressing a younger generation, echoed Bacon, "Your generation is more mature than mine. You have more social experience in your background. But that isn't anything to gloat about. You ought to do a better job than we did."

(2) The thirties and forties witnessed increasingly important contributions from anthropology and sociology to our basic conceptions of the process of acculturation of the young, the basis of all of the educational process. Such writings were reviewed in successive editions of the Handbook. "War and Education", 1942, is permeated with this recent knowledge.

"Socialization is the process of training a human animal from birth on for social

participation in his group. He is socialized when he is capable of playing the role destined for him as an adult", John Dollard tells us in "Culture, Society, Impulse, and Socialization", *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1939. "Only recently . . . have we begun to realize that culture is a historically developed effort of each group to meet the persistent tasks of life", writes Lawrence K. Frank in "Science and Culture", *Scientific Monthly*, June, 1940 (26th ed, 1942, pp 213-4). In "Man's Multidimensional Environment", *Scientific Monthly*, April, 1943, Frank explains, "The cultural environment depends for its continuation and maintenance upon the process of acculturation, that is, educating each generation of children in terms of the basic ideas and conceptions, the selective awareness, the sensibilities, the socially sanctioned ways of functioning, thinking, believing, speaking, acting and feeling". (Cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 241-2, 250-1)

(3) Margaret Mead in "Growing Up in New Guinea", 1930, finds even more interesting educational implications. The education of the child is completely neglected. The Manu children are spoiled, untrained, and remind her of American children. The transition from the child to the acquisitive adult, possessively married, again reminds her of the people she left at home. For the Manus are the Yankees of Melanesia, obsessed by an interest in property,—pigs, beads, dogs' teeth. (15th ed, 1931, pp 80-1)

"Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies", 1935, tells of Dr. Mead's further investigations in New Guinea. Masculine and feminine traits as we regard them are very evidently, among these tribes of Papuans, acquired, of social origin, like the differences in our costume. They are not biological, not even instinctive. This falls in with the knowledge that the endocrinologists have brought us that sex is a matter of quantity or degree dependent upon hormones which may be secreted or may be injected into the individual. Though 'you can't change human nature', Mead concludes that "human nature is almost unbelievably malleable, responding accurately and contrastingly to contrasting cultural conditions". (20th ed, 1936, pp 75-6)

"Students of culture", Margaret Mead further reminds us in "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates", have "recognized that the most diverse sets of cultural behavior could be transmitted to the growing child with equal success—that a newborn child among the Eskimos became an adult Eskimo, a complete version of Eskimo culture, with the same inevitability that a newborn Hawaiian became a Hawaiian" (*Journal of Educational Sociology*, October, 1940). In a rapidly changing culture like our own, on the other hand, "the child will never be, as an adult, a member of the same culture of which his father stands as the representative". The youth is faced with "a great discrepancy between the content of the parental ideal and the possibility of living this ideal out in detail in their own lives in the same terms". (26th ed, 1942, p 216)

(4) Ruth Benedict, writing on "Anthropology and Cultural Change", *American Scholar*, Spring, 1942, reminds us, "Ways of bringing up children which are congruent with the cultural values of a society are one of the prime conditions which make that society function well and vigorously". In the study of cultures, "the list of contrasts was endless, and the conclusion could not be avoided: a great deal of what had ordinarily been regarded as due to 'human nature' was, instead, culturally determined".

The anthropologist with his bird's eye view of many cultures,—divergent systems of human behavior each sanctioned by tradition, often claiming divine origin,—has a vantage point from which to supplement what we have learned from psycholo-

gists within the past few decades. Comparison affords us opportunity to understand how restrictions of personality give rise to resentment and aggression. (26th ed, 1942, p 216)

(5) To Boas and to Malinowski we owe chiefly the great increase in investigation and understanding of other cultures which have thrown so much light on our own. "Leading Contributions of Anthropology to Social Theory" are summarized by Alexander Goldenweiser in "Contemporary Social Theory", 1940, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, Howard and Frances Becker. "Social Heredity", "What Is Culture?" and "Cultural Emergence" were discussed in the 21st edition of the Handbook, 1937, pp 114-5. "Our Cultural Heritage", "How Culture Determines Behavior", "Geography Determines Culture", "Isolation Fixes Customs", "Adjustments to the Culture" were dealt with in "What Makes Lives", 1940, pp 41-4. Cf also "The Proper Study", pp 331-52 of "Between Two Wars".

"The Origin and Function of Culture", 1943, Geza Roheim explains as due to prolonged human infancy which gives time for a high degree of acculturation. Prolonged gestation of the higher animals permits a more complicated organization of the anatomy, so that at birth the pyramidal cells of the cortex are only half developed, half their eventual height. This permits of further development and learning during the period of infancy. During the prolonged fetal life the nervous system comes to function. Otherwise there would be no movement. The fetus, deriving security, nourishment, warmth, everything necessary from the mother, is frequently frustrated. Results of such frustrations may carry over into later life.

Read Bain in "Sociology and the Other Sciences", *Scientific Monthly*, Nov., 1941, tells us, "The organic cultural interaction concept of social phenomena is one of the major historic revolutions in human thought . . . ranking with . . . evolution . . . and physical relativity". It takes time "to realize all its implications". Knowledge of this "cultural relativity", the varying importance of culture under different conditions, "is much older than physical relativity, having been suggested by Xenophanes, more or less clearly by Ibn Khaldun, and made explicit as a scientific principle by Comte". "A Definition of Culture" is given by Bain in *Sociology and Social Research*, Nov.-Dec., 1942. "Culture is all behavior mediated by social symbols. 'Behavior' means 'activity' or 'movement'; 'mediated' means 'affected by', 'involved in', or 'associated with'; 'social symbol' means anything that 'stands for' or 'refers to' something else (referent) for two or more organisms so that each responds to its own response to the symbols as it responds to the others' responses to the same symbol. 'Response' means 'behavior'."

OUR MISFIT CIVILIZATION

The story of man as revealed by science brings awareness that adjustment retarded by ancient institutions may send us along the road of civilizations now dead, unless we take our destiny in hand to bring about readjustments.

Why on this bountiful and beautiful earth we live as we do, in filth or luxury, in prisons, palaces, or asylums,—why in these United States we spend one twelfth of our national income on what is called crime and its consequences,—why our insane are constantly increasing,—why our boasted civilization yields all these, are topics now open to new answers. Since we have discarded the old Garden of Eden myth, and the belief in original sin, all these questions have become the subject for scientific inquiry.

OUR BOASTED CULTURE

Culture has meant many things to different men and peoples. The ethnologist, speaking of the culture of a race, has in mind their mode of life, their arts and customs, their attitudes toward the world in which they live, and the supernatural world they create about them. Our folkways constitute our culture. They seem right to us, as the folkways of any people must seem right to them. Anthropologists and sociologists have thrown light on our own ways of life by the study of other peoples.

Gladstone was a cultured man with his Oxford "firsts", his reading of the classics, his spiritual religion. But his culture had not kept pace with the changing culture of his race and nation. New industries, new sciences had produced new cultural attitudes. Wells in his "Outline of History" was led to describe Gladstone as an "ignorant" man. How could he be anything but ignorant who knew nothing of psychology, anthropology, or geology? To quote Latin phrases is no longer evidence of culture but of the pedant. The cultural revolution has changed even the conservative classicisms of college. Even in China classical culture has gone its way. (1)

'Civilization' is an abstraction new to the human mind, introduced by Condorcet after the French Revolution. Civilization is something we pride ourselves upon. We go to war to save it. Imposed upon happy primitive peoples, it kills. Our recognition that other people have civilizations is relatively recent. That man is a victim of his civilization, of the complex of traditions, mores, tabus, and superstitions, transmitted from generation in the name of education, was first brought to our attention by Edward Carpenter in his "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure". Our knowledge of the defects of civilization that have brought about the passing of so many is even later (cf pp 215-6, 222).

OUR ORIENTAL HERITAGE

The Greeks owed much to the Orient, but were unconscious of it. To them all other people were barbarians, just as to the Christians all others were heathen up to very recent time. The Greeks with all their questioning had little curiosity in regard to other civilizations or their own origins. Even the immediate source of their culture, Knossos, was shrouded in myth. Archeologists have pushed back the veil. (2)

"The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory" is the subtitle of "The Most Ancient East", 1929, by V. Gordon Childe of Edinburgh University, author of "The Aryans" and "The Dawn of European Civilization". This is the first book to report on the most recent discoveries of ancient man in the Sahara, the Fayum, and the Nile, and the still more recent revelations of the ancient culture in the Indus valley which matured about 3000 B. C. at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. The early Sumerian culture of Mesopotamia, as recently revealed at Kish and Ur, the prediluvian cultures of Elam and Babylonia are recognized as an organic unity linking Egypt, Sumer and India together, out of which the later cultures of Europe have developed. (3)

LENGTHENING THE HUMAN STORY

One of England's greatest anthropologists, G. Elliot Smith, in "Human History", 1929, has given us a synthetic interpretation of the human adventure. He gives us the key to the cause and cure of civilization in the story of how agriculture with all its attendant benefits and harms arose. Before the invention of agriculture, primitive man in the simplicity of his life was peaceful and necessarily cooperative. Agriculture brought land values, government, kingships, the glamor of gold, the sanctity of the flag, and the superstitions that constitute the fundamental elements of our civilization. And thence man "became entangled in the meshes of the theory of the State, which he himself had spun".

Primitive man, the anthropologists tell us, before he was befuddled by explanations of the supernatural and hampered by institutional restrictions, and in spite of the daily anxieties and vicissitudes of his life, was uninhibited and relatively happy. (4)

As we become more aware of the defects of our own civilization and the burden that we carry from the past, our admiration grows for our earliest ancestors as we come to know them better. There are those who claim that their art of delineating the living in movement has not been excelled. The reindeer, wading the swift stream in the cold sleet and turning back to low at her following calf, scratched on ivory 25,000 years ago, remains an unsurpassed example, as illustrated in Luguët's "Art and

Religion of Fossil Man" where this ancient etching is reproduced.

The clarity of mind of the questing Greeks of Homer and the Ionian scientist philosophers beckons us to return, not to the mysticism of the medievalists, but to the unfettered life of an earlier time.

HAPPY PRIMITIVES

Where modern civilization, the Western trader and the Christian missionary have not touched primitive peoples, anthropologists, like Stefansson, MacMillan, Rasmussen, and others who best know the primitive Eskimos, report them happy.

W. Lloyd Warner told Harvard graduates of the three years that he lived among the natives of northern Australia. They wore no clothes, had no shelters, and knew nothing of agriculture, but he enjoyed their food and believes "these stone-age people intellectually are inherently like ourselves and that it cannot be said they are psychologically inferior to us. A few of them were very intelligent and capable of thinking in abstract terms, while others were stupid, just as we find people in our own society. The real difference between them and us is the mental equipment they acquire after they are born; or, to put it differently, their civilization is different from ours and therefore their thinking is, too.

"I heard the old men, who are the highest authorities of the people, talking one day of 'spear fights to end spear fights', and I confess the familiar sound of it all made me uncertain whether to laugh or weep. When they asked me what I thought of their idea to end all war, I said that my people had too tried such a method, but without much success.

"While we abandoned the stone age and arrived at the steel age, they stayed where they were. Their civilization provides all the material and spiritual nourishment they need. They are happy, and who is to say which culture is the superior? If human happiness is a test of the superiority or inferiority of a civilization, and if progress is to be measured by the proportion of people of the two cultures who are happy, then our own civilization is decidedly inferior, and has consequently retrogressed while theirs has retained its quality and become superior to ours." (14th ed, 1930, pp 57-61) (5)

EARTH'S CHILDREN

"To That Unknown Ancestor of Mine" who was first promoted "From a Paradise of Contentment Into a World of Problems", Kirtley F. Mather dedicates his "Sons of the Earth", 1930. Rapidly he turns the rock leaves of "Mother Earth's Diary" and traces "The Stream of Life", climbs "The Family Tree of the Higher Vertebrates", and follows "Man's Ancestral Lineage". *Sapiens* is a biological sport, a major mutation with a swelled

head and a penchant for art. But to the earliest species that were exterminated we are indebted for most of our heritage, the discovery and mastery of fire, the development and use of tools, the art of cooking—and what has sapiens done since to compare with these? Moreover, our “belief in the continuity of life after death and in the reality of a spirit world is actually older than the existing human species”.

Mather tells us of how the continents were ploughed through, how tropic waters spread across North America to the arctic, how central Asia saw the Himalayan crest forced up. Amid such drastic changes in the earth's crust only those species that could adapt themselves survived. These were few, yet in the one group of insects we have today 700,000 that have been named. These are but the tag-end of Mother Nature's handiwork, traces of which were fossilized in ancient mud flats. The survivors have been the descendants, not of the conservative elements of these species, but of the radicals who were alert, changing enough to survive amid the filling of the seas and the building of the mountains. This is the story of survival and success.

“In the past evolution, influenced and directed by the environmental forces inherent in the earth, has proved itself progressive. At each crisis, a minority somewhere has responded to the challenge of the moment. As we face the future, there is in consequence abundant reason for an optimistic outlook. Somewhere among the sons of the earth are individuals ready, willing and able to respond to the challenge of today and tomorrow. They are a small minority, struggling against the overburden of a complacent and conservative majority; but similar minorities have been victorious heretofore.”

OUR DISCONTENT WITH CIVILIZATION

It is psychological rather than economic and physical causes that make us happy, Pitkin would have us believe in his “Psychology of Happiness”. The psychoanalyst digging into the subconscious of our personalities, just as the archeologist digs into the musty filth heaps of ancient settlements, has let in light and stimulated hope that our misfit civilization may be cured and current maladjustments avoided.

Post war disillusionment and pessimism prevail. Our great thinkers doubt the value of our civilization or even the survival of the race. Our younger generation lacks faith and certitude. Our anthropologists are doubtful. Sir Arthur Keith declares there is little hope for man if his civilization survives. And Elliot Smith believes we must go back to the Greeks and the primitives to save ourselves. Writers in England, where the after effects of the war were serious, reflect the pessimism of Spengler's “Untergang” and Keyserling's “Decline of Western Civilization”.

Norman Douglas' "Goodbye to Western Culture", 1930, is a glorification of all that is eastern in derision of all that is western. (6)

Sigmund Freud's "Civilization and Its Discontents", 1930, is the ripest product of his seminal mind and perhaps the most readable. The original German edition, at that time untranslated, was referred to in the previous edition of the Handbook as "Our Misfit Civilization". At seventy-four this pale, shrinking, modest man with Einstein stands farthest out on the fringe-like frontier of human thought.

"The fateful question of the human species seems to me to be whether and to what extent the cultural process developed in it will succeed in mastering the derangements of communal life caused by the human instinct of aggression and self-destruction."

Civilization imposes restraints upon us and consequent repressions have made not only man but his whole civilization neurotic. Our "whys" are infantile appeals to a father. "Life as we find it is too hard for us; it entails too much pain, too many disappointments, impossible tasks."

"That the upbringing of young people at the present day conceals from them the part sexuality will play in their lives is not the only reproach we are obliged to bring against it. . . . The strictness of our ethical standards would not do much harm if education were to say: 'This is how men ought to be in order to be happy and make others happy, but you have to reckon with their not being so.' Instead of this the young are made to believe that everyone else conforms to the standard of ethics, i.e., that everyone else is good. And then on this is based the demand that the young shall be so, too." (15th ed, 1931, pp 67-74)

CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

"Man's Own Show: Civilization", 1931, George A. Dorsey's last work, reviews the life of mankind from the emergence of man from the ape stage to our days of radio and the coming television. It touches upon religious systems and especially the advances made in knowledge of organic nature. As a biologist Dorsey is optimistic in regard to the future of the race but severe in his indictment of war, democracy, and economics.

Progress in knowledge has been made "by men who were interested in saving lives, and not by those who made a livelihood by saving souls. . . . It does seem, however, that some centuries must still pass before a generation can be born which will face life's drama with its hands free, and not tied by the generations which have gone before. A civilization with the tools of the gods of creation and the mores of the imps of hell is a menace to humanity."

"Modern Civilization on Trial", 1931, by C. Delisle Burns, surveys the distinctive pattern of life followed in America and western Europe. This

modern world is an unfinished structure, only a phase of the endless change in the history of the race. Modern systems of production have increased wealth. Selling cleanliness has increased the use of soap and the demand for coconut oils, which has profoundly affected the lives of tropical peoples. The mechanization of life, the elimination of distance by rapid transportation have brought new habits of eating, breeding and worshipping, more tea and fruit, less beer and meat, decreased birth rate, neglect and abandonment of old religious forms.

Enormously improved methods of killing have modernized war, stimulated the aggressive and increased the fear of neighboring peoples for each other. This fear of nations of each other has resulted in greatly increased expenditure for war preparation. Desire for national efficiency, economic or warlike, has fostered dictators.

Modern education extends its influence far outside the schools. The radio and the movie, advertising, the newspaper and the popular magazine overshadow the results achieved by the constructive work of the schools. Meantime new freedom has come to the child, new responsibilities to the school. The new education follows changing conditions but it does not keep abreast, much less prepare for them. Changed as it is, education remains conservative. However, under dictatorships in Russia and Italy, and even in Germany and England, the newest conceptions of education developing in America are put to work.

"An educated man is able to use in life greater depths of experience; and an educated community is one in which men may meet not only at the level of getting into a street car but also at the level of seeing sunsets," Burns maintains. (16th ed, 1932, pp 70-72)

NOTES

(1) This consciousness of our culture, of our way of life, is something new to the world. 'The American Way' has become a slogan for the N. A. M. We raise taxes and fight wars to support it. But some are doubtful or inquiring. Sociologist Charles A. Ellwood in "Man's Social Destiny: In the Light of Science", 1929, tells us, "Our civilization is imperiled today simply because it is ill-balanced. Our spiritual culture lags so far behind our material culture in its development that we have no adequate control over the latter". John Cowper Powys in "The Meaning of Culture", 1929, attempts to straighten out his muddled thought as to what is culture and a cultured person and to differentiate between education and culture. Will Durant, commenting on the lucubrations of this traveled literary Englishman, finds him more sensually ecstatic than Keats, more spiritual than Shelley. Baker Brownell in "Man and His World", 1929, attempts to explain what our culture is based upon and how and why the cultural revolution has come about.

(2) "It might be thought, archaeologists could supply only illustrations for knowledge already possessed, not basic new facts. In my view, this has not proved true. Even for the best-known periods in the history of Greece and Rome—those

illuminated by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and many other great writers for Greece; by Polybius, Livy, and other writers for Rome—even for these periods, archaeology has given us additional basic facts and fundamental points of view. . . . How much less we should know of Greek classical architecture without the minute study of Greek buildings made possible by archaeological exploration! . . . How vague would be our idea of classical pictorial art were it not for the thousands of Greek painted vases of the same period and the paintings of the Etruscan tombs! . . . Archaeology enables us to visualize the Greeks and the Romans of classical times—to see them and their lives reflected in other than literary creations. . . . The dim Etruscans, though they still withhold from us the key to their language and the mystery of their origin, are now well known from the monuments of their civilization and art, and in their relations to the prehistoric settlers of Italy, to the Greeks of South Italy and Sicily and to the Romans.” (M. Rostovtzeff, “How Archaeology Aids History”, *Yale Review*, Summer, 1942)

Ancient history, when most school principals studied it, began with Lycurgus as Plutarch knew him. Homer loomed in the legendary background and as a concession to Herodotus, the Bible, and the pyramids, something of the history of Egypt and Mesopotamia were recognized. It was this out-moded and limited history of a generation ago that doubtless led Henry Ford to conclude that “history is bunk”. A narrative history of the Aegean peoples for the five hundred years before Homer is given by A. B. Burn in “Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks”, 1930. Minutely documented and heavily footnoted, it will be difficult to challenge in the light of our present knowledge, but the next turn of the spade may make his learning obsolete and his narrative false. “Sons of Minos”, 1930, by David Cheney, is an attempt at an historical novel of this same period. (15th ed, 1931, pp 69-70)

(3) In “New Light on the Most Ancient East”, 1934, Childe reported on more recent excavations in the Mesopotamian region, which threw light on “European prehistory by reference to the richer and better dated material of the proto-historic Orient”. He forecast that we were on the threshold of enormously greater knowledge. (19th ed, 1935, p 78)

How rich our heritage from the East, how little of it has yet come to us, is just beginning to be understood. Mohammedanism for a thousand years shut Asia off from the Christian world. After the sea routes were opened, European monarchs of the seventeenth century courts acquired ‘chinoiseries’, and eighteenth century sea captains brought home Chinese porcelains often treasured as Lowestoft. Not until the eighteenth century did Europe learn of Buddhism through Christian missionaries. Still more recently have we realized that much that came to us from the Arabs through Spain, they in turn had received from the East. Out of the East has come our religion, our philosophy, and much of our mathematics. Appropriately enough Will Durant gives the title “Our Oriental Heritage” to the first of the four volumes of his “The Story of Civilization”, 1935. It is a grand epic of the economic, political, moral, and mental elements of civilization.

Durant’s colossal achievement has been criticized by scholars on rather academic grounds for certain imperfections and omissions. That is like criticizing a great mural for not having the qualities of both a photograph and an etching. What he has done on a grand scale is to reveal to us what man has wrought, in other times, in other climes, in the Asiatic realms whence comes our great heritage. He shows us great personalities standing out like mountain peaks above their environment and links the possible future reintegration of human consciousness which we now glimpse, with that peaceful civilization of the Indus and the protocivilizations

which Heard proclaims. There is King Urukagina of Lagash, whose decrees of five thousand years ago denounced "the exploitation of the poor by the rich and of everybody by the priests"; Ikhnaton, who in Egypt thirty five hundred years ago in banishing the old gods and introducing a purer, monotheistic sun worship found God "not in battles and victories but in flowers and trees, in all forms of life and growth"; Amos denouncing those who sold the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes; and Buddha and Christ and Lao-tze, a great procession of men, those of strong faith who believed in man and his future. In no other volume yet published may the ordinary reader learn to understand so well how rich is the heritage yet to come to him from the East. (20th ed, 1936, pp 145-7)

The greatest body of ancient literature that has yet been discovered, dating from approximately 2000 B. C., consists of cuneiform inscriptions on clay tablets unearthed in Sumerian cities in the past fifty years. These Sumerian peoples and cities were forgotten and remained unknown for nearly three thousand years and were not identified until 1869. For almost half a century these tablets have lain uncopied and unpublished in Istanbul and Philadelphia. They consist of epics, hymns, proverbs, which influenced profoundly all the peoples of the Near East including the Hebrews and Greeks. Samuel N. Kramer reports on a preliminary reconstruction and translation of some 170. (*Science*, May 23, 1941)

Of Mohenjo Daro in the Indus valley, Sir Arthur Keith writes, "As regards sanitary engineering, this city of ancient Sind led the way; no city that can claim to be 5,000 years old so nearly approached our modern standard of sanitation as does Mohenjo Daro. We know how well laid were the bath-room floors, with latrines occupying recesses in the wall. We know the manner in which drains were laid beneath house floors; they had vertical pipes which carried the effluent from the latrines and the overflow of rain water to a brick-laid drain."

This is quoted by James A. Tobey in "Riders of the Plagues", 1930. He tells us, "Sanitation is not new at all, but an art with a heritage of thousands of years of actual experience and application. . . . The unremitting labors of the archaeologist have uncovered traces of true sanitary science in the early empires of Assyria and Babylonia, in Egypt and Crete, in Greece and Rome. Sanitary science, dealing with the healthfulness of the environment and not solely with the individual, was developed far more extensively and efficiently by these olden people than was medical science, which was interwoven with magic and was thought by primitive races to be the gift of the gods. When it is considered that the city of London had no sewerage system whatever until the eighteenth century after Christ, the advanced sanitation of these cities of twenty centuries before the Christian era cannot fail to stimulate our admiration." (15th ed, 1931, pp 70-1)

E. A. Speiser's investigations at Tepe Gawra have uncovered twelve superimposed cities revealing a continuous history to 6000 B. C. In his "Mesopotamian Origins", 1930, he postulates an earlier culture out of which came Sumerians, Semites, and Indo-European peoples.

Gerald Heard in "The Source of Civilization", 1935, sees back of the three great early civilizations of the Indus, Egypt, and Sumeria a proto-civilization which perhaps developed on the Iranian tableland. Aurel Stein in his latest explorations in Baluchistan has found further evidences of this. The original Fertility or Life Religion of the proto-civilization came down through the Indus and survives in India to the present day. In Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the West, on the other hand, it sank into the subconscious. "India may, with greater intuition as to Life's needs, have kept on the Religion of Life because it felt that the alternative to some such

intense way of realizing kinship with Life, as individualism grows, can only be through increased use of coercion, through physical violence", Heard surmises. Mankind for five thousand years has had a double consciousness which some primitive peoples have escaped even today. The East, and particularly the peaceful Indus civilization, shows one branch of this consciousness, our Western civilization the other.

The Indus civilization brings us "historical evidence of a way of carrying on social life without the constant threat of war abroad and the constant use of violence to maintain peace at home". Until its discovery "we had drawn all our notions as to what civilization could be and was . . . from Egypt and Sumer. . . . Whether the Sumerian and Egyptian war specialization was or was not inevitable, it was a specialization, an invention, a departure. It was not part of man's biological inheritance, nor was it any more necessary to a state of civilization than to the earlier state of nature." (20th ed, 1936, pp 150-2)

(4) Much of this growing interest is due to Wells' "Outline", which stimulated interest in books on primitive man, some of which were reviewed in successive editions of the Handbook. "The Adventure of Man", 1926, by F. Crossfield Hapgood, history master at the Perse School, reveals his belief that it is a thrilling story, and holds the interest of a child of twelve. It is comparable to Hillyer's "Child's History of the World", though entirely different in method.

Sir Arthur Keith has played a most active part in following the trail of ancient man. His "Antiquity of Man", a classic, has gone through many editions. In "New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man", 1931, he describes the recent finds in Africa, Egypt, Palestine, and China. Keith believes that all existing races have sprung from one ancestral stock, but that differentiation has gone on in each region which has produced and sheltered its own type.

In "The History of World Civilization", 1931, Herman Schneider attempts to trace the evolution of world culture from prehistoric times to the middle ages. The Neolithic culture and its solar religion, originating in Europe immediately after the ice age, has given rise, the author believes, to a few creative, civilized peoples—the product of cross breeding. It's these peoples that continue to assimilate objectively the world and transmit their cultures to the other inhabitants of the planet. "The Stone Age Civilizations in Europe" is followed by "The Civilizations of the Earliest Inventors of Writing", and that by "The Civilizations of the Earliest Peoples to Borrow and Perfect Writing".

"Before the Dawn of History", 1934, with appropriate texts reproduces Charles R. Knight's famous murals, in the New York and Chicago museums, of prehistoric life. By turning the pages one gains something of the hundred million year vision. In "Children of the Yellow Earth", 1934, J. Gunnar Andersson tells of his ten years in China investigating "dragon bones" and the caves where Peking man was discovered. In "Adam's Ancestors", 1934, L. S. B. Leakey writes of his three expeditions in East Africa through which he added enormously to our knowledge of prehistoric man.

(5) Malinowski, who spent some years living with the natives of the Trobriand Islands near New Guinea, in his two volumes "Sexual Life of Savages" concludes that while their ways are not our ways, "the savage measured by standards of aesthetics, morality and manners displays the same human frailties, imperfections and strivings as a member of any civilized community". (From "The Virtues of Primitive Life", Handbook of Summer Camps, 7th ed, 1930, p 31)

(6) Oswald Spengler's "Untergang des Abendlandes", written during the

World War, shows the pessimistic tinge of the Teutonic mind. He sees civilization occurring in cycles. Western European civilization, the ninth cycle, is to be succeeded by the tenth, which is going through its initial stages in Russia. The conception of recurring cycles is as old as Asiatic thought. It lies at the basis of most oriental philosophy. We find it in the reincarnations of the Buddhas. Polybius made much of it. It comes to us in the Christian idea of milleniums and resurrections. It was not unknown to Hegel. It is a bromide, "history repeats itself". It is a plausible theory, for we know that there are rhythms in things cosmic. Cycles in economic and political things are not so clearly established, though they are interesting subjects for theorizing. [Sorokin more recently has elaborated his own theory of cycles, cf pp 396, 400.] In "Civilization or Civilizations", 1926, E. H. Goddard and P. A. Gibbons follow Spengler's cyclical theory. To make it fit, Chinese civilization is assumed to have begun about 1500 B. C. and to have ended with the birth of our era. Based on knowledge of the moralists, this shows ignorance of Chinese art and culture which reached its peak during the Sung dynasty. (11th ed, 1927, pp 53-4)

Clive Bell in "Civilization", 1928, approaching his subject from the standpoint of the art critic, arrives at puzzlement and confusion. "Civilization is something artificial. The essential characteristic of a civilized society is not that it is creative, but that it is appreciative; savages create." J. H. Denison in a study of "Emotion as the Basis of Civilization", 1928, emphasizes that social responses have not been much actuated by reason, but more by feeling; that matriarchy, loyalty, fealty, and support of the priesthood have been based on emotion; that social emotion has fixed and maintained institutions and is the motive power which makes institutions work. (13th ed, 1929, pp 39-40)

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MORES AND MORALS

The anthropologist sees comparatively in great variety the ways in which man acts and regards his cherished way of life. Perpetuation like origin is due to isolation and ignorance of the ways of other peoples.

The educational world today is ripe for sound teaching along lines that have been designated 'ethical'. There is a deep-seated feeling that the salvation of the race does not lie wholly in intellectual attainment, material development, or physical efficiency. In part this is due to the shattering of our faith in the things we have depended upon and is a turning back to things less understandable, a reversion which, in its cruder forms, manifests itself in fundamentalism and in recurring interest in the occult. It is a healthy reaction, on the whole. (1)

The ethics that we teach, our ideas of right and wrong, came to us from some Moses who long ago heard the voice of his God without, or from some individual who heard the wee small voice within himself. But new revelations have come to us through seeing and knowing God's world about us. To some have come new conceptions of right and justice.

SIN AND SOCIOLOGY

It takes a pope's encyclical, or a Sunday morning in some hill town church to bring back to us of this generation the ancient concept of sin. The sense of guilt is something that particularly belongs to the Western world of the last two thousand years. It arose from superimposing an Oriental culture on that of the northern barbarians. It rests on the idea that there is one way that is right, and that the fellow who does not follow that way will go to hell. Those who have given the most study to these other ways that we do not approve, boys' club men, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists,—ask them what they think about sin. Or go to the Bible and read,—“There is no man that sinneth not” (I Kings 8:46), “He that despiseth his neighbor sinneth” (Prov. 14: 21). “All have sinned”, St. Paul concluded (Romans 3:23).

There is no sin but ignorance, in the light of ancient understanding and of modern knowledge. In “Sociology and Sin”, 1929, P. Sargant Florence, of Magdalene College, would apply scientific method in social practices. He finds sociologists too anxious “to uplift the human race, to establish morality”, which prevents their seeing the human race as it is. (2)

Alfred L. Hall-Quest in “It's Not Our Fault”, 1929, brilliantly and startlingly cuts through the crust of what most of us accept. In dealing with sin, he tells us how the priesthood capitalized our troubles for their

own benefit, how legislators and lawyers have dabbled in it, how social workers, educators and psychologists have won their bread dealing with it. He helps the reader to see and understand his own sin and possible sins without the aid of all this priestcraft. He helps the individual man to freedom, to independence. He shocks the shockable and stimulates the "militantly intelligent". It would be fun to watch the explosions if the book fell into the hands of some smug school person.

ETHICS AND RELIGION

Once religion and life were one. It is a very significant fact that the word "religion" does not once occur in the Old Testament. There was no need of the word, for everything was religious. In all primitive societies it was so. Law was simply the will of the gods. Morals were determined by religious tabus. Art was first occupied with carving semblances of the gods and decorating their shrines. In the fulness of time some great soul, torn with the conflict within his own personality, by great travail gives birth to some unifying concept of life, a new interpretation of all existence, a new religion. The vaguely felt desires of many are focalized in him and they turn eagerly to his solution. In such manner are religions borns. (3)

"The Story of Religion", 1929, "As told in the lives of its leaders, with special reference to atavisms, common elements, and parallel customs in the religions of the world", is presented by Charles Francis Potter. It gives sympathetic accounts of the great leaders from Ikhnaton on to the twentieth century. "Religions are systems of belief and practice which arise among the disciples of some man who has attained a satisfying measure of success in his endeavors to unify and complete his personality. . . . The idea of religion without God is shocking to Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, but Buddha and Confucius long ago founded non-theistic religions and some modern Unitarian Humanists insist that the idea of God is a positive hindrance to the progress of real religion." (4)

H. L. Mencken, like Shaw, has been looked upon as a mountebank. Now it is pretty generally realized how serious he is even if his mind does occasionally turn somersaults while others stand stolidly by. In his "Treatise on the Gods", 1930, he tells how they were created and how to do away with them. He stresses the folly of superstition and eulogizes human intelligence and courage. He wants to free men of fear, of reliance on the supernatural and lead them to rely on their own efforts. Having worked himself up to the belief that he must jar them out of what are to him harmful attitudes, having a profound conviction that people are capable of something better, he charges full steam ahead against these prejudices as valiantly as Don Quixote against the windmill. (5)

The story of how religion has adapted itself to different peoples in different times; how new knowledge, new habits, new customs have had their repercussions in new thoughts, new feelings,—is one of the greatest epics of man's history. In this connection it is interesting to consider how many hundreds if not thousands of gods have been named and worshiped. Someone published such a list not long ago. (14th ed, 1930, pp 66-8)

THE NEW MORALITY

In the shifting light of new science even our ethical ideas change. Our lengthening view of the past is enabling us to project our vision further into the future. Wells showed the way, but his interest was in what was immediately ahead. Haldane takes us forward ten thousand years at a leap and from such vantage point looks into the more distant future. But W. Olaf Stapledon, author of "A Modern Theory of Ethics", in his "Last and First Men" doesn't hesitate to go forward more daringly a hundred million years and tell us about the Eighteenth Man who found it necessary to migrate to Neptune from Venus which his ancestors colonized.

Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World", 1931, pokes fun at present day attitudes by showing to what absurdities they may run if not checked. Conceived in bottles in laboratories by scientists, no one knows his father or mother nor even dares to refer to them. The terms have become obscene. Such is his satire, not biting or bitter but giving us a new angle from which to view things we have not dared to look at or have dimly regarded with traditional reverence. (6)

This same year another grandson of Thomas, Julian Huxley, produced "What Dare I Think?" in which he attempts to show how biology points the way to solution of all human problems and how we may reconstruct our ethics in biological terms. The control of our environment, the development of the individual and the race, and the origin and future of our concepts, faiths and beliefs,—all of these are the result of life, come out of life and consequently are biological. All religious and mystical attitudes, Huxley would lead us to believe, are as subject to consideration and careful weighing in relation to the effect on the individual and the race, as are any other traits of the individual or species, physical or mental.

In "Man Comes of Age", 1931, John Langdon-Davies, an Englishman who periodically invades this country on lecture tours, would bring together science, religion and morality. "The brute facts of orthodox morality" are "derived from science, from man's picture of the universe". But unfortunately those that are prevalent are inherited from an ancient and outdated view. How to close up this lag, how to utilize our scientific knowledge in building a new ethics and religion is the problem that interests the author. He would have us scrutinize all traditional beliefs,

whether classed as common sense, ethics, or religion, and revise these in the light of modern science. Then he believes man will have come of age. (16th ed, 1932, pp 63, 69-70)

OUR IMMORAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

So long as ethics was part of religion, the voice of God, we could only accept blindly and, failing to live up to the tabus, develop a callous, hypocritical hide, a sanctimonious attitude or be overcome with a sense of sin. This very consciousness of guilt was supposed to be the one means to redemption. This attitude doesn't fall in with modern psychology, since through ethnological studies of the mores of primitive peoples we have come to better understanding of our own mores or group morality.

"Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics", 1932, by Reinhold Niebuhr, is both interesting and stimulating. The thesis is the old one of the wolf and the pack, the citizen and the mob, the individual and the nation. Groups of any kind have to harmonize their activities which means degrading their ideals. Hence the group always stands on a lower moral level than some of its individuals. The group must occupy a median position. The group can only be brought up on its level as individuals stand out above it and raise its standards. Consequently the privileged classes, the so-called superior races, and organized society in general, including governments and nations, are below the moral standards of some of the individuals which make them up. (7)

Niebuhr considers futile the "hope that education can really achieve a significant critical detachment from contemporary culture and its official propagation in the public schools. . . . It is implicitly assumed that modern society fails to plan its economic processes because it lacks the intelligence to do so; and that the schools will furnish this intelligence. The fact is that the interest of the powerful dominant groups, who profit from the present system of society, are the real hindrance to the establishment of a rational and just society." (17th ed, 1933, pp 93-4)

ETHICAL RELATIVITY

'Moral' is a term much misused and its meaning misconceived. It has to do with behavior. In every society whether a primitive tribe on an isolated island or the proudest nation of western Europe, man has established his code of behavior. He calls this propriety, convention, custom, law, ethics. He may keep his fellows in line through retributive justice, a band of vigilantes on horseback, a mob with a rope, the Blind Goddess holding the scales, or a Mrs. Grundy at every function. What will incite these various agencies to action varies with time and place. In

San Francisco it is not the same today as in 1850. It differs in Alabama and Massachusetts.

Latitudes have much to do with moral attitudes. To those imaginative and idealistic individuals who see the possibilities of a more perfect human society, almost everything sanctioned seems immoral. To many repressed individuals who attempt to live under an ancient Jewish code that is foreign to them, normal sex behavior may seem the only thing that is immoral. Most writings on morals are dull or ridiculous.

In "America's Social Morality", 1933, James Hayden Tufts with mellowed wisdom considers the mores of the American people as a nation, confining himself to an inquiry into the social morality that prevails and how it has come to be what it is. He finds "standards themselves are uncertain and in some cases shifting", and his purpose is to "discover these moral dilemmas and explore the factors that are causing strains and tensions". The moral dilemmas of the business world, of the American attitudes toward property and wealth, profit-seeking and public welfare, are fairly met. The phases of our social morality which include our attitudes toward law and law-breaking, the conscientious objector and the lawless police, the moral conflicts in theories of state and government, are handled in a scientific, impersonal way.

"Ethical Relativity", 1933, by Edward Westermarck, supplements the author's "Origin and Development of Moral Ideas". His chief thesis is that "the moral consciousness is ultimately based on emotions, that the moral judgment lacks validity, that the moral values are not absolute but relative to the emotions they express". Whether we are Trobriand islander, Virginia gentleman, or Parisian roué, we regard as moral those things which we approve, and we approve those things in accord with our individual taste. The American countryman generally regards as bad the fungi which are relished by Europeans. The Englishman loathes the frog the Frenchman loves.

Of course these moral tastes are more complex and more deeply influenced by customs and habits and intellectual considerations than some other tastes. The Egyptian of Ptolemy's time regarded the marriage of brother and sister in the royal family as good. The Alabaman of today regards the association of a black buck and a white girl as bad, but adopts an amoral silence in regard to the association of the white man and the black girl.

This moral relativity does not lead to moral anarchy. We are no less guided by our tastes because we know them to be merely tastes, and there is no reason why our moral preferences should be less effective because we understand what they are. Our self-respect comes to be more and more bound up in a satisfying of our tastes. "Our ethics may

be relative, but they are relative to a total situation of which we are a part and therefore have as much stability and as much urgency as it is desirable that moral principles should have." (8)

GOOD AND EVIL

How the Nile civilization arose, and how expression of moral attitudes and justice was put down in writing as early as 4000 B. C., is summarized by America's great Egyptologist, James H. Breasted, in the ripest fruit of his long career, "The Dawn of Conscience", 1933. (9)

We are the heirs of a social and moral development which, beginning in the Nile valley, has come to us "rather through the Hebrews than from them." For the Egyptian culture is three thousand years older than the Jewish and "contributed essentially to the formation of the literature we call the Old Testament". The wisdom of Amenemope, for example, is the source of the old Book of Proverbs. The thousand-year old Egyptian version of the text Breasted translates, "Seest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before kings."

When men began to write down their moralizings for others to repeat, they became self-conscious of their superiority. That started man on a course from primitive downrightness to modern self-righteousness and hypocrisy. Breasted follows the development of moral precepts which have been preserved to us in the writings of the Egyptians and Hebrew scribes. They are no more to be taken as reflecting the mores and morality of their times than the moralizing of Polonius of his times. Sculptured stones tell of the grinding of the poor by the tax collectors and the atrocities of injustice which belie these texts. Then as now rulers invoked their gods and defied them, as did King David. (10)

A genuine idealist and reformer like Ikhnaton, whose god "heareth petitions and cometh at the cry of the afflicted poor", was soon dethroned and destroyed by the ancient priestcraft. Social consciousness and social justice are modern conceptions. They were no more revealed by God to man in the past than was the glory of the sunset or the majesty of the mountains. Those things have been reserved for this later time. Our ethical teaching, parental and pedagogical, has made us what we are, evasive hypocrites.

Breasted makes clear to us how the idea of good and evil came into the world, of the invention of morality by the priesthood. He put together from fragments a play which the nobles of upper Egypt put on about 4000 B. C. The characters presented types of behavior that were abhorred on the one hand or loved on the other. Evidently this was a popular play and went through many performances. There is no thought of good or evil, it is only that people behave differently. Somewhat later the priests,

who up till that time had been concerned with rites for the dead, made it known that certain types of behavior were beloved of the gods, others punished, and that they as representatives of the gods might intercede. So they invented the idea of good and evil and morality, which their successors have continued to enlarge upon. (11)

Good and evil then are human inventions, names we give to certain types of behavior and their more or less fancied results which we do or do not like. Religion has to do with emotions, faith. Morality has to do with the ways of doing things, mores. (18th ed, 1934, pp 88-95)

NOTES

(1) "Education for Moral Growth", 1923, by Henry Neumann, is inspired by the teachings of Felix Adler. The greatest menace to our democracy lies not in illiteracy or violent radicalism or vicious criminality, but in the fact "that the number of persons in any community who do any prolonged, serious, intelligent thinking upon fundamental ethical principles is certainly smaller than the number of those to whom life is a game to be played no better or no worse than everybody else plays it." "The Puritan Offering", with its idea of individualistic, self-centered, and aggressive freedom, with its classification of man as simply good or bad, does not provide a morality for the present day. "The Tradition of Classical Culture" with its caste distinctions, unfitted to all minds, consuming inordinate time, tending toward conservatism, has served its time and must pass. "The Pragmatist Criticism" in education has turned us from lesson learning to the performance of real tasks. The most important moral agency is found in the actual performance and self-direction of the pupils themselves. (9th ed, 1925, pp 72-3)

(2) "Sin and the New Psychology", 1930, is written by a dyed-in-the-wool Presbyterian minister. The color remains fast after being exposed to all the modernisms of the psychoanalyst and the psychiatrist. He finds that after all what they are studying is really the old original sin which began with Adam and Eve because of the apple. Dr. Barbour after taking his reader all about the fringes of the subject, peers in upon Freud, Jung, Adler and McDougall. After all that, according to the publisher's note on the jacket, he brings us to Jesus. (15th ed, 1931, p 81)

(3) The elements of our religion we now know came from the Neanderthal Man. Before him, the Hamadryads sitting on Abyssinian cliffs before the dawn awaited the rising of the sun,—sun worshippers. And all the way down the scale of animal life we still find sun worshippers. And as we, like Ikhnaton, rid ourselves of creeds we shall still be sun worshippers. One must go to the East to understand religion. In India they still live it as well as believe it. The Moham-medans of Rajputana still fear God,—a meaningless phrase in Western mouths. We Westerners, to whom all our religions have come from the East, know nothing of the religious intensity of belief that is leading today thousands of Easterners to abnegation of everything of the flesh. We Westerners see only a little of the after-glow of the glorious sunset tints our ancestors saw of the sun which came out of the East and is now below our Western rim. Go to the East if you are really interested in varieties of religious experience. Religion goes sour in our Nordic, northern minds. Some of us have gotten rid of the old mystical religion, found a basis for a religion on which we build a greater faith.

(4) "This Believing World", 1926, is "a simple account of the great religions of mankind", by Lewis Browne, a Jewish rabbi who writes with sympathy, understanding, and detachment. It was written in Jerusalem, which the prologue portrays saturated with religion, its animosities, its evils, and this leads to inquiry of "How it All Began" and "How Religion Developed in the Ancient World". The language of the hymnals becomes intelligible when we here read of how Christianity adopted from the older and rival religion, Mithraism, much of its phraseology and ritual. The usual attitude toward others' religions is at best one of condescension. Here is a book no Christian could have written. Certainly none has. Here is a book that is sweet, truthful and revealing, stimulating and wholesome. (11th ed, 1927, p 57)

(5) In 1934 Mencken produced his "Treatise on Right and Wrong", a pedestrian treatment by a sober, solid sage who occasionally still lets out a rip-roaring snort at some hypocrisy, avoids the quagmire of definitions of right and wrong, moral and immoral. Mencken is as learned in the letter of his subject as any academic pundit, and with Aristotle believes that ethics should be ranked among the sciences. He is strongly of the opinion that "its frequent pollution by theology should not be permitted to disguise the fact that, at bottom, it deals with realities and with some of the most solid realities confronting mankind". The key to a better ethics is in a better government. If we could apply to the economic business of society the same intelligence we apply to getting out a newspaper or cutting off a leg, our ethics would be improved. (18th ed, 1934, p 96)

(6) "Eyeless in Gaza", a novel of serious undercurrent, marked the return to religion of this post-war sophisticate. "Ends and Means: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for Their Realization", 1937, attempts some response to the old despairing cry, "What shall I do to be saved?" Brilliantly bewildering is his pilgrimage to Buddha, Christ, and the mystics. His scientific curiosity dulled, he is overwhelmed by the great mysteries, and the atavistic physicists have debauched him. This is a noble, illogical, unscientific, semi-hypnotic self-abnegating, platitudinous and misinformed effort which bewitches and befuddles many who have lost their orientation. Huxley and Gerald Heard after a year of travel about America south and west have both pessimistically turned to religion. Heard in "The Third Morality", 1937, attempts to establish a new cosmology and a new ethic. Bafflingly vague, it grows from "nucleations", promoted by a non-protein diet and Yoga exercises, mixed up with Bergson, bits of Jeans, the chiropractors and the charlatans. (22nd ed, 1938, pp 171-2) A scientific, evolutionary treatment of the three moralities has been delineated by Alfred Machin (cf pp 440-3).

(7) Niebuhr holds that human intelligence is on trial. "Slogans and catchwords do substitute duty for thought". Contending factions create morale by "dogmas, symbols and emotionally potent oversimplifications". "Modern educators are, like rationalists of all the ages, too enamored of the function of reason in life. The world of history, particularly in man's collective behavior, will never be conquered by reason, unless reason uses tools, and is itself driven by forces which are not rational. The sociologists, as a class, understand the modern social problem even less than the educators." "Educators, as all other middle class moralists, underestimate the conflict of interest in political and economic relations and attribute to disinterested ignorance what ought usually to be attributed to interested intelligence." "The moralist may be as dangerous a guide as the political realist. He usually fails to recognise the elements of injustice and coercion which are present

in any contemporary social peace. The coercive elements are covert, because dominant groups are able to avail themselves of the use of economic power, propaganda, the traditional processes of government, and other types of non-violent power."

(8) "Human Nature and Conduct", 1922, by John Dewey, is a great book. In his preface he tells us, "The individual mind can be understood in the concrete only as a system of beliefs, desires and purposes which are formed in the interaction of biological aptitudes with the environment". That morals are social is his culminating thesis. "For practical purposes, morals mean customs, folkways, established collective habits." They are "connected with actualities of existence, not with ideals, ends and obligations independent of concrete actualities. The facts upon which they depend are those which arise out of active connections of human beings with one another, the consequences of their mutually intertwining activities in a life of desire, belief, judgment, satisfaction and dissatisfaction". Only therefore by intelligent acknowledgment of the continuity of nature, man and society will it be possible to secure "a growth of morals which will be serious without being fanatical, aspiring without sentimentality, adapted to reality without conventionality, sensible without taking the form of calculation of profits, idealistic without being romantic". No book that Professor Dewey has produced more strongly challenges traditional conceptions in the fields of education and social enterprise. (8th ed, 1923, pp 39-40)

Dewey, the most eminent living American philosopher, has had the greatest influence on educational thought in America, Europe, and Asia. Nearly every edition of the Handbook has referred to some new production or activity of Dewey's. In the 10th edition, 1926, pp 86-7, was reviewed his "Experience and Nature", 1924, a liberal and intellectual inquiry into the nature of human goods and meanings, and the possibility of their intelligent liberation and control. He holds, "Nothing but the best, nothing but the richest and fullest experience possible is good enough for man".

Dewey's "Philosophy and Civilization", 1931, emphasizes that "philosophy, like politics, literature and the plastic arts, is itself a phenomenon of human culture". He tells us, "We shall make a real beginning in intelligent thought when we cease mouthing platitudes, stop confining our idea to antitheses of individualism and socialism, capitalism and communism, and realize that the issue is between chaos and order, chance and control, the haphazard use and the planned use of scientific techniques". (16th ed, 1932, p 83)

"Reason and Nature: An Essay on the Meaning of Scientific Method", 1931, by one of our foremost thinkers, Morris R. Cohen, is a most exhaustive and scientific examination into the insurgence against reason and the substitutes for reason. By reason he means the scientific method, "the Hellenic ideal of science as a free inquiry into nature and of ethics". (16th ed, 1932, p 83)

John Dewey has carried William James' pragmatism into our schools and universities where it had a profound influence on America and American life. Following Charles Pierce, James taught that truth must be tested by investigation, agree with reality, practical consequences. "A religious precept, a philosophical concept, a moral preachment, had to be looked at in this way: 'What sensible difference to anybody will its truth make? How will truth be realized? What experiences will be different from those which would obtain if the belief were false? What, in short, is the truth's cash value in experimental terms?'" (Winkler and Bromberg, "Mind Explorers", quoted in "What Makes Lives", Sargent, 1940, p 78)

(9) It is the dawn that Breasted deals with. There is little about conscience

as we know it today in his treatise. But T. V. Smith in "Beyond Conscience", 1934, brings us to an understanding that conscience is a part of our own ego to which most of us bend the knee in worship. Conscience, he concludes, may be efficacious but there is no metaphysical, scientific, or logical reason for believing that the acts dictated by conscience are any better than those prescribed by any other hunch or dogma. Conscience is personal and esthetic. We obey conscience not to improve the state of the world or our own characters but merely because of the pleasure we derive in doing what seems to us appropriate to that particular part of conscience that to us represents ourselves. (19th ed, 1935, pp 59-60)

(10) Willard Waller in "The Veteran Comes Back", Dryden, 1944, deals realistically with our treatment of our returned conscripts, which follows David's pattern. "When he wronged a man he had that man killed." "But the thing that David had done displeased the Lord" (II Samuel, 11:27).

(11) With the conception of evil there followed the conception of the devil, which can be traced back to about 3000 B. C. on the Iranian plateau. Evil men sold themselves to the devil and became enemies of mankind, but they could be redeemed through the influences of the priesthood. Later Gregory emphasized the idea of Purgatory where they might be held in cold storage to give their friends and relatives opportunity to raise money for masses to save them from that durance vile. Torquemada believed all these things intently and devoted his life with zeal and sincerity to the saving of souls from the devil and hell at whatever cost to their bodies. Today the shrewd and ambitious who rule us must to do so take a high moral attitude, they must be as sincere as Torquemada and as ruthless in putting down evil. And if it becomes necessary to "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels", then the devils must be painted very black and the evil very imminent, that we may go out to fight for righteousness and morality and put down evil. It is thus that men have been brought to fight these thousands of years. It helps to frustrate them, and of course there are primitive drives within us all that can be appealed to. (Cf "The Nature of Peace and War", Porter Sargent, not yet published)

There can be a science of ethics, but so strongly entrenched are the theologians of every school behind their own artificial ethical barriers that when a scientist puts forth as a vice-presidential address to the A.A.A.S. experimental work carefully tested, well documented and based on thousands of tested experiments by scores of men, he feels it necessary to entitle it "Where Angels Fear to Tread: A Contribution from General Sociology to Human Ethics", *Science*, June 11, 1943. W. C. Allee of the University of Chicago has studied behavior experimentally in many groups of animals and is familiar with the work done by other scientists on the social life of animals from the protozoa to the primates. Biologically cooperation has been and is more powerful than competition. "The transition from the power politics of the international peck order to a system based on international cooperation . . . along practical lines which accord with sound biological theory . . . is a practical engineering job" for biologists.

THE LONG ROAD

The greatest story ever told of life these millions of years is revealed by the biologist and the paleontologist. The anthropologist tells of man and his myths and the archeologist carries on the tale to where the historian picks it up.

No longer have we the certitude of preceding generations whose views were established by some hierarchy. Our Calvinist forefathers believed, and their children chanted that the chief end of man was "to glorify God and exalt Him forever". It is those who know God's works who are filled with wonder, the spirit of worship.

From the investigators with the telescope and the microscope we are learning more and more of the mysterious ways in which God moves, His wonders to perform. The world's real educators are those who love to tell the story, not those who parrot the old stuff to children, who assume as their function the mere transmission of what their teachers taught them. It is our teachers, whose outlook has been limited, who need the revelations that come from the explorers on the frontiers of knowledge. (1)

THE STORY OF LIFE

And God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of Heaven. And God created whales and every living creature that moveth." This is the beginning of the story of life which our fathers were taught from the Book of Genesis. On such Hebrew tradition has been built much of our social and legal structure. How much more interesting is the story of life now set before us.

"The Parade of the Living", 1930, is viewed by John Hodgdon Bradley from the stand of the paleontologist, who confesses that he "has used the vocabulary of man simply because that of oysters is unknown to him". From the earliest life in the ocean to the conquest of the land by the amphibian, the story of animal and plant life is followed. Bipedal dinosaurs "prodded on by death at their heels, rose off their bellies and ran like kangaroos". Flippantly he tells of the discoveries of paleontologists up even to the 1930 Peking man of two million years ago. (2)

The educational and publishing event of the year is H. G. Wells' long-heralded "The Science of Life", 1931, the second part of his great trilogy, of which the first was "The Outline of History". The hand of the story teller is everywhere evident although Wells generously gives equal credit to his son and to the grandson of the great Huxley, both scientists of

training and standing, who doubtless arranged the material. Easy and fascinating reading as it is for any high school pupil, yet Tom Barbour, the Harvard zoologist, tells us that anyone who knows its contents could easily pass the examination for the Ph.D. degree in biology at Harvard.

Beginning with the human body as the biological unit with which one is best acquainted is good pedagogy, and so we learn about our own cells, blood, nutrition, excretion, locomotion, and our origin from the microscopic fertilized egg, the how and why of the development of genetics. Environment, ecology, disease and immunity, lead up to the psychology of man and animals, religion, war, and eugenics. If you would understand the life, the body, the mind of yourself and of other organisms that have lived during these millions of years, and how they came to be, and what may come out of it all, this elaboration of the story of creation is one of the best to read.

THE ASCENT FROM THE APE

Genesis summarizes the greatest story ever told, and until within the century we Westerns have been satisfied with the Biblical account. Since Wells in his "Outline" led our imaginations backward, innumerable authors have put into narrative the story of man as revealed by paleontologists and archeologists.

Why we are social beings and why we behave as we do in the society of each other is illuminated by S. Zuckerman's "Social Life of Monkeys and Apes", 1932. Zuckerman shows a satisfactory acquaintance with the simians, particularly with the various species of baboons both in the north and in the south of Africa. Then he spent some three years in continued observation of the colony of *Hamadryas* baboons at Baboon Hill in the London Zoo. In writing of their social life he deals largely with their sex life. And this is not surprising when we realize that it is sexual attraction that brings individuals together and which results in the creation of families and family groups. He finds little in the sexual or social life of the simians that is not human, but he fails to find any of the human traits in the simians which other observers have thought they found, for example altruism. (3)

"Up from the Ape", 1931, by Earnest A. Hooton of Harvard, covers the whole subject of early man from the point of view of the anthropologist. Naturally a humorist and extremely human in his attitude, his style is fresh and amusing. The book is most readable, the illustrations excellent. The author has that command of the literature which one would expect from a college professor who has lectured on the subject year after year. But there's nothing pretentious in the way he puts across what he calls "the stuff which I deliver each year". Some of his terms are pungent,

as when he refers to our "fossil ancestors", and "cousin gorilla". "Organic evolution", he believes, "is an achievement not unworthy of any God and not incompatible with the loftiest conception of religion". And he adds: "What difference does it make whether God is Nature or Nature is God?" (4)

THE EMERGENCE OF MAN

Now that we know that some elements of culture and of religion are derived from earlier and related species, our respect for and interest in them increases. The correlated development of hand and brain can be traced through four or five known species of *Homo* by the tools they fashioned as well as by their bones and dwelling places. Moreover, the religious Harvard geologist, Kirtley F. Mather, tells us, "belief in the continuity of life after death and in the reality of a spirit world is actually older than the existing human species".

"The Adventure of Mankind", 1931, is by Eugen Georg, a German who writes imaginatively as though he had observed it all from another planet. He tries to show continuity amid the disappearance of races and to indicate possible relationship between the culture of Indo-China and that of the Mayas and the Incas.

"The Emergence of Man", 1932, by Gerald Heard, is the story of man's upward climb to his present state. The story of man in all its complexity is for Mr. Heard the gradual "emergence of man's spirit as self-conscious, critical intelligence". During the early stages man was not individualized as we are today. The unit was the horde, the group or the nation. He distinguishes *Ikhnaton* as the first individual in history. In the eighth century B.C., and particularly in Greece, individuals appeared generally and religion became transformed in the interest of individuality. But this individualizing of mind was perilous, and "what civilization has to fear is the unavoidable growth of individuality and self-consciousness". He attempts a reconciliation between the late Victorian complacency over our conquest of nature, and the attitude of despair of our modern Spenglers, first expressed by Winwood Reade in his "Martyrdom of Man".

NOTES

(1) How much there is still to be learned from exploration and discovery is revealed in the activities of David Fairchild and William Morton Wheeler. One of their extended trips was together, as they mention in their books. Fairchild has been responsible for the introduction of two thousand species of plants brought from the ends of the earth to be added to the agricultural and horticultural wealth of our own country. (Cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 100-1)

In his "Exploring for Plants", 1930, Fairchild has told in fascinatingly readable form of his travels in search of new foods for Americans and of his studies of the habits and prejudices of peoples in all parts of the world. While the golden thread

of this narrative is the food habits of the world, it is a delightfully readable book interspersed with significant anecdotes and bits of educational philosophy. William Morton Wheeler is another real educator, constantly throwing light on human social problems through his first hand knowledge of social life among the insects which led him to his study of "The Foibles of Insects and Men", in which he pursues the academic minded to their lairs and points out the dry rot that surrounds them. The solution of modern man's social problems, he sees, rests with the biologists, the psychologists, and the anthropologists, without whose best efforts "your theologians, philosophers, jurists, and politicians will continue to add to the existing confusion of your social organization". His sensationnally titled "Demons of the Dust", 1931, takes the reader around the world and through the centuries on the trail of two ferocious and predatory insects, the ant-lion and the worm-lion, whose remarkable behavior he has been studying in Australia, Sumatra, and Central and South America. (15th ed, 1931, pp 85-6)

(2) Bradley's "Parade" was followed by "Autobiography of Earth", 1935, and "The Other Side of Progress", *Yale Review*, Spring, 1937. In "Patterns of Survival", 1938, Bradley tells us, "Nature has always been an inefficient wastrel", producing more seeds and eggs and individuals than can survive. The waste of wars we have laid on the nature of man, "a spurious justification for the few who profit by war and a spurious nobility for the many who lose". For "the wars of animals in general are fought between creatures belonging to different species". Ants fight great battles, but with opposing species of ants or with termites. Man is the only species that wastes and destroys others of the same species. (Cf "What Makes Lives", Sargent, 1940, pp 221-2)

(3) In "Functional Affinities of Man, Monkeys, and Apes", 1934, Zuckerman, for a time associated with Yerkes at Yale, supplemented the latter's writings, bringing together the results of recent researches on anthropoid physiology and intelligence. In monkey society he found basic resemblances to human society but no identity. (19th ed, 1935, p 80)

Clarence Day, who is best known from his "Life With Father", in 1920 wrote a slight book, "This Simian World", which amusingly revealed the grim parallel between the ways of man and other simians. No mere humorist, he ended on a serious note of chastisement of his own species.

(4) Professor Hooton will soon issue a revised edition of "Up From the Ape", which has long been used as a textbook. More has been learned in the last thirty years about early man and his ancestors than in all time previous, he tells me. The great accumulation of knowledge since the last edition makes this an onerous task and will result in a new book.

Since the publication of "Up From the Ape", Hooton has become the chief apologist for man to our relatives, the apes. In "Apes, Men, and Morons", 1937, he brings together addresses that have been tried out on the graduates of our universities and proved good. The whole has been worked over and fused. The concoction will prove good for a sluggish liver and may start something higher up. It is especially prescribed for teachers and preachers. His writing is virile, colorful, and irritating. ("Human Affairs", Sargent, 1938, pp 147-9) In "Man's Poor Relations", 1942, Hooton gives us a well organized and interestingly written digest of what is known about the primates, interspersed with his characteristic caustic asides. (Cf "War and Education", Sargent, 1943, pp 224-5 and index)

REVITAMINIZING EDUCATION

If education is to fit a society no longer static, its processes must be vitalized to encourage growth. Powerful incentives must be used to liberate and utilize the internal energy of its present stultified victims.

You may have seen pictures of laboratory rats deprived of vitamins. With ruffled coats, relaxed muscles, bleary eyes, and sagging heads, they are sad-looking objects. After the vitamins have been restored to their diet the same rats are sleek, alert. Similarly devitaminized were the children in the formal schools of the eighties. It was educational rickets. (1)

The characteristic thing about the school of the eighties and nineties was the straight rows of desks. To play school, children first arranged chairs in straight rows. Then one of them would imitate the severe, formal manner of the teacher. That was school. Such was the formal system, and a barren ritual prevailed. Except when mischief or bootlicking the teacher was uppermost in their minds, school children were a dead, drooping lot.

Stand where you may watch the children coming to any modern country day school at the opening hour. You see them arriving by car, bus or on foot. They come with singing step, elate, alert. You look in vain for the school boy of old dragging his feet 'unwillingly to school'. These children are not suffering from educational rickets. Upon what vitamins have they been fed? How have they been so revitalized? (2)

OUR GRANDFATHERS' SCHOOLING

It was the farm that gave us the men and women of initiative who developed the resources of our country. Something in their early training enabled them to meet emergencies successfully and conquer difficulties. Their schooling was meager. Often the session in the little red schoolhouse was only for the three or four winter months when some yokel from a neighboring college was drafted to 'keep school'.

This formal schooling with its limited book learning could hardly have supplied the balanced ration on which our fathers fed. The school masters assumed that it did. They magnified and elaborated the book work, the formal side of education. As demand increased, they multiplied textbooks, and rows of desks grew longer and straighter. The 'little red schoolhouse' became a sacred symbol, its servitors a priesthood, and the priestcraft developed its rite and ritual.

It was inevitable that education should be thus formalized. It was incident to the building up of a democratic school system, for the cost of

supplying popular education had to be adjusted to what the taxpayer would bear and that meant mass production and formalized education. Men like Mann and Barnard, demagogues of the time, statesmen of today, proclaiming the new doctrine that education was the bulwark of democracy, fed the popular flame for book learning long denied.

LIFE ON THE NEW ENGLAND FARM

Let us go back to the old New England farm life of the boys and girls of several generations ago, a life that lasted through generations until the steam locomotive changed it. In an address at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his native Berkshire town, Ashfield, G. Stanley Hall, the child psychologist, long president of Clark University, pictured vividly and auto-biographically the farm life of his boyhood. (3)

"I learned to hoe, mow, chop, plow, plant, sow, milk, fodder cattle, clean stalls, dig, make fences and stone walls, shovel snow, make maple sugar, soap out of lye, wood ashes, and fat; and evenings my father taught me how to make brooms, and my mother and aunts how to braid palmleaf hats, knit stockings and shag mittens, and I was often called on to make fires, wash dishes, and even cook a little, although this latter was often severely criticised by those who had to partake of my viands. Now we call these things agriculture, domestic art, or occupations, but then we called them work.

"Life here, then was by no means all a grind, for there was abundant recreation. There was much fishing, and fish were then plenty, with trapping and hunting; there were games galore, out-of-doors and within, for summer and winter. There were spelling and singing schools, and weekly debates in the winter evenings in the schoolhouses, and occasional dances at private houses, bad as these and surreptitious games of old sledge and euchre were."

Girls, too, had no need to study domestic art or household science from textbooks and schools. They learned by doing under mother and granddam. Supplying the family needs was sufficient incentive. Carding wool, hetcheling flax, spinning, weaving, provided the clothing for each member of the large family. It was only for a wedding or some great event, or after sudden acquisition of wealth by trade with the West Indies that a yard of cloth was bought.

Dyeing, too, was an important household craft. So it had been for thousands of years with our ancestors. And so it still is in our ancestral home within 500 miles of the Caspian Sea where our best rugs are still made with vegetable dyes. Master craftswomen in each New England community knew the proper season for collecting the root or bark necessary to make the desired color. With textile art and craft a heritage and in-

terest in each family, there was no need for daughters to go to art school to imitate the batik of the Javanese, nor were there state textile schools. (4)

Some of the household industries produced articles for sale,—brooms, rush and rag rugs, knitted goods. From white ash splints, cut and beaten with the flat of the axe by the boys, the women made baskets. These manufactures sometimes supplied as much revenue as did the barren fields, the sheep pastures, the wood lot, and the maple grove. By lantern light, wagon trains, starting long before daybreak, from the middle Connecticut river valley over newly built turnpikes straight as an arrow, carried these articles as well as products of the farm to Portsmouth and Boston, some to be sent to the Indies. From foreign countries came back in exchange for home products imported sandalwood boxes, Lowestoft, Cheddar shawls, treasured today as heirlooms. Our foreign commerce began on the farm and in the home.

YANKEE INGENUITY

'Mill Brooks', where sometimes there are but a few lichen-covered stones remaining, are everywhere in New England, eloquent of past industry. (5) A bit of mossy wall, a sedge pool recalls the grist mill, or the spot where the sawyer and the fuller plied their craft. From the mill pond slopes the upland. Amid the brush of the pasture one may still see ancient sodded hills in the boulder-strewn corn fields where once the farmer and his boys, wresting their sustenance from the soil, hoed their crooked rows while the mill wheel droned. At the sound of cogs gone wrong, the steady song of the mill wheel interrupted, the hoe was dropped, the damage repaired,—the corn must be ground. These farm boys with their training made 'Yankee ingenuity' a byword. (6)

The South, to find a means of ginning its cotton and making slavery profitable, came to a Massachusetts farm boy, Eli Whitney. This same farm boy's greater invention of 'interchangeable parts' made modern machine industry possible and so has affected intimately the life of every individual on the footstool, from Angola to Zungaria. Whitney entered a bid for Revolutionary army rifles so far below all competitors that, challenged, he revealed his great invention of stamping and dieing parts that had formerly been hand-wrought. Each part, hammer and trigger, was interchangeable and fitted every other rifle!

A capricious and intemperate climate, always ready to bring suffering and disaster to the unprepared, stimulated an awareness to the passing of time and season and rewarded those who made use of passing opportunity for putting the stud to the mare, for removing the ram from the flock, for reaping, for sowing. The maple yielded its sap only under certain mete-

orological conditions. The boy on the farm learned the advantage of seizing old Father Time by the forelock before his rusty scythe cut across his shins.

Such initiative and ingenuity as on opportunity our boys show today cannot be credited to our schools or present environment, but are a hang-over from the past. Henry Ford and the Wright brothers owed the qualities that brought them success less to their school masters than to their days of truancy.

RESOURCEFULNESS AND INITIATIVE

It was these very qualities of resourcefulness and initiative nurtured on the farm that led to the development of our industrial system. Mill centers grew up about the water powers. During the nineteenth century this process of urbanization went on, depleting the farms and crowding the slums.

Beside the upland roads of New England one sees in the fields and pastures clumps of lilacs, choke cherries, bouncing Bet, or tiger lilies marking the old cellar holes, for the earliest roads, like the Indian trails, avoided the tangled growth of the river valleys and followed through the open woodlands of the uplands. Here the fields were more easily cleared and here the earlier upland settlements grew up. Down in the valley, choked with undergrowth and frequently blocked with fallen trees, the river ran unchecked over the rocky rips and rapids. Here were the haunts of the bobcats.

Today as we drive on a mile or two beyond these old cellar holes we look into the narrow valley crowded with mills and tenements. Here in the early nineteenth century the farm-trained boy had found ways of harnessing the wild waters. From the upland farms the people drained into the valleys and the farms were abandoned. As the mills grew under the organizing hand of these farm boys, the labor supply of Ireland, the Mediterranean countries and the Balkans was successively drawn upon. Then as new water powers and sources of labor in the Southern mountains were opened up, these towns dwindled.

This industrial transformation was brought about by farm trained men. No wonder the farms were gradually abandoned as these capable boys were needed elsewhere. Without the resourcefulness and initiative they brought to the deeper soil in the industrial centers, they could not have developed the administrative and executive ability demanded. In these concentrated and increasingly busy crossroads of trade, it was the farm boys who became the great merchants and the captains of industry. This concentration of population under urban conditions has deprived our children of their birthright. The farm-bred boy is withholding from his

grandchildren their rightful heritage of a well-rounded education.

URBAN DECADENCE

The little street-bred children of the apartments and tenements, whose only escape is to the traffic-crowded streets or the over-sexed movies, are cut off from nature, deprived of purposeful activities, starved for all on which their fathers fed. What do they know of nature's elemental forces through floor plugs and light sockets? Of the joys and fears of Whittier's "Barefoot Boy" or "Snowbound" they know nothing, protected as they are by truant officers and municipal street cleaning departments.

Nightly before their Boards of Education, school superintendents discuss the relative merits of this or that floor oil and whether the daughter of this politician shall be granted a certain certificate. How can these administrators of our democratic school system give time or concern to what is elemental or vital? Education has been democratized, everybody has a say, everybody a finger in the pie. Schooling has been brought to the millions within such limits of cost as the taxpayer will stand for. It has been a great achievement.

New ideas have to be bootlegged into our public schools. The public school man has little freedom. Living on money raised through taxation, he is responsible to every citizen and the taxpayer is prepared to grumble at any expense he deems unnecessary. Every innovation must pass the scrutiny and have the approval successively of the principal, the superintendent, the board of education, the legislature, and courts of review.

There are alert superintendents and idealistic school masters in hundreds of communities who are helping to win popular approval for the spending of school funds on other than the traditionally sanctioned activities. Once popular approval is won, the practice of using public monies for afternoon play or supervision or what you will, becomes legal by enactment, and the taxpayer pays. Millions of school children, however, are still condemned to sit in straight rows, at fixed desks, fed from a sterile curriculum, inactive and repressed. The schools are contributing little to their lives, the movie czars of Hollywood much.

Flexner in his searching study "Universities" is equally scathing of our high schools and says in effect, 'No wonder we are an uneducated race, a nation of Babbitts. With nearly a million of our youth in colleges and over ten million in high schools, there is little chance for the individual to survive these standardizing processes.'

We are a people suffering from educational rickets, our mentalities and moralities are weak and flabby; the respectable stand for special privilege; the gangster maintains his racket; judges are corrupt and law contemptible; one-twelfth of our national income goes to pay the crime bill and

two-thirds for our war bill, past and future. Never except in the years of war's mad delirium has the war god levied such tribute on the nations as in 1930. If this is what our educational system yields, then the one and one-half per cent of our income that we have been putting into it is too much. There are thoughtful men who doubt whether there is anything in our educational system that is worth patching or saving. The world's greatest thinkers, men of scientific vision, knowing the past and looking most clearly into the future, see that our institutions, our traditions, our tabus are the cause of repressions which are increasingly filling our jails and asylums. Our civilization is sick, the human race itself has a psychosis.

RESTORING THE VITAMINS

If our spiritual and mental food were changed, if the life-giving vitamins could be restored to our diet, a transformation might yet come over our civilization as marvelous as came to the devitaminized laboratory rats when they were re-fed on bran.

There have been primitive races within the memory of living man uncontaminated by contact with our civilization, races where life was unashamed, unrepressed and pleasing to old Mother Nature, where psychoses were as rare and the race as sound mentally as were our ancestors ten thousand years ago. Such were the northern Esquimos with their primitive joy of life unconquered by the savageness of nature. Tragic is the story of the 'Paradises of the Pacific' ruined by the bacilli, spirochetes, and standards brought by white Christians. Man in his blindness destroys that which saves and sanctifies that which destroys. It is the froth of civilization that we prize.

Our institutionalized education has been planned and conceived to perpetuate ideas once held sacred, now suspect. Even the second-hand book learning valued by an earlier generation is under suspicion. We have been fed too long on chlorinated white flour. Getting back to the primitive, restoring the bran with its life-giving vitamins, may yet bring to our children the vigor and vitality of old.

RE-ENERGIZING EDUCATION

There is a jam on the track ahead. The great mogul engine of the freight on the siding panting heavily, the vibrant beat of the locomotive of the stalled passenger train, tell of impatient energy restrained. The safety valves suddenly release two hundred pounds of pressure. My heart leaps, my pulses stop, my nervous system is paralyzed, my ear drums crash. Pandemonium reverberates.

Quiet broods over the school yard. The low drone from the brick hive is stilled by the sharp clang of bells. The rhythm of shuffling feet marches

towards me. Through open doors lines of shouting, yelling children pour out. The pent-up energy so long repressed is suddenly released. A hundred thousand times a day, every day, every year, this useless waste of energy prevents explosions and saves what might be lost.

Is such waste necessary? Is such violent reaction desirable and healthful? Is there no way to utilize this wasted energy? What is being done to devise ways of releasing this internal energy under control so as to build useful habits and what we call character?

HARNESSING THE PUPIL'S ENERGY

The essence of the whole modern movement, which has perhaps unfortunately been labelled 'Progressive', has been an attempt to utilize the pupil's own energy, to release his internal energy through interests and to direct it. There is nothing new, nothing progressive about that. It is as old as the education that the she-bear gives her cubs. It is the same process that has made man efficient and has developed his potential capacities since he hunted the mammoth. Utilizing the child's internal energy is merely getting back to real things, away from the abstract book work to those activities that use his energy educatively. So we find the recess period in such a school not an explosion but a time for repair.

The mainspring of the whole progressive movement has been and still is revolt against the artificial and traditional. With this there is an attempt to get away from mere book work and return to actuality, to decrease memorizing, to increase doing. The more progressive schools, interested primarily in the natural activities of the child, regard the acquisition of knowledge as a by-product. The old type school equipped each child with a set of tools and loaded him down with knowledge without reference to his needs or where he was going. It was as if a caravan setting out to cross the Gobi had equipped its camel pullers with divers' helmets and laden the camels with water wheels.

The spark plug that fires ambition and liberates internal energy which drives through to achievement we know today as 'interest'. It was DeGarmo who in the nineties, talking before 'Teachers Institutes', constantly emphasized the importance of pupil 'interest'. To those conscientious educators who looked upon the hard and disagreeable task mastered as the best means of character building and soul saving, this was soft, sloppy sentimentality. DeGarmo was a visionary, not harmless, but a destroyer of the faith of their fathers, who lowered ideals and degraded disciplinary values.

In the educative process stimulus from without had been depended on to release internal energy. The rod had the sanction of the centuries for those who wished to transmit and perpetuate their ideas. The nosebag,

the carrot lure, has started many a donkey impervious to the stick, and shrewd minds were quick to realize this. They devised houris, gardens with perfumed fountains for the desert dweller, golden streets and pearly gates for the Jew. Baubles, garters, titles, wealth upheld thrones. The pedagog modified a method to his needs. Grades, marks, prizes, rewards, degrees were the nosebags that the academic dangled before the taught. Thus were attempts made to apply the internal energy of the young to the hard task.

DIRECTING AND REGULATING ENERGY

Man, like every organic creature, is a machine for using solar energy, transforming it, and giving it off in new forms. There are many types of transformer, many factors, physical, environmental, and psychic, affecting the metabolism and flow of energy. All that can be done in this process of training youth is to help him to regulate the flow of this energy, to direct it into activities which, repeated, will build useful habits, which in turn will determine largely his psychological attitudes, his way of looking at things, his reactions to them and consequently his whole outlook upon the world,— in fact the whole character of his soul and mind. (7)

Today we are gradually discarding our infected rags of tradition and tabu and learning new ways of utilizing and directing the internal energy of the individual, energy which was heretofore wasted and neglected beyond our comprehension or control. (8)

ENCOURAGING GROWTH

We do not know all about growth yet. (9) The best we can do is to adapt and make conditions favorable for the growing organism. We have not yet learned as much about the child as the gardener of a century ago knew about garden truck, that each growing thing flourishes best with certain specific foods under certain sets of conditions. To the individual belongs the great task of these growing years. The young of Homo, the conscious child, must familiarize himself with the world into which he has been thrust, with the people out of whom he has come, and with the possibilities his brief span of life offers. As far as the child is concerned, the only function of those who have gone before, ancestors, parents, martyrs, saviors, scientists, is to help him to his understanding of himself, in his prying into the future. As in any growing organism there may well be pruning when we know how, but any gardener will tell you that not all growing things are to be pruned in the same way. It is a bold spirit that will cut ruthlessly. We have less courage than we had a century ago.

The one thing that we helpers of the coming generation will chide ourselves for is any unhealthfulness that comes over this growing thing. The

'dead hand' shall not control. Ruthlessly it is thrust back. We look upon each individual as a new experiment, a new creation of God's, with new and partly unknown potentialities. Freedom to grow, to manifest individuality, is the first of our birthrights. The greatest waste of youth in the past was due to internal friction caused by attempted adjustments to the traditional, educational, and institutional folkways.

NOTES

(1) During this period education was held static. Horace Mann's reforms had been forgotten. For a picture of education in the eighties at Grammar School Number One in Brooklyn, where I passed eight grades in a state of coma, cf "War and Education", p 151.

Since then there has been a revitalizing of education due to Colonel Parker (cf index), John Dewey (cf index), and the influence of the Country Day School, first established by Mrs. Francis K. Cary in Baltimore in 1897, utilizing the child's whole day. The Country Day Schools were fully reported on in the 1918 edition of the Handbook, pp 34-9; 1925 pp 12-17; 1931 pp 44-5. The movement reached its peak perhaps in the early thirties. In the Handbook for Private School Teachers, 1930, pp 759-60, we listed 62 schools belonging to the Country Day School Association. Of late there has been a gradual decline in the number as the public schools of enlightened communities have adopted the feature of supervised afternoon study and play, as explained in the 1933 edition of the Handbook of Private Schools, p 39, and in the 1943 edition, p 37.

For "The Rediscovery of the Outdoors", "The Development of the Summer Camp", its history and influence, "Youth Movements", and how all these grew out of nonconformists like Thoreau and Nipmuck and Adirondack Murray, further stimulated by millions who lived in encampments under canvas during the Civil War, cf Handbook of Private Schools 2nd ed, 1916, pp 46-51; 3rd ed, 1917, pp 46-56; 5th ed, 1920, pp 31-6; 8th ed, 1923, pp 28-34; also Handbook of Summer Camps, 9th ed, 1932, pp 33-4; 10th ed, 1933, pp 17-26; 11th ed 1934, pp 33-96, 121-30; *Yankee*, Jan. 1938.

(2) Since the all round education received on the farm, formal education has gone through much the same process as has our milling of flour, and both deprived of their vitamins. For the story of Dr. Sylvester Graham's graham bread crusade a century ago, cf Handbook of New England, 3rd ed, 1921, p 349.

'Vitamin' was a relatively new word and topic for the public consciousness in 1931 when this "Revitaminizing" was written. The term was used somewhat metaphorically. For a popular account of the influence of the so-called 'courage vitamin', cf Handbook of Private Schools, 26th ed, 1942, pp 131-4, reviewing John Kobler and James Rorty's article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 1, 1941, "Morale in a Test Tube". The authors note that though the "very poor cannot afford either the tablets or the protective foods . . . the Southern backwoods Negro, whose staples include thiamin-rich homemade cornmeal and pork, is on the average healthier than his cousin up North".

For a serious consideration of the subject, the extensive researches, the resulting effect of the supply or absence of necessary vitamins on courage, alertness, intelligence, and consequently morality and crime, see the review of the work of the two Williams brothers, *Science*, Nov. 21 and 28, 1941, April 3, 1942, summarized in

"War and Education", Sargent, 1943, "Vitamins Will Win", pp 313-18.

So long had the peasants of Europe been kept on black bread that white bread remained a badge of respectability even unto the third and fourth generations. Modern milling machinery of steel operates rapidly to be profitable and creates heat in the process which spoils the proteins in the flour if they are not removed. To manufacture the old type of flour is slower and more costly. The continuance of demand for white, chlorinated, devitaminized, denatured flour in England and America has been fostered by the milling industry. When manpower became important to our rulers in the second World War, we were 'sold' the idea of 'enriched' white flour to which chemically prepared vitamins had been added. England found it necessary to accomplish this at first surreptitiously.

In the 25th edition of the Handbook, 1941, pp 53-4, we wrote: These poor little island bred people have been allowed to fester in their slums, conditioned to subservience, loyalty, and to uphold the caste system. Once they had only black bread. Now they demand their white bleached flour, evidence of a rise in the world, for only peasants eat black bread. Ignorant and prejudiced, their food education neglected, the government lacks the resourcefulness to teach them the value of whole wheat in this time of starvation. It now dopes the bleached, chlorinated flour with calcium and Vitamin B to replace the vital elements they have been conditioned to reject.

America, too, entering the war became concerned with a similar problem. In response to the claim that our "machine food age—born of roads, research and refrigeration—had made the United States the best-fed nation in history", the great physiologist Anton J. Carlson of the University of Chicago responded, "We have the food to do it, had we the intelligence" (*Scientific Monthly*, Nov., 1942). (Cf "War and Education", p 306)

The Vermont Guild of Oldtime Crafts and Industries at Weston, Vt., under the virile leadership of Vrest Orton has restored an ancient mill and provides its clients with the old fashioned stone ground whole wheat, rye, and corn.

A Division of Food Technology at M.I.T. has been established under Bernard E. Proctor, recently director of subsistence and packaging research for the Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army, who announces that there will be research into "the difficult and subtle problem of studying food flavors". Americans generally have little appreciation for flavor. The two classic works on the subject published in America, H. T. Finck's "Food and Flavor" and George H. Ellwanger's "The Pleasures of the Table", are out of print and all too little known. From their victory gardens Americans, so far as their stultified tastes permit, are learning something of the flavor of fresh vegetables.

Americans don't know much about fresh foods. Mass production, distribution, advertising has all been for the preservation of profit rather than pleasure in food. President Eliot ingratiating himself with a Japanese student recently arrived at Harvard, asked, "What do you miss most in America, Mr. Ikeda?" "Fresh fish", was the prompt reply. The Japanese have them delivered alive at their doors.

Few know anything about fresh bread made from fresh grain as do the peasants of Europe, and even in Boston they don't know beans except the California pea and the navy. I once collected over sixty varieties of beans and attempted to interest S. S. Pierce, who supplies leading families. Beans in the second and third year lose their flavor. As we pointed out, the school boy should know from Caesar that the Roman Empire was built on whole wheat, 'frumentum', which the legionaries collected after camping, often from the fields, and boiled in the kettles which they

carried with them, a part of their field equipment.

(3) The theme of "Education on the Old New England Farm" was further elaborated in an article by Porter Sargent in *Yankee*, Sept., 1937. A longer account of Hall's farm education will be found under Ashfield in the Handbook of New England, 3rd ed, 1921, p 447. Hall's picture of New England farm education has been the inspiration that has led to the establishment of several schools and influenced others.

(4) Margaret Mead, explaining to an adult education class of women college graduates the way in which the Manus train their children, "gave a fairly complete account of the types of adaptive craft behavior which was characteristic of the Manus and the way in which this was learned by each generation of children. At the end of the lecture one woman stood up and asked the first question: 'Didn't they have any vocational training?' Many of the others laughed at the question, and I have often told it myself as a way of getting my audience into a mood which was less rigidly limited by our own phrasing of 'education'. But that woman's question, naive and crude as it was, epitomized a long series of changes which stand between our idea of education and the processes by which members of a homogeneous and relatively static primitive society transmit their standardized habit patterns to their children." ("Our Educational Emphases in Primitive Perspective", *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1943)

(5) Hardly a town in northern New England but has its Mill Brook. For the people of the neighborhood a century ago it was the only one within their ken, unless they were rovers and had seen the "mill brook" forty miles away. The town of Winsor in Vermont has several Mill Brooks, but as they were some miles apart from each other, Mill Brook was a specific name in each locality. On one Mill Brook that flows into the Connecticut south of Ascutney, a rather trivial little stream now that the forests have been cut from the hills, where the spring sportsmen hopefully angle for trout, I have counted the mossy stones and pools that mark the sites of seven successive mill dams within a distance of two or three miles, —which brought to mind the picture presented in the text.

(6) Yankee ingenuity was no miracle. It was just plain necessity for survival. The story of the great part played by these ingenious Yankees during the first half of the 19th century in the development of tool building machinery and interchangeable parts is admirably told in "English and American Tool Builders", by Joseph Wickham Roe, Assistant Professor of Machine Design, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, (Yale University Press, 1916).

As a result of these inventions, "what was once hand made and consequently rare and expensive has been brought into common use. Mass production of tools and gadgets for cultivating, producing, ameliorating, has modified the cultures of the most remote and primitive peoples wherever these manufactures have been introduced. Mass production through the use of interchangeable parts has made possible the supplying of better and more deadly weapons and increasingly larger armies." ("War and Education", "Technological Advance", p 31)

(7) Why one individual gives off more energy than another has long been a puzzle. "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed that he has grown so great?" puzzled Cassius as it does us today. The flow of energy differs with the individual, his age and his type, generally reaching a maximum in early life and declining in later years.

The young of the human species seem to give off in energy to the square inch more horsepower perhaps in comparison to their size and weight than any above

the flea. Most of the things they do that outrage our etiquette, our ethics, are due to what we adults conceive of as misdirected energy. Our job as we parents and pedagogs conceive it is to restrain and repress that flow of energy and to direct it from their truant wandering in fields to gather buttercups or to watch the squirrels at play, toward memorizing the generalizations of some medieval scholars as to the forms in which Latin speech became jellied. Groves of birch, jungles of rattan, countless oxbides and acres of shingles have been sacrificed, in repressing this flow of energy. (18th ed, 1934, pp 79-80)

For particulars on "Energy Transformers", p 245, "Purpose Creates Energy", "Utilizing Energy", pp 212-3, cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944. The late Dr. George W. Crile in "Intelligence, Power and Personality", 1941, has dealt with this subject (cf "War and Education", Sargent, 1943, pp 274, 277, and index).

(8) There followed a fourteen-page imaginative picture of what a city school system might become by 1950. Daring as it seemed in 1931, it now appears commonplace, for in schools and communities in this country and elsewhere most of the suggested innovations have been put into effect. Tracing the origins of these innovations, the "Back to the Country" movement, "The Rediscovery of the Outdoors" and its educative possibilities, it outlined a process of "Continuous Straight Line Production", emphasized the importance of "Unconscious Education", "Geography by Doing", the need of "Satisfying Primitive Urges", the value of "The Museum Laboratory", the correlation of subjects such as "Mathematics and Art", "The Thrill of Discovery", "The Teacher Discovers the Individual", "The Pleasure of Reading", "The Joy of Writing", "The Problem of Management", "Eliminating Waste", "Abolishing Fears".

(9) It will be a long time before we know all about growth especially if we keep growing. But the patient studies of scientists with improved methods are adding constantly to our knowledge. In the 18th edition, 1934, p 80, we wrote: The subject matter of education has too long absorbed educators without sufficient attention to the objective matter, the growing boy or girl on whom this subject matter is to be inflicted. How the child grows is a matter of recent knowledge in which Bird Baldwin was a pioneer. The mental growth and early behavior of the human infant, of which hundreds of millions of loving mothers and fathers have known so little, has only recently been studied by Arnold Gesell. The all important endocrine control of growth is an even more recent discovery. Within the last decade the anthropologists, from Malinowski to Mead, by a comparative study of primitive races, have thrown a flood of light on child behavior. All these have rather butted in on the ground that was the pedagog's,—the subject of the child and how to train him, how to induce the most favorable physical and mental growth. If the scientific study is continued, eventually we pedagogs may know as much about the growing child as the stock raiser or the gardener knows about his growing things.

THE DEAD HAND

A return to the natural, a re-examination and reappraisal of our culture and education, is demanded that we may understand the factors that have brought us disillusionment, mental wreckage, and moral bankruptcy.

Education looks ahead in these times to prepare us for what is to come. But the hand of the past is always reaching out to hold us back. And it takes clear vision and bold leadership to break with the past, to step bravely into the unknown. The dead hand rests upon us and we think it duty, tradition, or religion. As a result of war and depression, as a result of our follies of the past, we shall have an increasing proportion of old men and women. There will be less of children's laughter and more of old men's growls. (1)

BREAKING WITH THE PAST

Where there's no strong faith or clear vision, tradition does much to furbish what might be barren lives. But with tradition, as with antiques, an increased demand leads to imitation and too high a price for the spurious. Newer fresh water colleges deliberately manufacture tradition to the contemptuous amusement of their older eastern contemporaries which themselves were established one or two hundred years after South American and several hundred years after European universities. For conservative adherence to the traditional in education one should look to primitive tribes, as in the interior of Australia. The elaborate puberty rites and rituals are of an educational nature and have been passed on unchanged by the old men of the tribe for tens of thousands of years. Such tradition is reflected in the commencement rites of our universities.

Where conditions are static, unchanging, as for thousand year periods in Chinese history, for long periods in feudal Europe, for decades during our Victorian period, the old men dominate. Education during such periods has consisted in perpetuating the beliefs and ideas of the old men of the tribe, the handing on of the torch, the continuation of 'kultur'.

But today in our changing western world we can no longer rely on tradition and the past. The idea that education is merely to perpetuate beliefs is dead. It's only by breaking with the past and looking boldly ahead that there's hope for our people, for our civilization. If the younger generation can not do better than their fathers our civilization has failed. The important thing is to free them from the burden of hypocrisies and to equip them to look truth in the face. (2)

The blighting influences of tradition and tabu, with their killing repres-

sions, are upon us. In fin de siecle days Edward Carpenter was perhaps the first to give voice to comprehension of all this in his "Civilization, Its Cause and Cure". Later Freud in his "Civilization and Its Discontents" held that man in the long process of winning mastery over nature's forces has done damage to himself, that civilization is responsible for human psychoses.

Perhaps something of this was back of Kipling's acceptance of the 'white man's burden'. Perhaps there was something of compensation in feeling it our duty to bring civilization and Christianity to the poor heathen while exploiting them for profit by utilizing their labor and resources. Primitive man, many anthropologists have held, was free from psychoses. Certainly they did not have all that we in our Christian duty have brought to them. But it is not by imparting our neuroses to the heathen that we will win salvation. G. Elliot Smith believes that to survive we must sacrifice cherished traditions, institutions and tabus and get 'back to the Greeks' and the primitive. Arthur Keith warns us that "modern civilization is tending to replace ability with mediocrity" and "leading us straight into physical and mental bankruptcy".

OUR PRURIENT HYPOCRISY

We English speaking people have developed a squeamish fear of natural and normal things. Coming from the continent to England and America we are immediately conscious of this. The continental is oblivious of much that gives us acute shame. We are repressed where the continental is free. We pat ourselves on the back as moral. We take pride in our squeamish prurience. How painful we would be to Shakespeare or any of our Elizabethan ancestors. The Latin has the courage to do some things because he wants to satisfy his lust for sex or blood. But an Anglo-Saxon doing the same thing does it always for righteousness, for the benefit of the victim he goes after. The Anglo-Saxon is a hypocrite. Ask the Frenchman.

We have been ruthless with our children. They're ours. Why should we respect their individuality or have reverence for the fresh possibilities of youth? So with conscientious effort we have endeavored to make our children now and for all time like ourselves. It's natural to create our gods in our own image. Our children are forced to deny to their fellows the most natural and normal things about themselves. They become hypocrites. Repressed, they vent their venom and wreak their vengeance in primitive drawings and obsolete Anglo-Saxon words on the walls of outhouses. Grown up, they attempt to compensate. They are righteous and moral instead of being natural and honest.

Except for identic twins never yet have there been two individuals

alike. But the tendency of our institutions and educational systems is to make for uniformity and conformity. The more intimate the contacts in school, college or club the more insistent are the demands for conformity. This means repression and internal conflict. The great majority of us survive this with little apparent harm. The world about us is filled with smug, immoral hypocrites and stuffed shirts who are the result of this system of development.

It is the aberrant unconformists, who will not sacrifice their individuality and cannot be robots or yes men, who are the hope of the future. On such depends the continuance of all that is best of man's creation.

OUR MENTAL WRECKAGE

There are more delicately poised mentalities who are unable to adjust themselves to the inconsistencies and brutalities of our civilization and who became unbalanced, deranged. To all this, the growth of the mental hygiene movement in the past twenty years has only just begun to open our eyes.

In no other country in the world is the schoolhouse so conspicuous a feature of the landscape as in our own country. In no other country in the world are the institutions for the care of mental hygiene cases so prominent. They cluster around great centers of population. Whether in New England or in southern California the choice hilltop spots are crowned with great institutional brick piles, our asylums. Dr. Mayo in 1930, referring to the 9000 hospitals with 900,000 beds used by 10,000,000 patients, said, "Every other hospital bed in the United States is for the mentally afflicted, insane. That's worry. It is worry that breaks down the brain, not work as such." This is the idea emphasized also by Dr. Haven Emerson in his "Mind in the Breaking", 1930. "If we can abolish the fears, which paralyze action, freedom, self-expression, and freeze out the happiness of childhood, we shall have done a service incomparably more memorable than the triumphs of bacteriology in the past half century." (4)

When we are ready to give up harmful ideals, traditions and institutions that produce internal friction and burn out mental bearings, we will have a healthier youth and future citizenry. Individual mental health, and improvement in the collective health of society can be attained through recognition of the individual, his internal needs and urges. We cannot hope to build a sound social system made up of diseased mentalities. We cannot hope to reduce social ills materially while the number of unhealthy-minded individuals is on the increase as it is today. (5)

MORAL BANKRUPTCY

It's the moral bankruptcy of the world that matters. Without faith we are lost. Nations and individuals who lost their wealth and power in the war were more fortunate than those who lost their souls. "For what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" With all our accumulation of wealth and all our machinery of production the western world is paralyzed. (6)

There's something behind this Garden of Eden story, a time before 'Adam dived and Eve span'. For a hundred thousand years after coming down from the tree tops, man had roved a carefree life. As the last ice sheet receded, hope again returned and has since been springing eternal. But never since has man been carefree. By the sweat of his brow he has had to provide against cold and hunger. Fear has driven him to accumulate and guard his hoard of flesh, fuel and flints. And he is still doing it though others famish. Man's mastery of the forces of nature, his improvement of the tools of production and destruction have resulted from the same drive. But insurance against famine and want meant improving the pattern of life so men could live together and cooperate.

Outstanding men of the tribe have led in the advance, men who could envisage and bring about something desirable that previously had not existed. But today such leadership is lacking and we travel in a maze. We spent fifty-six billions for a war of doubtful value which Calvin Coolidge foretold would cost one hundred billions before future generations had paid the whole cost. And since then we have spent more money in maintaining our war establishment than any other country. The nations of the world spend more and more in preparation for war and keep more and more men under arms. Meantime our diplomats talk of peace and fool the peace lovers. (7)

WHAT YOUTH FACES

Victorian youth at the close of the last century were filled with confidence, believing themselves the culmination of evolution, the apex of an unequalled civilization. They sang boldly in the major and marvelled why eastern peoples sang in the minor. Disillusioned youth today face a drab world. American upper class youth are still secluded and immured in ecclesiastical scholastic institutions. They are supposed to be devoted to traditional school studies, school sports. With irresponsibility toward money, utter lack of understanding of world situations, it is little wonder that jazz and gin, motors and movies, are their idols. The 'youth movement' in America is dependent on gasoline. (8)

But German youth who have come up through adversity loaded with

the burden of their fathers' guilt feel they hold the pulse of the world. Marshallled and drilled, filled with patriotic hatred, they are getting ready to take things into their own hands. In Italy Mussolini, utilizing the same spirit of youthful revolt and bringing to its organization some of the best technique of the Boy Scouts, has bent and trained youth to his own purposes. In Russia the powers that be have utilized the forces of youth and filled their children with zeal for the new order.

Youth the world over is astir, uncertain, its forces still trammelled or diverted. But hope lies in youth. Where the old is repudiated and the new is ahead youth can be depended on. It was American youths under twenty who in the Revolution and post-Revolutionary days captained ships around the Horn, developed the fur trade with China, built the wealth of New England seaports, and pushed our frontiers westward. Youth today is not clear visioned, inspired to great effort toward worthy ends. There is no need to dilate on what's wrong with the old men. They have proved themselves, and disaster faces.

What then is wrong with the world? Not much of anything except the people in it, and there's not much wrong with them except their mental attitudes. It's the way in which we regard our opportunities. It's our attitudes toward each other, toward our fellows and other peoples that have brought us to our present sorry pass. Our attitudes have not been determined by that ancient and tried maxim, do unto others as they should do unto you. This has been heard in pulpits and academic halls but it has been swamped by the mass of our false, trivial, platitudinous ethical teachings.

FALLACIES IN ETHICAL TEACHING

Go into any scientific library and note that the mass of scientific publication of the past thirty years exceeds that of all preceding time. Then only will you understand that man has classified and accumulated more tested knowledge in the past generation than in all his previous history. Much of this is still locked up in scientific publications. But since the twenties the humanizing of knowledge has gone on apace. Many of the best sellers have been books on recent developments in science.

There has been relatively little popularizing or humanizing of advanced thinking on ethical subjects. The modern ethics taught by Palmer and Cabot at Harvard and set forth in the writings of philosophers like Morris Cohen is cautiously clouded with abstruse phraseology and remains uncomprehended even by the ordinary run of intellectuals. Uncorrelated by or unknown to those who hold forth on character and moral subjects is the rapidly increasing record of psychological research on behavior. Only gradually are we coming to understand that ethics

has to do with how we react, how we behave in the presence of precept and under the influence of environment. Perhaps it is felt that the modern views of ethics are not safe for the populace, just as once it was held that the old forms of religion must be maintained to stay the mob.

Most school masters think of ethics as inevitably linked up with religion and to be taught with religion. According to this view one leads the good life in order to get a good position in the future life. But the modern view is that the good life may well be an end in itself. "To learn them the great end and real business of living" was the announced purpose of Samuel Phillips in establishing Phillips Academy at Andover. There were other ecclesiastical establishments which had long been 'learning' them the way to die, to get to heaven. Phillips' idea was a better life in the new republic, rather than a more select company in heaven. But most of our great educators have striven after something more than intellectual training, quite aside from religion and the spiritual life. Vaguely and fuzzily, they have called it character building, ethical teaching or moral training. Their desire has been to help the young to get on with their fellows, to teach them the real business of living. That our teachers have not effectively trained us for this real business of getting on with our fellows is evidenced by the world about us today. And our own people are not prosperous, happy or content. Perhaps it's because we have held to outworn ethical shibboleths.

THE REAL BUSINESS OF LIVING

Ethics has to do with the real business of living. It has to do with how we behave toward our fellows, with the attitudes with which we regard them, whether as pure or sinful, as wops or aristocrats, as allies or huns. These attitudes are the result of our false ethical teachings. Negative rules have been laid down for our behavior telling us what's wrong, what not to do. Rarely has the road to salvation been pointed out as in 'do unto others'. The Jewish ethics, like most primitive systems of tabus, was based on 'thou shalt not'. Some of these ancient tabus are so strong that they transcend ethics. To us and our ancestors human flesh has been tabu, but to certain people, the Marquesans, eating human flesh was part of the ritual under certain circumstances. In ancient Egypt, close consanguinity was the rule in royal marriages. Ethics, the pattern of life prescribed by our fellows for us, changes with time and place. (9)

It was our early teachings that made us as we are. The Catholic church, the greatest of human institutions, owes its success to the early bending of the twig. Loyola demanded only the first five years to fix the child's after thought. Now comes the psychologist to emphasize how early the child's character is formed. It was at our mother's knee that the

traditional ethics was passed on to us. Our conscientious teachers continued to bend the twig. They rubbed in the same traditional precepts. 'Tell the whole truth', 'be accurate', 'be thorough'—such were the impossible standards set up before the child. Dishonest performances were accepted, the hypocrite applauded, the self respecting humiliated. Deep in our subconscious was established the futility, the hollowness and sham of things. And so we were filled with fear of the truth, with love of self deception and an habitual attitude of dishonesty and hypocrisy. Trained in this school, our citizens, our leaders, our spiritual advisers fear to face reality. They worship Mammon in the guise of business, conceal their meanings in the language of diplomacy, or wrap themselves in an 'odour of sanctity'. Our traditional ethical teaching has made us dishonest. Our ethics has brought the world to its present sorry pass.

We make our children promise. A promise does help the weak to keep his mind on an objective. But strong men don't promise. They don't have to. They live on their record. They deliver the goods. It may be necessary to extract a promise from the weak. But if so, arrange things so that he will be insured against failure and brought through to fulfilment.

We implore our children to try without carefully estimating whether they will succeed. We should insure success and train in habits of success. Suppose an engineer built a bridge, not knowing what it would support and then sent a heavy load over it and it crashed. We wouldn't think much of him as an engineer. He is supposed to have completed his trial and error experiments before he tries to build a bridge. But educators are constantly creating just such disasters in the children they are educating. The child should be trained to estimate his forces and capacity, and to consider possibilities and undertake things he can carry through to success. "I'll try" is weak, and leads to sniveling. We enjoin children and others to do their best. Why should one until the last moment has come? One should always be able to do better, always be ready to let out another link. We should always preserve the child's morale, make him believe he is unconquerable, still master of his soul and his destiny, keep his edge keen. We should never prompt him to do his best, but always keep him doing better.

ACADEMIC BOGEYS

Superficiality is another academic bogey. But we are naturally superficial. We live on the surface of the earth. When we get the best view of it from the mountain peak, it's a superficial view. Nobody who ever knew any one thing better than anyone else claimed to know it all. The more we know about a thing the more thoroughly we are convinced that

our knowledge is superficial. Pasteur knew his knowledge of bacteria was superficial. That's what kept him working. That's the drive behind every scientist, every researcher. Let's admit we are superficial. Let's broaden and deepen our knowledge as much as possible, knowing it will still then be superficial.

Practice does not make perfect necessarily. Usually it results in fixing a habit. It may be a bad habit like the misspelling of a word. Children have to learn to misspell words. In school it's a teacher's job to study their bad habits, to count them, to grade them on them. They don't try to prevent the forming of bad habits. Their job is correcting, and if there were nothing to correct they would lose their jobs.

School masters are constantly dinning into their children, "Be thorough". But no one can be thorough. Thoroughness, like other ideals, is something we can only approach. No scientist has ever claimed to have done his job exhaustively. To claim thoroughness where there is none is blind hypocrisy.

A million teachers are today saying to their children, "Be accurate". But never yet has one child or adult been accurate. They can't be. The mechanic at his lathe is measuring to thousandths of an inch and is allowed a certain maximum error. The scientist in the laboratory reduces the error a thousand times, but he knows he is not accurate and knows he never can be. To exhort a child to be accurate is worse than folly, it's immoral. It destroys all standards of truth.

How our schools are making children into immoral hypocrites is explained by Freud in "Civilization and Its Discontents". "That the upbringing of young people at the present day conceals from them the part sexuality will play in their lives is not the only reproach we are obliged to bring against it. It offends too in not preparing them for the aggressions of which they are destined to become the objects. Sending the young out into life with such a false psychological orientation is as if one were to equip people going on a Polar expedition with summer clothing and maps of the Italian lakes. One can clearly see that ethical standards are being misused in a way. The strictness of these standards would not do much harm if education were to say: 'This is how men ought to be in order to be happy and make others happy, but you have to reckon with their not being so.' Instead of this the young are made to believe that everyone else conforms to the standard of ethics, i.e., that everyone else is good. And then on this is based the demand that the young shall be so, too."

Perhaps there's no other one thing about which our educators are so befuddled, so hypocritical, so unwilling to face the truth, as the truth. In the process of becoming civilized we are constantly finding new ways

of concealing, suppressing, disguising, distorting the truth and inventing substitutes for it.

TELLING THE TRUTH

Life in our modern society would hardly be possible without the gracious, the courteous, the helpful concealment of the truth at times. How skillfully, how helpfully, how courageously one deals with the facts of life, suppressing, modifying or shaping them to the need of the occasion and the comprehension of his hearers, determines the quality of the man. The more numerous our contacts with our fellow men the more occasion we have to show our skill and tact, or lack of it, in handling the truth. A city dweller is more adept than those who live in the open. He has to be. He'd have more corners knocked off if he weren't. So we don't tell the truth in the society in which we live. (10)

We don't admit this to our children. With them we are not honest. We adjure them to tell the whole truth. So in growing up they acquire through painful experience as did their parents the adult reticences toward truth telling. And with it they become hypocrites like the rest of us.

If parents and teachers, instead of attempting to teach the truth to children,—the truth they themselves can never know, the truth that is not in them,—if instead they gave children the opportunity to get the kick out of discovering little bits of truth for themselves, the results might be different.

Among the best things that the progressives of the present time have brought to the educator of today is new ways, new possibilities in the school, in formal education, whereby the child may be given the opportunity of doing or discovering for himself, of magnifying his own ego in the directed educative process. Never tell a child the truth if he can discover it for himself. It lets you out of possibly telling what is not true. And it gives him all the stimulus and benefit of discovering something that he believes to be the truth whether it is or not. Help him with criteria to test the truth, just as Gottlieb helped Arrowsmith. Be modern, be scientific. His ethics will be on a higher and more modern level. He may escape the hypocrisy that has brought the world to its present state.

The scientist knows that no one ever told the whole truth, that the truth is only discovered and tested in little bits, that any statement he has been able to make may be in error, but that the error through painstaking care can be measured and gradually reduced. But we with the child, as the court with the witness, insist on the whole truth and nothing but the truth. We insist on the impossible and so hypocrisy results.

Those whose imaginations are dead have thought of the past few centuries as the age of discovery. But let no one believe that the age of

discovery has passed. The great discoveries lie ahead. If we don't discover new ways of living with our fellowmen, we are told, the few discoveries we have made will result in the destruction of the species. Not yet have we discovered the best methods to distribute the products of our factories to the consumer. Egocentric man has thought of himself as the only discoverer. Discoveries will go on for millions of years in any species or race that is vitally adapting itself to its environment.

Truth, the discovery of the world in which we live, is part of the process of adjustment to our environment. Now truth, if perceived in relation to other truths causes an especial titillation, brings a sense of harmony, a coordinated functioning of internal glands, an emotional feeling of satisfaction, and perhaps a sense of beauty which is a joy forever.

"An educated man," said William James, "is one who can tell a good man when he sees him." "A good man," says John Dewey, "is one that's getting better. A bad man is one that's getting worse." Parents and educators can do no more for a boy or girl than to keep him getting better more rapidly than he gets badder. The value of the community, the nation, the race, the species can be no greater than the balance between the credits and debits of its individuals. (11)

NOTES

(1) "Less Laughter, More Groans" in the 1938 edition dealt with the increasing disparity between the numbers of young and old. "Gnarled Stumps" the year before dealt at great length with Hooton's preoccupation with "modern gerontocracy, or the rule of old men" which brings "upon the population of every age-grade, wars, financial crises, diplomatic incidents, new deals and every other sort of social and economic evil. . . . It is impossible to estimate to what extent the miseries of nations may have been enhanced by the vagaries of the enlarged prostates of their senile rulers, or by the climacteric mental disturbances of the latter's wives" (E. A. Hooton, *Science*, March 30, 1936).

Gerontocracy, gerontology, and geriatrics are of increasing importance. "While we now have 45,000,000 young people under twenty, in 1980 we shall have only some 34,000,000. . . . Where we have 9,000,000 citizens over 65 today, by 1980 we shall have 22,000,000", Stuart Chase tells us in "The Road We Are Traveling", 1942. (Cf "War and Education", pp 291-2)

A representative from any primitive tribe or group of anthropoid apes, surveying our western civilization and social system, would be tremendously impressed not so much with the importance of the old men as with the sifting process by which our society selects its breeding stock. He would see as a normal practice the physically perfect males as they approach the breeding time removed from the breeding class to supposedly celibate life in colleges, barracks, camps and other ecclesiastical or militaristic institutions. He would see the populace stirred to enthusiasm for this irrational process by slogans, ideals of patriotism or of service to God, while for those too normal to stand the desiccation process every community maintains desecrated young women in brothels. Meanwhile the shrewd

and avaricious proved that larger profits can be made in supplying the necessities wholesale to those thus regimented. Institutional and army contracts are more profitable than family business. (21st ed, 1937, pp 93-4)

With the removal from our population of the physically best of the race, with so many of our young men returned crippled mentally or physically, with hatred filling the minds of people, there inevitably will be less laughter. The time of "Pippa Passes",—"God's in his Heaven, all's right with the world",—is past, and the street where she sang so gaily a mass of rubble, the result of American shells.

(2) The almost universal human desire to proselyte, to have others as we are, to inculcate our children with our own ideas, "The Lust to Teach", and "Teaching Versus Learning", are dilated upon in "The Future of Education", 1944, pp 61-78. Under the title "The Crimes of Teachers" in the 17th edition of the Handbook, 1933, light was thrown on our institutional education:

Our teachers still maximate their own ego rather than the child's. The teacher gets the kick and the thrill out of teaching rather than letting the pupil get the thrill out of discovering for himself. It is more fun to tell than to watch the other fellow exploring. But unless we allow our children to derive satisfaction from things that are worth while they will find satisfaction in things of another kind. That is what they are doing in many cases. Our teachers must find higher and greater satisfaction in developing self-starters in their pupils, in encouraging discovery and exploration on the pupils' own part. Our institutionalized education has been planned and conceived to perpetuate ideas once held sacred, now suspect. Even the second-hand book learning valued by an earlier generation is under suspicion. We have been fed too long on chlorinated white flour. Getting back to the primitive, restoring the bran with its life-giving vitamins, may yet bring to our children the vigor and vitality of old.

The study of adolescent development among primitive peoples, as recently carried on by anthropologists like Margaret Mead, has cast light on the crimes we teachers and parents have committed. In primitive societies children grow up more naturally, there is less repression, and mental hygiene cases are rare. In her two books, "Coming of Age in Samoa" and "Growing Up in New Guinea" she deals with two types of primitive tribes, contrasting the two with our own. The anthropologist has opened to the alert-minded a vision of future education. The comparative view is sanifying. It gives a sense of direction and proportion.

(3) The individual, what makes him conform and how he remains different, is the theme of "What Makes Lives", a reprint of the introduction to the 24th edition, 1940. "The Irresistible Individual" that survives the acculturizing processes is dealt with in the 26th edition, 1942, separately published as "Education in Wartime": You may crush, you may fetter the race as you will, but the individuality of men will be with you still. For while there is hope, the people will reproduce. And though the birth rate may fall, every babe will be born free of the regimentation, and of the myths and the tabus that held his elders. And all will be unlike and unequal.

(4) "The Ravages of Fear in the Army: Incompetence in Dealing With Mental and Nervous Disorders" were dilated upon by Dr. Edward Spencer Cowles in the *Churchman*, Sept. 15, 1941, quoting from *Science Service*. "Men unfit psychologically to stand up under the discipline and emotional strain of military life, but who have gotten by the watchful eyes of selective service medical officers, are now proving a burden to the medical services of the Army. . . . There are at

present in the United States 27 hospitals in the Veterans Administration devoted exclusively to neuro-psychiatric disorders. . . . It costs approximately . . . \$10,800,-000 . . . yearly . . . for the care of these cases alone." In a release following up, he said, "More than half the beds in military hospitals in the United States are occupied by patients with nervous or mental diseases".

Under the title "Too Mad to Fight", Walter Davenport in *Collier's*, May 10, 1941, tells us that "justly renowned neurologists, psychiatrists and similarly minded scientists" summoned by the President to keep our new army free of "the psychopath, the feeble-minded and the frankly insane", "were unanimous in that whereas two per cent of the young Americans up for induction into military service were being rejected as mentally unfit, the percentage should be nearer fifteen".

The draft boards were passing the men so rapidly that the psychopaths could not be eliminated. During the training of the A.E.F. in 1917-18, after spending money on them, 70,000 men were discharged as incapable, 50% for neuro-psychiatric causes. Of the disabled veterans of the A.E.F. three-fifths are mental cases, psychiatrists who broke under the shock of the war. The care of them has cost a billion dollars since 1926. Of those totally disabled drawing pensions, 40% are mental cases. "And the bill next time is going to be a lot higher unless the Army finds some way to eliminate the thousands of mentally unfit that are certain to crack up." (25th ed, 1941, p 61)

Dr. Abraham Myerson of Boston, speaking before a forum on military service of the American Psychiatric Association on May 8, 1941, pointed out that "to the abnormally shy man, the gregariousness of army life, which may be a pleasant and exciting experience to others, awakens deep fear and a sense of inferiority". He "placed this type in the first rank of those unfit for army duty. He is a bad risk for the army and the conditions of army life would most likely do harm to him." As the second bad bet Dr. Myerson "placed the man who exhibits suspicion and hostility to others . . . whose egotism has been frustrated and who continually feels that he has been slighted, snubbed or unfairly treated even where there has been no discrimination whatever". Among other types he would reject the feminine or the unstable characters. (Boston *Herald*, May 9, 1941)

"Psychiatry in War", Norton, 1943, by Emilio Mira, M.D., is a manual, a rule book for those who are conducting a war, showing how they may use the findings of psychiatry, psychology, mental hygiene in promoting morale, that is in promoting the fighting instinct and maintaining it by means of modern scientific adaptation of Plato's 'noble lie'. Coldly, realistically it does for the sovereign (prince or state) from the scientific point of view what Machiavelli did from the strictly political point of view. The means whereby psychological and psychiatric knowledge may be used, at the will of those in control, to make hating, fighting robots of intelligent people are here clearly stated in usable and practicable form. Mira, formerly professor of psychiatry at the University of Barcelona and now lecturer in psychotherapy and medical psychology at the University of Buenos Aires, having lost out in the Spanish War, hands on the techniques there developed. So brutal is his presentation that one suspects that behind this callous front is a tender conscience screened by a sardonic manner. For up-to-date data on "The Toll of Warfare", "Psychiatry in War", "Psychology of War", "Promoting Hate", see the chapter "Producing Psychoneurotics" in "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 35-38.

(5) Hooton of Harvard, at Atlanta in 1944, asserting that he was "the most

unpopular man in America", tried to justify it, declaring, "About 45 per cent of our young men are rejected from the armed services—not good enough to be shot at, apparently. Many of the 55 per cent who do go to fight will come back debilitated and many will be injured and disabled. These will be our breeding stock for a race that is already rapidly degenerating. We can set up beautiful ideologies, but you cannot inculcate a high moral code in inferior people. How can you inspire an idiot to great accomplishment?... It is sound judgment to think that good health and good thinking go together, if evil thoughts are not forced between them.... Biologically, we are much inferior to the days when the fittest survived."

Hooton has been hooting at us for years about what we are doing to preserve the defective and promote physical degeneracy. He has shaken the pillars with such statements as "Society faces the immediate prospect of domination by quick-breeding dullards" (22nd ed, 1938, pp 148-9, 161-2). And in his "The Twilight of Man", 1939, he continued to reiterate the same gospel he has been preaching so many years. In 1940, at Princeton, he declared, "Modern warfare has conspired with humanitarianism to ruin man and has been even more evilly efficacious in so doing. The first World War killed off the greater part of the best male breeding stock in Europe and left those who survived shell-shocked or otherwise impaired mentally and physically" (25th ed, 1941, pp 60-1). Nor has Hooton merely talked. He has endeavored to establish opportunities for research to fill gaps in our essential knowledge of man. But the universities and the foundations have been cold to this proposition. Meantime anthropologists who were at work on the problem have been deemed expendable and sent to war, to return wrecks.

Dr. Edward John Kempf, author of a famous text on psychopathology, at a meeting of U.S. psychiatrists at Atlantic City in June, 1941, said, "We have a deteriorating social system. We need to come to a reorganization which is more severe." Dr. Douglas A. Thom of Boston stated, "The American people have succumbed to a fatuous dependence on the cheer leader. . . . Our leaders lack the vision given to leaders in the totalitarian states which enables them to appreciate the vast magnitude of these [psychiatric] problems." (*Time*, June 23, 1941)

(6) In 1932 our workers were idle, our machinery of production and distribution unused. There was hunger and suffering for lack of things of which we had facilities and raw materials to produce an abundance. In Russia, on the other hand, one hundred and eighty million people were working with religious zeal to build just such a system of production as we had idle. In 1943 the late Wendell Willkie, visiting Russia, discovered it "a dynamic country, a vital new society. . . . It has survival value. . . . It is ruled by and composed almost entirely of people whose parents had no property, no education, and only a folk heritage." (Cf "War and Education", p 475)

(7) For a discussion of "What the Last War Cost", cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 328-31. For a consideration of the cost of the current war in May, 1940, cf "How Much Shall We Waste on This War?", op cit, pp 332-6; also the Beards' "Basic History of the United States", 1944, pp 477ff. "The present financial commitment of the United States for the prosecution of the war is \$330,000,000,000, and the end of this war is far off, so the President warns" (*Congressional Record*, Sept. 20, 1943, p 7749). "For the fiscal year ending June 30 next our country has appropriated for war purposes \$97,000,000,000, as against Great Britain's \$18,000,000,000" (*Congressional Record*, Oct. 12, 1943, p 8374).

(8) The 'youth problem' has been dealt with extensively and intensively in "War and Education", pp 287-97. Additional material will be found in "Education in Wartime", pp 71-8.

(9) Until we can separate out both sex and religion from morals there is little hope of improving them. There is no suggestion of sex or religion in the Golden Rule. This great commandment in its advance from the Simian through the Confucian, Christian to the Kantian, affords a sound biological basis on which to build a code of behavior toward our fellows. Confucius first put in words as an ethical law, "Don't do to others what you would not have them do to you." Jesus brought it to the western world in its more original positive form, "Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." But it is questionable if we are more consistent in following this than the simian one sees in the zoo, who scratches his fellow's back that he may have the same done to him. The flower of Kant's philosophy was his categorical imperative: "Act so that the maxim of thy will can likewise be valid as a principle of universal legislation." ("The New Immoralities", p 171; cf also pp 172-4; also pp 45-7, "Latitude and Morals" "What the Hebrews Imposed Upon Us", "What Rome's Decay Brought Us", "What We Owe to the Orient")

Our ethics are largely based on the "Ten Commandments", derived from a compilation of writings in Hebrew combining elements of the teaching of Egypt and Chaldea (cf Breasted, "Dawn of Conscience"). Our institutions, educational and theological, hand down to us from the past the fallacies that have come to them. Some of these, which controvert fundamental biological facts, are listed and dilated upon by H. S. Jennings in "The Biological Basis of Human Nature", 1930: acceptance of any fact that has not been tested under a new set of conditions; attribution to one cause of what is inevitably due to many causes; assumption that "because one factor plays a role, another does not"; that there are identities in the universe,—e.g. "like produces like", "like father like son"; the notion that characteristics are due to either heredity or environment, rather than to development and interaction.

(10) In "The New Immoralities", pp 67-70, one will find an unorthodox but perhaps stimulating treatment of "Telling the Truth", "The Whole Truth", "The Thrill of Discovery". For understanding of both the good and the harm to the individual that come through the process of acculturation we are indebted to the comparative studies of the anthropologists. Lawrence K. Frank's analysis in "Man's Multidimensional Environment" is outstanding. (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 241-2, 250-2)

(11) Cf "What It Is to be Educated", "What It Is to be Good", "The New Immoralities", pp 157-8. In his opinionated way James had an idea that to be educated implied something beyond knowledge, the ability to coordinate, to interpret, in short, to arrive at understanding. In his "Memories and Studies" we read, "To have spent one's youth at college, in contact with the choice and rare and precious, and yet still to be a blind prig or vulgarian, unable to scent out human excellence or to divine it amid its accidents, to know it only when ticketed and labeled and forced on us by others, this indeed should be accounted the very calamity and shipwreck of a higher education. . . . Our colleges ought to have lit up in us a lasting relish for the better kind of man, a loss of appetite for mediocrities."

THE WAGES OF SIN

Change impending or impeded, fear of coming war, increasing maladjustment, more and more asylums, awakened educators to a sense of failure. As old idols tottered, there was hope of less arrogance and more humility.

The full effect of the financial crash was not felt till some years later, particularly in the families of the upper brackets, those who patronize the private schools and colleges. As time went on, loss of property values was as nothing compared to the loss of nerve and verve. With the thirties the American people began to feel a great moral depression. But it brought clearer thinking and bolder speaking on the part of some of our leaders. We had learned, too, something of humility, though we had much more to learn. (1)

EASY MONEY

In the bull market years swollen incomes to escape taxation flowed over into educational coffers and foundations. Philanthropy became the world's third largest business, in 1928 contributing two billions, eight per cent or two hundred millions of which went directly to education. (2) In 1932 only one-third as much was contributed.

Much of the easy money of the fat years went into foundations to perpetuate ideas, or into buildings to memorialize the donors. In New England alone more than \$127,000,000 went into new school and college buildings. Yale was rebuilt in the style which the brilliant periodical the *Harkness Hoot*, named for the chief donor, derided as 'bastard Gothic'. At Harvard, neo-Georgian kept the brick kilns busy, the Baker business college and the Lowell boarding houses making faces at each other across the Charles. Some day H. G. Wells' hopes may be realized and all these buildings roofless, in ruins, like the monastic institutions which Henry VIII brought to ivy mantled beauty. But the rusty steel girders rising amid the bricks and mortar, and the failure of the ivy, will hardly bring them to comparable beauty.

Most such donations had the same source as the money we suspected as 'tainted' in the days of Roosevelt the First idealism. Sons who have since come to the administration of vast accumulations of wealth have, with an oil smudge on their subconscious, devoted themselves seriously and assiduously to bestowing their wealth where they thought it would do the most good. But during the post-war normalcy such qualms ceased to trouble. More recently we have learned where all this money came from. With bankers deriving commissions of twenty million dol-

lars at a throw for floating, with the aid of seven hundred thousand dollars in bribes, worthless bond issues on a gullible public; with the profits from pyramiding holding companies and corporations, and bank officials deriving bonuses of a million dollars a year, and a bull market pooled and rigged, it was easy to get funds with which to increase one's importance in the eyes of one's alma mater. So we borrowed and spent two hundred million, and though now we haven't money to pay for the elementary education of all our children, we then had millions to squander on unbeautiful buildings.

"More and Better Wills" was the theme of the conference of the Committee on Financial and Fiduciary Matters (of the Association of American Colleges) held at the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 21 and 22. Not only was this participated in by representatives of colleges and universities, but they thoughtfully sent invitations to life insurance companies, banks, trust companies and foundations.

All the wealth of the world will be given away in the next thirty-three years, as it has been willed away in the past thirty-three years. For those departing, finding no safe transport for their gold, left their material possessions behind them. Most of them left it to those with whom they had been in closest touch, who had bored them most, to immediate members of the families, aunts and nieces. But a few who had had their imaginations stimulated in regard to some good that might be brought about or had some hope of betterment that might be achieved, left it to trustees.

LIFTING THE DEAD HAND

Dying, in our egotism we do what we can to perpetuate our influence and ideas. By wills, foundations, trusts, we hope to fetter our descendants to our ideas, to our standards. Even shrewd old Benjamin Franklin made a fool of himself when he died by tying up his money for printer apprenticeships for one hundred years later, when there were none. Meantime his trustees squandered the money.

Julius Rosenwald, who had given away from ten to thirty millions in the previous decade, in the May, 1929, issue of *Atlantic* quoted an article by James C. Young, "The Dead Hand in Philanthropy" which stated that "some twenty thousand English foundations have ceased to operate because changing conditions have nullified the good intentions of the donors; and a large number of American funds, many of them of comparatively recent origin, have likewise become useless". Of all the wealth of kings' favorites left to convents and benefices during the middle ages there survives the Priory at Winchester, which traditionally gives to the beggar that passes by a loaf of bread and a jug of ale,—now re-

served for the American tourist with a generous tip.

"The dead hand has been proved time after time to be a hindrance, if not a menace, to the progress of mankind", Rosenwald wrote in the *Atlantic*, Dec., 1930. It is wasteful "to tie up money in perpetual trusts".

THE DEPRESSION HITS THE SCHOOLS

The Great War brought a decrease in the birth rate, particularly in the years from 1917 to 1920. Conscientious parents hesitated to bring children into a warring world. Millions of young men were removed from normal life. The 1930 census showed that in the nation there were 128,840 fewer children under five years of age than were reported ten years before in the 1920 census. To the frugality and temperance induced by the depression is ascribed the fall in both the death and birth rate.

"Education in the United States has suffered more as a result of the economic depression than it has in many of the foreign countries", according to reports from thirty-eight nations received by Dr. James F. Abel of the Federal Office of Education. These countries comprise fifteen in Latin America, fourteen in Europe, three in Asia, and Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Most European countries continued to maintain education on practically the same basis as five years before. In our own United States there was less school service in hundreds of cities, in night schools, kindergartens, art schools; and curtailment of music supervision, home economics, manual training, and physical education. With banks closed, their bankers going to jail, panic stricken citizens, money-less, were closing schools. The newspapers gave us almost daily such items as "752 schools in Arkansas close for lack of funds", and "60,000 pupils in Alabama turned out as schools close".

"The closing down of schools is undermining the health and morals of American children to an unprecedented extent and is making vagabonds of tens of thousands of them", declared Dr. Paul Mort, Teachers College authority on school finances. "Breakdown of traditional methods of financing public schools is depriving approximately 10,000,000 American children of minimum essentials of schooling." (3)

In the school year 1932-33 there were 385,000 more pupils in our elementary and high schools than in the previous year. But there were 14,000 fewer teachers. Moreover there were 150,000,000 fewer dollars to support them, and 108,000,000 fewer dollars for plant improvements. These figures were brought out in President Hoover's Washington Conference on the Educational Crisis. Teachers salaries were cut as much as twenty-eight per cent in one state, and fifty per cent in many counties.

Lowering of cost was accomplished in many cases by shortening the school year. Even in prosperous times, the school average throughout the United States was 173 days. It was cut from ten to thirty days generally. In France, the school year remained 200 days, in England and Sweden 210 days, in Germany and Denmark 246 days.

THE CRY FOR ECONOMY

The financing of public education has been a serious matter even in our most prosperous times. Taxation has been the chief source. From 1820 for half a century the long battle continued at the polls to win from the taxpayer the funds necessary to provide common school education for all.

Up to 1930 the high point of our spending on education from kindergarten to university from Mississippi to Massachusetts was \$106.19 annually for each of the twenty-nine million receiving instruction in our schools and colleges, a little more than three per cent of our national income. The average length of schooling in this country is well under ten years, and the average length of the school year lower than in most civilized countries. That means that we are spending about \$1000 in preparing each of the new generation for the future. Is that too much?

More than half our national income is spent in paying, through bond interest, for the debts and sins of our fathers in war and in peace. Faulty as our schools may be, crude as our educational methods, they are our best collective effort to do something to make the next generation better and happier. Is four per cent too much to spend in preparing our children to pay the debts which we have so generously bequeathed to them? (4)

Sinister forces have started propaganda against the schools, forces that make greater profits out of armament than school supplies, greater because of volume as well as margin. Stupidly we are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, handicapping the child who must pay our debts. The forces of stupidity and darkness are winning temporarily.

"Under cover of the depression and the cry of economy . . . the standards won by hard work over many years are being undermined. . . . The fountain head of the attack everywhere are large taxpayers and the institutions that represent the wealthier and privileged elements in the community. . . . We as educators need first of all to recognize that social problems are something of our own; that they, and not simply their consequences, are ours", John Dewey in February, 1933, told the superintendents gathered at Minneapolis. This was after the toppling of the Insull pyramids, after the voluntary dissolution of his Electric Light Association which had made propaganda and the prostitution of our professors and educational institutions one of its chief functions. But it was

before some of the 'representatives' to whom Dewey refers, their private winnings known, were indicted and on their way to jail.

CRIME AND EDUCATION

In reducing school expenditures, discharging teachers, cutting off interesting activities, turning children adrift, we are saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung. "If we reduce schools we increase crime" the Children's Aid Society of New York announces, quoting Lewis E. Lawes, long warden of Sing Sing, "Schools prevent crime and save the state millions of dollars. . . . A survey of the early environment of five hundred consecutive entrants into Sing Sing Prison reveals this fact most clearly. Of these five hundred men, only one in four had attended school after the compulsory age."

It is much more expensive to maintain a prisoner than a pupil. The average for the whole nation in 1930 was \$400 for each prisoner and \$106 for a pupil. In the north a prisoner costs the state much more than in the south where chain gangs and leased convict labor prevail. Prison labor returns an immediate profit to the contractor and state. But at what eventual cost to the community and future generations we have not yet the intelligence to estimate. In northern prisons, like Dannemora where the construction is expensive and escape-proof, the cost of maintaining a prisoner is higher than maintaining a student in college.

"Crime is no more nor less than perverted human conduct," according to Francis Bowes Sayre. "The problem of crime reduction is the intensely practical one of changing the underlying motivation of human beings. . . . Numberless youthful delinquents can be deflected from lives of crime, first-offenders can be dealt with through constructive instead of destructive methods, and society can be more efficiently guarded against professional criminals. In order to achieve this result we must apply the best brains obtainable to such exceedingly difficult problems as juvenile delinquency, effective methods of social rehabilitation, psychotherapy, constructive ways of dealing with those of low grade intelligence, and the like. If we want results, we must supplant self-seeking politicians in the field of correctional administration by men of trained intellect expert in their several fields. We must match crime with brains." (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*) (5)

The school psychiatrists will tell us when a boy has already gone wrong and point out ways of still saving him. Eventually we may be able to reach back farther into the boy's early life, into the home, and provide satisfactions for him all along the line, improving and making him socially sound. (6)

Ancestral urges we all feel, though subconsciously. We fret under

modern repressions without understanding how or why. Some of us, with Norse and Norman ancestors, in the spring feel the urge to turn pirate. In others peasant ancestors lead us to pack the garden soil under our finger nails. Most of these urges we suppress under a civilized exterior, but it helps to keep us healthy and sane to find outlets. Wars have been religious, economic and territorial but we are coming to realize that after all psychical attitudes come first. Money must be spent for propaganda to create hatreds, to make ready for war. Even then it would be hard to lure the adventurous young in large numbers if they were happily occupied and were living a life of satisfaction.

BIGGER AND BETTER WARS

Just how we school teachers and parents are insuring bigger and better wars Dorothy Canfield Fisher has brought out clearly. "War", says Mrs. Fisher, "actually attracts people who have unhappy lives. If you would truly eradicate it, you must go to the roots and attack what makes so many lives unhappy." So there is close connection between future wars and the unhappiness of small children today. Child psychology and war causes come close together. For the way you handle the child of today determines the wars of a dozen years later. (7)

That great educator President Eliot of Harvard used to dwell much on establishing through education the solid and enduring satisfactions of life. He knew them and understood how simply and easily they might be achieved. But most of our educational endeavor still goes into repression and suppression rather than building those enduring satisfactions. For most boys, school life is so barren of such satisfactions that they must find them on the athletic field in contest with their fellows. For most men their employment is so meaningless that it brings them no solid satisfactions.

"There are more of the older primitive satisfactions left in women's lives, with children to bring up, than in men's," writes Mrs. Fisher. "For men there is practically nothing in this machine age to substitute for the mighty old outlets for energy. Purely economic solutions will not prevent war, unless somehow proper and possible outlets are provided for a world of bottled-up and stifled energy. The solution lies farther back than we realize. We must dig ourselves in for a longer bout of patience and holding on than we thought was necessary.

"War appeals to the mob, which is traditionally at the level of the lowest member. What must be done is to raise the level of the lowest members. A mob of Emersons and Edisons and Wendell Phillips would be of no danger. But just as the science of mental hygiene has uncovered the fact that 100 per cent of the mentally unbalanced come from unhappy

homes, it could also be proved that willingness for war is a similar symptom of unhappiness. The 'wicked old men' who traditionally bring on war to enrich themselves, count always on many men being so bored and thwarted that even war is better than their everyday life. The mental hygienists soon discovered that the only way to help insanity lies in prevention, in providing better backgrounds for children and better training for parents. Likewise, the cure for war lies in attacking its roots and diverting the stream from thwarted emotion, just as the cure for the overflowing reservoir would lie in diverting the streams on the mountain."

So to provide suitable gun-fodder, let's repress our children, let's prevent their building such solid and enduring satisfactions as Eliot knew and advised. Let's not satisfy the martial instincts in childhood when there is real love for tinsel and display. Let's not provide the best of martial music for picnics and playgrounds. Let's not provide the best of military planning—reconnaissance, objectives, tactics and strategies in our everyday life. Let's be traditional—let's do just as we always have.

EDUCATORS CHALLENGED

Plain speaking is the order of the day. Now it can be told. In our humbled mood we are ready to listen. With our old gods dethroned, the broad backs of our bankers receding through the jail doors, "The History of Human Stupidity" revealed by Pitkin, we are now prepared for a revival of old fashioned liberalism, open mindedness, searching for the truth, weighing of the accepted facts.

When reactionaries in the saddle suppressed liberal thought it was cause enough for radicalisms. Now, the terrors removed, we can look facts straight in the face, be honest, free. And it is only in English speaking countries today that this is possible. For we English speaking, through our past stupidity, have forced other countries to dictatorships, and, as Shaw points out to us, have bestowed communism upon Russia.

Here is an opportunity which may pass unimproved unless keen satire, like a knife, cuts away the ancient rot, unless ridicule in boisterous gusts blows away previous follies. It is a time for anger and indignation at the slowness and stupidity of those who should move (cf p 365). Anyone today who is doing what he did three years ago is doing wrong and harm.

John Dewey puts the responsibility directly on our educators. At the N.E.A. meeting in Washington in February, 1932, he said, "Since the present economic collapse is a challenge to every institution in our present civilization, it surely is also a challenge to our schools. One of the functions of education is to equip individuals to see the moral defects of existing social arrangements and to take an active concern in bettering

conditions. Our schools have failed notably and lamentably in that regard."

It is considered 'unpatriotic', by the collective mob psychology that has prevailed as 'American', to point out "weak spots in our institutions and habits and to suggest that there are matters in which we might learn from other countries. There has been a heavy pall of 'hush-hush' imposed upon teachers, and the easy way for them, the way of inertia, has been to become 'yes' men and women."

EVADING SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

"Now, when such a spirit prevails through the schools, it is impossible that education should accomplish its social function. For the primary social duty of education is not to perpetuate the existing social order, economic, legal, and political, but to contribute to its betterment," states Dewey. "The result is that the great majority of the students in our schools go forth unprepared to meet the realities of the world in which they live."

"Children should be taught to know the truth. It is about time for the American public school to stop lying to its children." So declared Dr. Rollo Reynolds of Teachers College, in the *Philadelphia Ledger*, April 10, 1933. "None of the great problems of the future can be solved except in terms of truth. We should teach our children in school the truth about war, about the working of our political system, truth about our economic and social system."

Dr. Reynolds deplored that the coming generation should be made to pay for the mistakes of the past, and held that the schools must not share in the economies of the time. "Surely a nation which spends more for chewing gum, lipsticks and cigarettes than it does for education of children has not reached its highest level of intellectual thinking for the future." He maintained that the schools spend too much on foolish traditional things. "We have not the right to waste the time of our children teaching them to spell useless words".

Because the schools have not taught things of real value that would help in meeting the conditions of a changing world, because they have clung to traditional rags and tatters, we have met with disaster.

What can education do about the present depression? Nothing, says Dewey, "until there is a change in that underlying intangible thing which we call atmosphere and spirit. The change from acquiescent complacency to honest critical intelligence, from the fiction of a static and finished political and industrial society to the reality of a constantly shifting, altering, unstable society" must precede.

The stupidity and incompetence of our collective thinking since have

been in part due to the regimentation of thought, the poisoning of the public mind by propaganda during the war. On the other hand, individual thinking has never been more alert. There have never been so many thinking people emancipated from 'stereotyped ideas'. "Certain traditions in religion, morals, economics, and politics are still nominally held by the mass of adults, men and women", maintains Dewey. "They are taught in schools. But the actual movements of social life are contrary to these traditions. They contradict and undermine them."

We still cherish the tradition of 'rugged individualism' which belongs to the past. Two thousand directors control two hundred corporations with assets of \$81,000,000,000, forty-nine per cent of our corporate wealth, twenty-two per cent of our national wealth. These corporations are owned by eighteen million stockholders, with duplications, but the management resides with the minority of the two thousand directors. As the ownership is becoming more widespread, the control is becoming more concentrated. We are dependent upon the services and products of these corporations, the warp and woof of our national life.

COURAGEOUS TEACHERS NEEDED

But to point out such inconsistencies between present conditions and ancient traditions has been considered too radical, and teachers have been thrown out of schools if they mentioned such things. The contrast between the traditions we have been teaching and conditions we have been experiencing is a challenge to our educators. It should be their ambition and purpose to stimulate and raise the level of collective thinking, to prepare the people for the inevitabilities of the changing world. But too many still look upon such thinking as radical, and conceive their function to be that of the old men of the primitive tribes, merely to hand down the ritual of tradition.

Our teachers, tamed, have become passive, submissive, lacking in courage, weak and spineless. Stupid and aggressive Chamber of Commerce and banking men have imposed upon us an ideal of citizenship for our schools to develop. The American ideal of citizenship as it has prevailed in our schools has been too much that of the servile banking clerk or corporation underling. Our hope is in teachers, schools, educators, free enough, strong enough, brave enough, with training enough to show the coming generation that society is dynamic, undergoing change, not static.

In this changing world it is the books that look ahead, that help us to interpret and understand what's coming, that should have most significance for educators. But in order to look ahead we must look around, we must look back. If we know what is doing in other lands, if we know

the thought of other peoples, if we are in touch with those who are influencing action throughout the world, if we have had a straight vision over a long period, our forward view is likely to stand the test of time.

DISCOVERING EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

Carleton Washburne brings us first hand information of what the leaders of thought and action are endeavoring to do with education in important countries of the world. In "Remakers of Mankind", he attempts to give us world perspective on the purposes of education, to tell us what the political, educational and intellectual powers that control education are attempting to do with children, in their own interest or in the interest of the next generation. Washburne reports on what those in control of education and educational thought are today doing to shape the minds of the next generation and so shape human destiny, in Asia, Europe, and America. Disciple of Frederic Burk and Winnetka exponent of individual instruction, with funds from the Rosenwald Foundation he made his world tour in 1931. To those in control of education in each country he submitted a written list of questions on which his interviews were based. Primarily his purpose was to discover which of the three great purposes of education prevailed: perpetuation of the traditional order, as in Japan; preparation for a pre-conceived social order, as in Russia and Italy; development of each child's individuality, as in some of the modern schools of Europe and America. (Cf "War and Education", pp 363-4)

In Japan education strictly controlled by the government is used to foster the intense nationalism and the basic myth of the divine origin of the imperial family, under which a coterie of strong men, chiefly from the three southern clans, have autocratically ruled Japan for their own purposes since the Shoguns were overthrown. In China the old liberal culture still manifests itself among the great thinkers, but there is a growing feeling that nationalism must be temporarily promoted until China regains its place in the world.

Gandhi and Tagore in India stand for complete individual freedom, but feel the need of developing national consciousness. In Iraq and Syria the leaders generally believe in the need of an indigenous education rather than the imported European standards. In Russia and Turkey and Italy the educational machinery is used to indoctrinate the young with the ideals of the new social order that is being built. Leaders of German educational thought at the time of the survey were more liberal and progressive, though the old conservative element existed. In French education there is a liberal undercurrent of thought which may eventually free the people from its present nationalistic education.

This interesting basic research of Washburne's shows that the use that is made of the educational machinery is determined in different countries by the political conditions, by the struggle for power within each country. Only where there is relative security, political stability, is there opportunity for education to perform its natural, normal and highest function, the development of the individual. And it is only as the individual improves that the race can achieve its promise.

CAN MAN BECOME CIVILIZED?

"Can Man Be Civilized?" asks Harry Elmer Barnes, 1932, inquiring into whether or not man can build a code of morality that will actually bring him to a state where he can be called civilized. He presents a bill of particulars of what's wrong with the world and the people in it, that should act as a guide in establishing new rules of behavior toward our fellow men. Only through better knowledge of present abuses in our social system can we achieve a greater social justice. This is more particularly brought out and explained in "Civilizing Ourselves", 1932, by Everett Dean Martin, who is appalled at the abuses that prevail but believes there is a fighting chance for our civilization as a larger number of people can be brought to intellectual maturity. He bases his hope on the doubter instead of the devotee. He fears "the great crowd tyranny" which so levels, degrades, dominates American life. Only as we have better, nobler individuals to look up to, only as our ideals are raised through such leadership, through individuals, can civilization advance. This has been the historic process. It must continue to be. What are the schools doing for the individual? Aren't they devoting themselves to classes, aren't they standing for uniformity?

PRESENT SOCIAL CRISIS

Those who would guide education are speaking out more boldly than in the past. Some are attempting to relate our present social crisis to the failure of education in the past. Others are pointing to the defects in our social system and the need of educators to be not only aware of these but to point them out in their teaching. A few years ago any such attempt to correlate or connect teaching with an effort to improve our social system would have been regarded as Bolshevistic. Many a teacher and college professor has lost his job for modest attempts in this direction.

John Dewey has been bold in demanding that teachers be freed from such repression, insisting that education has for its chief purpose preparing the young to make a better world, which means frankly understanding present defects. In his Inglis Lecture at Harvard, "The Way Out of Educational Confusion", he called for an entire reorganization of

education in order to lead to a better understanding of our present situation and the way we must go.

William H. Kilpatrick is equally bold and prolific in his speeches and writings emphasizing that education must recognize its social responsibilities. This is the theme of his "Education and the Social Crisis: A Proposed Program", 1932. In this lecture he challenges the teaching profession to accept larger responsibilities in regard to social problems. Recognizing the breakdown of our old ideas of freedom, he calls for a planned economy. Education must develop a deeper social interest, a broader outlook. Educators must stand for open-mindedness and a re-examination of traditional notions and policies.

"The Educational Frontier", 1933, edited by Professor Kilpatrick, reveals the intimate relationship between democratic society and education and the pressure from vested interests. Bertrand Russell in "Education and the Modern World", 1932, asks, "Can it be wondered at that a world in which the forces of the State are devoted to producing in the young insanity, stupidity, readiness for homicide, economic injustice and ruthlessness—can it be wondered at, I say, that such a world is not a happy one?"

WHAT THIS WORLD MEANS TO US

Life is for each of us the brief span of consciousness, the little moment in which in grief and joy, with pleasure or in pain, we play our part on this footstool of God. Hoping and yearning, bearing and grumbling, a thousand generations of our ancestors have salted the earth with their bones. And time marches on. Geniuses and martyrs, ridiculed or stoned for pointing out what was to others unseen, have made their exits and entrances and have brought us a more acute sensing of things. Only so has life gradually been revealed to us as an opportunity.

We want to prepare our children for living more richly, to realize the best of themselves more completely, to reveal to them the opportunities of life. This calls for knowledge they can use, training and habits that will make life easier for them—something more than traditional education. Today that is the recognized purpose of education.

But our world is what our senses make it. All we know comes through them, even the revelations of God. True, our senses are imperfect. Each one of our senses is better developed in some of the lower animals. Moreover physiologists are only beginning to learn about our senses and sense organs. And we have far to go to appreciate how to use, to enjoy and to learn what our senses reveal to us. (8)

To help children in the use of their senses should be the first task of parents and educators. All great teachers have pointed out that the

first purpose in helping our fellow men is to help them in the sensing of things, to enlarge their world, its wonders and its beauties.

Only so can we build the foundation for reverence, for veneration, for true humility. The ignorant, the unseeing, must remain in a measure unfeeling. Though our emotions are dependent upon our glandular secretions, emotion can mean nothing without our sense life to base it on. Thought is of course based wholly on what has come through our senses, and the richer and more varied our sensory experience, the greater variety of thought is possible. But our rationalizing, our mental life, is inevitably colored by our emotional attitudes.

All these are matters of individual experience though much remains subconscious. Beyond lies faith, the substance of things hoped for. And faith sustained becomes religion. So on development of our sensory impressions and the richness of our sensory life rests thought, feeling and religion.

NOTES

(1) Thirty years earlier Gilbert Murray had marked the 'failure of nerve' in the Greek people following the Peloponnesian War. He writes that in "a conversation with Professor J. B. Bury... discussing the change that took place in Greek thought between, say, Plato and the Neo-Platonists... I had been calling it a rise of asceticism, or mysticism, or religious passion". Bury "corrected me. 'It is not a rise; it is a fall or failure of something, a sort of failure of nerve.'" Murray notes "a great difference in tone" in the classical writers after Plato, "as marked in the Gnostics and Mithras-worshippers as in the Gospels and the Apocalypse, in Julian and Plotinus as in Gregory and Jerome.... It is a rise of asceticism, of mysticism, in a sense, of pessimism; a loss of self-confidence, of hope in this life and of faith in normal human effort; a despair of patient inquiry, a cry for infallible revelation; an indifference to the welfare of the state, a conversion of the soul to God." ("Four Stages of Greek Religion", 1912)

Sidney Hook finds a similar "New Failure of Nerve" in Western civilization today, "more complex and sophisticated.... It betrays... the same flight from responsibility.... We are told that our children cannot be properly educated unless they are inoculated with 'proper' religious beliefs; that theology and metaphysics must be given a dominant place in the curriculum of our universities.... Obscurantism is no longer apologetic; it has now become precious and wilful." (*Partisan Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1943)

(2) Of this, \$135,000,000 went to colleges and universities. The remaining \$65,000,000 was left for general educational purposes, for private and also public schools, which were coming into the public eye as a worthy object for endowment (13th ed, 1929, p 22). E. A. Ross in 1922 wrote, "All the gifts by which wrongdoers contrive to cover their nakedness with the mantle of respectability cost society more than they are worth. They are virtually purchases of unmerited leniency with money, and tend to break down the moral law just as compounding a felony breaks down the criminal law." ("The Social Trend", in the chapter "Philanthropy With Strings", originally printed in the *Atlantic*)

(3) In his Inglis Lecture, 1943, "Secondary Education as Public Policy", Mort

developed this theme at much greater length. (Cf "Future of Education", pp 221-3)

(4) In 1933 the total debt of the nation, corporate, municipal, national, was well over 200 billions, which would be about \$7000 for each of the less than 30 millions in our schools and colleges. The nation was spending \$1000 on the education of each in the hope that he would pay off indebtedness that we had incurred of seven times that amount. To some it seemed they were doomed from their natal day to perpetual slavery to work off this debt. In 1944 the national debt alone is vastly greater, and the corporate debt not less. Each youth then is mortgaged for at least twice as much as ten years earlier.

(5) "Manufacturing Criminals" is the title of a chapter in "War and Education", and also in "The Future of Education" under which are considered "War-time Delinquency", "What Makes Criminals", "Who Is Delinquent?". "New Horizons in Criminology: The American Crime Problem", by Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, 1943, brings biological and psychiatric interpretations to the problems involved.

(6) Dr. William A. White, the late great psychiatrist, in "Insanity and the Criminal Law", 1923, wrote, "The criminal becomes the handy scapegoat upon which [man] can transfer his feeling of his own tendency to sinfulness and thus by punishing the criminal he deludes himself into a feeling of righteous indignation, thus bolstering up his own self-respect and serving in this roundabout way, both to restrain himself from like indulgences and to keep himself upon the path of cultural progress."

(7) An increasing number of books were appearing at this time on the last war and the next. In the previous edition, 1932, we reviewed several such, among them an ambitious series of post mortem studies on the late war by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Frank H. Simonds, reporter, sophisticate, realist, who had seen so much of war and diplomacy, asked "Can Europe Keep the Peace?" and gave a most emphatic "No", unless Germany would lie down and accept the French hegemony. In "War and Education" in a chapter "War Predicted by the Wise" we mentioned a dozen or so books which prognosticated another war.

(8) "The chief end of man is the head end, though frequently that is the dead end. For 'we belong to that aristocracy in the animal world which goes head first. . . . Feelers and sense organs naturally concentrated around the prow. And a telegraphic nervous system developed, so the bridge could signal the engine room. Out of that came our brain, a kind of excrescence or boil that grew at the end of the main cable or spinal cord.'" ("War and Education", p 463; cf also "The New Immoralities", pp 119-21)

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PRIVATE INITIATIVE THREATENED

Centralization and increasing socialization challenge private initiative. The biologist forewarns us of complete socialization, the past of the dangers of indoctrination. Misinformation, failure to inform, to recognize trends, to make adjustments, contribute to the educational lag.

From the Pacific around to the Pacific, the world is coming under dictators. In England the old Tory autocracy has bought out even the former Labor leaders. Democracy has had its chance and is in eclipse. The successes today are being made by those who hold dictatorial power. Democracy has made the world safe for secret diplomacy, which has become dictatorial. Collectivism is on the march,—not that private initiative is obsolete, but because it has become more and more subject to greater and greater abuses. (1)

WHAT IS PRIVATE INITIATIVE?

Private initiative is the opportunity for the individual to make his own dream come true. Everything that was once new, the better tool, the better method, the new attitude, germinated as an idea in a single brain. Without private initiative there can be no improvement, no invention, no new art. (2). The divine spark inspires the individual to work for something better, enriches not only his own life but that of his fellows. He who reveals to his tribe something never before seen, the lines of the charging mammoth, beauty in the commonplace, the majesty of the mountains, we call an artist.

Individual initiative was the lamp of Victorian liberalism that brought us through the murk of the industrial revolution to a higher standard of living. The hope of the future lies in private initiative,—that is, in individuals with clear vision, aware of present tendencies, feeling their social responsibility, alert to the possibilities of the disasters that face them, who have the courage to stand for something constructive.

All the methods in education that were once new, private initiative found and developed. It must find still more and better methods yet unknown. Now that our moral bankruptcy is confessed, no longer can we boast about passing on the wisdom of the past.

If our educational aims have been wrong, as most believe today, it stands to reason they can't all be right now. They must be still further modified, perhaps improved. Once education aimed to mold the young, to discipline, suppress and make for conformity. Our training in citizenship tended to dull awareness to existent evils and make complacent

robots. Our dull stupid teaching of history, the neglect of recent events, our failure to interpret to children honestly the things they see about them,—for this we now admit our culpability.

ABUSES OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE

In our education we have ignored existent evils. We have presented to our children a system supposedly perfect. Our educators and citizens have lacked the courage to stand up against the opposition of those who would profit from suppression of essential facts. For years we have seen the finest flower of our youth, graduates of our schools, universities and law courses, those who might have shown private initiative, seduced and prostituted to the purposes of greed in the service of great corporations and financial institutions. Robots and hypocrites resulted. (3)

Rugged individualists and 'Old Dealers' have crippled private initiative in our country. The abuses which have come to light have justified the curb put upon them. Those who have been granted liberty have taken license. They have misused and abused their opportunities, they have run wild. So private initiative is being limited in one way or the other by communist or fascist tendencies. Betwixt dictators and the proletariat, the great middle intellectual leavening class may be pinched out.

No longer may the bone setter ply his trade. Required training in state chartered institutions and state laws guard the gullible against unlicensed medical healers that haven't yet gone to jail. Nor can we tell on the label of our medical prescription of its marvelous cures. We must hire space in the magazines and newspapers, and employ advertising agents to protect and lobby for us.

Our utility pyramiders once bought their regulators and used the schools to make dividends on watered stock secure. Now with the threat of Insulation before them they are held in leash. Our banker gods are dethroned.

SOCIALIZATION OF OUR SCHOOLS

Waste has put us in the red. Half our income of fifty billions is totally wasted, Roger Babson tells us, and he specifies how. Two and a half billions are wasted in the worship of our educational fetishes, in which greed and gullibility are equally culpable. Most of it is lost in lubricating the bearings of our great socialized public school machine, in contacts between politically controlled boards of education, their superintendents and purchasing agents, and the purveyors who pander to them. (4)

Schools and sewers are the most socialized institutions of our country, even more completely than hospitals or water systems. Already ninety per cent of the pupils enrolled in schools are under centralized bureau-

cratic control in politically dominated tax supported institutions.

The demand for the complete socialization of our school system and the restriction or suppression of the private school comes from those who have been educated, and are now supported, at public expense. In the newer sections of our country, from the first the public schools have been fostered by land grants from a benevolent government, and huge bond issues floated ostensibly for schoolhouses, to promote land values and real estate developments. (5)

In all the states settled within the last hundred years, there is no tradition of privately supported schools as in the older eastern communities. But the greater number of professors of pedagogy come from the western state-supported universities where socialized education has always prevailed. They and their fellows have been educated at public expense. They apparently do not know that all that is good in the public school was first worked out under private initiative and its value demonstrated.

After half a century of our compulsory socialized educational system, at an annual cost of billions, E. A. Filene told the N.E.A. what we now all agree to,—“business men and educators are jointly to blame for the conditions which led to the depression”. Clyde Miller of Teachers College told them that the “country’s schools and colleges have been ‘playing the rich man’s game’, for two per cent of the people in the nation control eighty-five per cent of the wealth”. Superintendent Campbell of New York City ascribed the depression to the schools. He said, “The Gods of business and finance had a queer code of ethics and very little knowledge of economic laws or social problems. . . . Yet most of them were the products of our system of education.”

INDOCTRINATING CHILDREN

Collectivism is on the march. From Columbia under the banner of Briggs marches an army of state socialists ready to use the schools to support the state which supports them. (6) Another army of educational communists is led by Counts. Both would use the schools to indoctrinate youth. Of course there is nothing new about indoctrination. It is the basis of all religious instruction. It is what has made Catholics and Methodists, just as today it is making fascists and communists. Most military training, too, is indoctrination. The marvelous rhythm, the color and exhibitionism, and much that is attractive in military life are successfully used to dwarf and stultify the thinking mechanism. (7)

The Progressive Education Association has been torn with discussion as to how far we shall indoctrinate children with the particular social ideals of the time. To some it doesn’t seem that this is a worthy purpose for the progressives to follow. It is an old game, an easy game. Fascists

and Communists and Divine Rightists are still building their power on it. But to some who have veneration for childhood and youth and hope for the future if it can get rid of the past, it seems more vicious to give a child a jab in the brain than a shot in the arm.

What shall be taught in school? That has been the subject of endless school board meetings in thousands of school districts. That question has led groups of citizens to go deep into their pockets to found Methodist schools, or Catholic schools, and has built up a great system of other private schools, more conservative, more progressive or more religious than the public schools which the same citizens have to support.

It was recognized in the report of the Commission on Social Studies in the "Charter for the Social Sciences" that public opinion is one of the important elements "affecting school instruction in the subjects of the social sciences". "Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth", 1933, by Bessie Louise Pierce, associate professor of American History at the University of Chicago, is the result of an investigation of social studies in the schools. "In the quest for material used in this study, more than 200 organizations were investigated." Many of the associations evolved out of artificially stimulated war emotions, some were the result of foreign propaganda to which the American people were particularly responsive. Most of these groups, believing themselves to stand for one-hundred per cent pure American idealism, characterized their programs as Americanization, and all of course were actuated by high patriotic motives.

The American, perhaps because of his loneliness as an emigrant pioneer backwoodsman, is particularly gregarious, lacking some of the independent qualities of the French peasant who has lived in the same country, on the same soil, among the same people for centuries. One hundred years ago de Tocqueville remarked on this. "Americans of all ages, all conditions . . . constantly form associations . . . not only commercial and manufacturing companies . . . but associations of a thousand other kinds,—religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. . . . If it be proposed to inculcate some truth, or to foster some feeling, by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society."

Whatever was undertaken by the government in France or England might be started in the United States, where every man was king, by anyone who could put it over on his fellows and gather a group about him. So in our country the blind have constantly led the blind and in the strength of union have driven the open-eyed. Witness the Mormons, the Ku Klux Klan, Vigilantes, and so on. Miss Pierce has in a scholarly, academic way collected a vast amount of material on what these groups

would do to our children and have done insofar as in them lay. And without revealing any sense of humor she sets down the ideals of the most diverse groups who would indoctrinate all youth with their own peculiar emotional attitudes or twisted prejudices under the guise of patriotism or citizenship.

BENDING THE TWIG

A Japanese horticulturist, taking the appropriate chrysanthemum stock, may produce on a single plant thousands of blossoms like a bursting rocket cascading forth, or a single bloom of gigantic proportions. Parents and educators, in a less definite but similar way, have had ideals of what they wanted to make of their children. In early New England the highest ideal was to make and train ministers. The ministers in turn controlled education. Until recently college presidents and heads of girls seminaries and private schools were generally drawn from the ministry.

The ideal of public school education of the last generation or so has been for the teacher to prune and suppress. Sterile spinster head mistresses have sought to mold and create womanhood in their own image. The head master on whom the ministerial cloak had descended sought to mold adventurous, rebellious boyhood, to trim and repress until his pupils became prigs like himself. The child was considered by the pedagogue only as the horticulturist considers his plant,—is it good stock for a process, could the result aimed at be achieved? Or like the topiarist,—would the stock stand the rigorous pruning necessary to attain his ideal? His purpose was to bend the twig that the tree might be inclined as he was inclined. (8)

It is quite possible to 'bend the twig'. But even the most perfect specimen of espalier produced by a French gardener or clipped yew by an English topiarist can give us no conception of what Mother Nature planned these trees to be. It is not long since, even in the west and more recently in the Orient, that we distorted the bones of children to make artificial dwarfs and hunchbacks to amuse the monarch or the crowd. The day perhaps is not far distant when it will be considered even worse to distort human minds.

SOCIETY VERSUS THE INDIVIDUAL

In a completely socialized or communized community, as among the bees and ants, private initiative is impossible. It has long since been suppressed. If our education becomes completely socialized we will be, too. We may go the way of the bees or the white ants.

For there are other ways than ours in which life may go on. For hundreds of millions of years Old Mother Nature has been playing with our

organized societies. Consider the perfect social organization of the thousands of individuals that make up a sponge, as perfect and self sufficing in its way as the clam is as an individual. Corals and sea fans and scores of other colonies made up of great numbers of individuals closely associated in societies you may find on the ocean floor where Nature has been experimenting with their social organization since earliest geologic time. And on the land, animal societies with systems of social organization and town planning have been worked out in various groups, most marvelously among the insects, most humanly in their perfection among rodents. Prairie dog towns have populations running into the hundred thousands and the rabbit warrens of England are probably more ancient than the English cathedral cities. Private initiative in the perfect insect colonies would be as inimical to peace and prosperity as rebellious cancer cells are among the otherwise harmonious collection of cells that make up our own bodies. Private initiative in the cancer cell or the revolutionary is inimical to the status quo in the social organization.

Individual initiative is not essential to a well organized and smooth running society. In insect societies there is no individuality, all are alike. There is no initiative, all act together. By standardization and by suppressing initiative, the Pax Romana was maintained in human society.

COMMUNISTIC OLD MAID ANTS

William Morton Wheeler, who has given his life to the ants and studied the development and forms of their social organization over a period of millions of years, tells us that the peace and smooth internal functioning that characterizes the societies of insects is due to the dominance of the female. Bees in hives, ants or termites in their colonies never fight among themselves but work harmoniously for the good of the group as a whole and, if need be, die for it without hesitation.

The ants long ago solved all the social problems of their highly organized society by relegating all the powers of the community to the spinsters. The worker ant, in all her modifications, soldier, herder, agriculturist, is a modified desexed female, an old maid. These spinster workers never fight among themselves. There are no jealousies, for the male drone is of only temporary value to the community, to be treated with contempt or thrown out. The one perfect female is left the job of perpetuating the colony and the species. She produces the eggs which the old maids take care of. They tend the young and bring them up by standardized methods, producing a uniform product.

In our socialized public schools we have followed the advice of old Solomon who told us to go to the ant. Today our female teachers outnumber the male teachers ten to one and the proportion is steadily grow-

ing in most of our large public school systems. Female teachers are forbidden to marry and are dismissed if they do. As in the case of the ants, the care of our young is turned over to these modified desexed females.

According to one of the speakers at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, boys taught by women teachers are liable to "grow up to be spineless, weak individuals because of their failure to come into contact with virile men teachers". But the "economically privileged few" who are sent to private schools under men teachers will grow up and, because of their early training by men, take over the important posts in private and public life. America's greatest contribution to education has been the desexed, superannuated spinster in charge of the education, ideals and activities of our virile growing children. Nowhere else in the world, except in a few primitive, matriarchal societies and among the ants, has the upbringing of the next generation been left to the spinster,—the future virility of the race been sacrificed to the support of the sterile female.

FASCIST ROYAL TERMITES

The white ants or termites which may yet inherit the earth, so successful are they, have solved their sex and social problems in quite another way. Theirs is absolute sexual equality. They have one queen as do the ants and bees, but she takes a lifelong mate who helps her dig the bridal chamber and shares it with her. Desexed males and females make up the workers and soldiers. They have nothing to do with courtship, love or reproduction. Consequently they never fight among themselves. They are absolutely alike except as they are differentiated robots for special work. And there is never any initiative.

The fighting spirit of the male, whether man, ape, dog or bird, aroused over wooing and mating, keeps the whole community in a perpetual state of ferment and unrest, Wheeler points out. But this, too, promotes initiative and individuality. Among human males he finds three classes, as he might among polymorphous ants; "One comprises the completely socialized individuals, who maintain the social structure; there is a second much smaller class whose dominance is largely manifested in intellectual or emotional fields, which creates the great social values, and also the great social illusions that develop civilization; and the third class consists of criminals of low mental age with unbalanced endocrines who in the past have succeeded in destroying every civilization."

What is our boasted civilization,—social organization, governmental set up? Well, the ants and bees have had a perfect social organization a hundred times longer than we human simian vagrants have had any. Eliminating sex and courting, vagrancy and roaming, Old Mother Nature

found was the first step. Perfecting social organization, desexing the mass of workers was her next step. The fear is that we may be doing just that today in our boarding schools, and public schools and national life,—perfecting our social organization at the expense of the vagrancy of the individual. Our law and business school graduates, laboring for corporations, become robots, the best of them bought and sold for a few hundred thousand a year.

WHITHER, SIMIAN?

But Old Mother Nature, not satisfied with perfect social organization, with peace and stability, went on trying countless experiments, disturbing to the order of life, to the vested interests. Tiring of ponderous dinosaurs, from marsupial beginnings of the then insignificant mammalia, she staked her big future gamble on the tiny tree shrews, from whom came our simian predecessors.

Removed from predatory dangers on the ground, they warred with a mightier force, gravity, so constant a danger that even now children awake in fright dreaming of falling. Eye-forward vision and unceasing alertness attained a new import. With all this developed that simian interest in the vaguely seen or understood,—that impulse which led to investigation and experiment, even when there was no possibility of food or good,—that divine curiosity, the desire of knowledge for its own sake, which has led us humans on to what we call pure science.

This simian-human trait of individual initiative has been the most potent factor in the advance of the species and promises most for the future. You will search for it in vain among the old maid ants, the fascist termites or the sexually segregated public school people controlled by bureaucrats. Sex all through the upper scale of animals, among the birds, the barnyard fowls and the cattle of the fields, and among men, has brought rivalries, aggressiveness and initiative. It has brought pride, parade and strife. Dispense with sex as have the bees and the ants and there is no need of gay dressing or gay costumes. But where there is individual courtship and mating as among the birds, the extravagances of costuming and posing brings us the peacock's strut or the bird of paradise's plumage.

The ideal of the termites, the white ants, has been internal social organization, preserving equality of the two sexes by removing all the conflicts that sex brings. There is no internal strife, no discord, no external militarism, no soldier class. Here we have social organization bringing peace and honor and contentment and food for all. But there is none of the private initiative that springs from sex and race rivalries. It is a mighty and perfect organization they have built and naturalists tell us

that these meek termites may yet inherit the earth.

There are among our human advisers and educators, those who hold up white ant ideals for us to follow. But it is not for this that Mother Nature has been toying with our forebears these millions of years. God endowed us with a brain, as yet but little used, and understanding of Nature's ways shows another destiny planned for us.

EDUCATIONAL LAG

Tribal or socialized education must always be a conservative force. The individual genius may teach his disciple new things but organized society must use education as a means of conserving its power. Fear and ignorance on the part of those who are in a position to lead, willful selfishness and obscurantism, cause the lag in our educational, social and economic institutions. There is no lack of knowledge, no lack of light to guide the feet of those who would progress. The Committee on Social Trends which published its report at the close of the Hoover administration performed a great service in emphasizing our social, ethical and cultural lag.

To realize how far our educational thought and practice are behind our scientific knowledge, attend educational meetings, even of our more progressive educators, and then go to a meeting like that of the Association for the Advancement of Science. (9)

The outlook of the two groups is entirely different. One is interested in "principles", mostly fetishes, their own purposes, methods and the petty problems of their craft. The scientists on the other hand, with the zeal of the discoverer, seek new knowledge and endeavor to interpret it for human use. Scan hastily *Science* for February 2, 1934, which summarizes papers read at the Boston meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. They elected as president Edward Lee Thorndike who made his reputation through scientific studies of the processes of learning. He has destroyed most of our cherished educational principles and built sound foundations for an education of the future. But it is scientists rather than educators who recognize him.

The zoologists, naturalists and geneticists in joint session listened to a series of papers on "Biology and Society". W. M. Wheeler speaking on "Animal Societies" gave a characteristically humorous and satirical account of animal organizations, not always flattering to human society. E. A. Hooton, another keen humorist, discussed social problems of "Primitive Human Societies". F. H. Hankins dealt with "Modern Social Organizations" and the retiring president talked on "Environments". All this would seem to be fundamental stuff for those interested in the coming generation. But what do school masters know about such things?

They are busy teaching what they and their fathers before them were taught.

The psychologists heard that even the chimpanzee may have intuitions, that irrelevant and incidental rewards are of significance in learning, although greater rewards and punishments have only slightly greater effects, that environmental factors such as slum life or good schools affect delinquency. E. A. Kirkpatrick put it up to the scientists to construct new ethical codes for modern society.

The scientists seem to have knowledge and interest in things that would prove helpful to those who are training and guiding our youth. The educators seem ignorant of the facts of most importance to the next generation. Contrast of the enthusiasms of the two groups emphasizes the vast gulf that lies between the mental content and vision of the scientist and of the educator. Brutally, our educators are ignorant of the more essential things.

NOTES

(1) Private initiative has come to lie largely in the hands of men who act in secrecy, supposedly for the good of all and from the highest ethical motives. They proclaim their righteous purpose is to put down evil. It has become disloyal for the free American citizen to inquire into these matters of state, which are supposedly sacrosanct. When these few men get together to work out the course of human events, the life and death of millions, it becomes a kind of poker game,—what has one got on the other that he can put over to bring the other to terms? What did Stalin have on the other two at Teheran that made them ill and subsequently subservient? When fully disclosed and written, the history of this period may prove a lurid chapter.

(2) By private we mean, not secret, but individual as opposed to public or collective. When men gathered together for collective action to drive the wild horse or bison or to dig pits for the mammoth in order to gain food, it did not stop the individual who had an idea for a new kind of trap or drive from promoting it, from selling it to his fellows. Today in collectivized Russia private initiative, if not political, is still recognized and rewarded. Society will be static, as among the white ants, when private initiative is wholly supplanted. In the development of organic life, and particularly among the insects, this has occurred repeatedly, as William Morton Wheeler has so interestingly explained.

(3) "The men who run American philanthropic foundations have found early in life the opportunity to be of service, and they have had the intelligence or the astigmatism to call it the service of humanity, or the promotion of education. . . . Their ideas, prejudices, and economic interests have, in turn, conditioned and are now conditioning the pattern of American culture." (Horace Coon, "Money to Burn", 1938)

"Because they direct the expenditure of great accumulated wealth, these men exert a tremendous influence. There can be no sound complaint against these men as such. They are public spirited, responsible servitors of society according to their lights. The complaint, if any, must be against the social organization which permits them to be educated so that their cerebration is within a narrow

range. They form almost as distinct a caste as the king's courtiers of the seventeenth century. Functionaries, trust officials, tax evasion experts, legally or financially trained, administer the great reservoirs of wealth. They are so trained and conditioned that they are actuated by a spirit of duty in living up to their standards and ideals." (Sargent, "War and Education", 1943)

(4) "The Mounting Waste of the American Secondary School" is due to our attempting to give everybody the same kind of education, John L. Tildsley maintained in the Inglis Lecture of 1936. The waste is not only in money but in the sacrifice of the time of the abler pupils who are retarded for the slower. (20th ed, 1936, p 45)

(5) Four years earlier in the 14th edition, 1930, we wrote: The almost complete socialization of our school system in this country has come so rapidly in the last few decades that it has left most of us without perspective. It is easy to forget that our public school system is only a century old, that it originated from the persistent demands of labor along about 1820, that the battle with the tax payer for popular education was not won until past the middle of the century, and that it is only within the last few decades that the tax payer has had reluctantly forced upon him the burden of widespread secondary education. . . . The community and the state to safeguard itself must provide and pay all this where our economic system has left it impossible for the individual to provide.

Totalitarian trends in education have been anticipated at Harvard both by Dean Holmes of the Graduate School of Education, who foresaw "the bogey of federal control", and President Conant, who alarmingly forecast that "during the next twenty years a large majority of the students will probably attend institutions supported largely by taxes and controlled by a state or municipality" (25th ed, 1941, pp 27ff). Arthur B. Moehlman, editor of the *Nation's Schools*, has protested the federal invasion of education "growing out of the present European War". Commissioner Studebaker has said of the coming totalitarianism, "This centralization is not likely to be without its permanent effects upon our postwar political, economic, and social life" (26th ed, 1942, pp 93-100). In "War and Education", 1943, under the titles "Centralizing Tendencies", "Unifying the Nation", "Nationalizing Educational Control", pp 65-88, all these tendencies were further reviewed. And in "The Future of Education", 1944, the chapter "For the Sake of the State" showed the imminence of complete totalitarianism.

(6) In the name of democracy front page headlines have been commandeered by Professor Thomas H. Briggs of Teachers College to proclaim the supremacy of the State in education. In the Inglis lecture at Harvard, 1930, his topic was "The Great Investment, Secondary Education in a Democracy". He held that "education should be considered as a long term investment by the state that it may perpetuate its own interests". The purpose of education, he preaches, is the perpetuation of the state and it is for that that the state invests the money which it takes from the citizens by taxation. This, of course, is an ancient doctrine, revived by every despot, every clique in power, for the perpetuation of their own control. Dean Holmes of Harvard is bitten by the same bug. He even goes so far as to say, "No one has a right to education that is not strictly correlative to his duty to meet standards which make his education worth while to the public that pays for it" (14th ed, 1930, p 48). Can't you hear Hitler applaud?

(7) Indoctrination is as dangerous a game as intolerance. There are times to be intolerant. There are times in the presence of proved evil to indoctrinate a child, in the presence of immediate and proved danger,—crossing streets or rail-

road tracks. But indoctrination is so suggestive of our early Puritanism, of Roman Catholic educational methods, of Russian education, and it has been so characteristic of American education of the past generation, that the open minded must revolt at it. The whole plan of Americanism and the teaching of patriotism, so called in the schools, has been to indoctrinate children with ideas or lack of ideas, held by Legionnaires and Daughters. In the early settlements in America, in the primitive life, and in our farm communities, the individual was developed and recognized, but cooperation was essential and required. It was community spirit, community sharing and common ownership. (19th ed, 1935, p 32)

(8) "Bending the Twig", "The Bent Twig", "The Stunted", "The Broken", in the 1937 edition elaborated on all this: "Bend the twig while it is green" is the way the African Sechuana tribe put it. That 'bend' idea was widespread among primitives. It still survives in the Atlantic civilizations in which it is the fashion not to deform the skull, but what is inside. "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it," the modern interprets 'train up a child' not according to its bent but according to 'my bent'. So, many are left with the 'bends' when the pressure is released.

"When young lips have drunk deep of the bitter waters of Hate, Suspicion, and Despair, all the Love in the world will not wholly take away that knowledge." That is the way Kipling ended his story of "Baa Baa, Black Sheep". Now that we have his autobiography we know that he was the 'black sheep' depicted, and that it was he who spent six childhood years in the "House of Desolation", where he was beaten by the "Woman" and the "Devil Boy", placarded "Liar" and kept from his sister "as a sort of moral leper". And well he knows that he never recovered. Samuel Butler in "The Way of All Flesh" paints an even more bitter picture of his childhood.

A child who has run the gantlet of civilization through his first six years and is sound enough to enter the primary school, one would think would be safe. Everybody was shocked to read Embree's statement in his "Prospecting for Heaven" that "a child in the first grade was about as likely to be treated for psychiatric conditions later on in life as he was to be treated to a college life".

(9) "The ideals held up by educational leaders, speakers and writers are unfortunately seldom realized", it is explained in "Ideals Without Vision" in "War and Education", pp 219-28.

■

WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF MOST WORTH?

Our schools still stultify and drill ruts in the brain with the traditional interpretations, shaped on old and inadequate data. With more knowledge and utilizing new techniques and more brain, we may bring under greater control the whole organism and the world about us.

More than half a century ago Herbert Spencer, in the light of new knowledge, challenged the teaching of the day with the question, "What knowledge is of most worth?" Now with added knowledge and greater freedom and courage, we may once more raise the same question.

A hundred thousand teachers are giving nearly a million teaching hours each year to holding pupils, more than a billion study hours, to such subjects as partial payments, the binomial theorem, square root, use of the ablative and a thousand other subjects that ninety-nine per cent of them will never have cause to use, once out of school. This costs the nation four billions a year and ten years of the life of each child.

USELESS KNOWLEDGE

These children come out of school ignorant, insofar as the schools can keep them, of how our democracy actually works, of who controls, of how our national income is wasted, of where the defects lie in our laws and government structure. Such ignorant citizenry permits the avaricious and acquisitive to reward themselves unduly and bestows honor upon those who profit from promoting war in which these young folk will be the cannon fodder.

Disciplined with mathematics they will never use, with dead languages they will never read, with rules for living languages they will never speak, we send them forth untrained in estimating values, their heads filled with useless knowledge, with untrue myths of their government, their history, —fitted to be victims of ballyhoo advertising and high pressure salesmen. Without interests or training in leisure, with no legitimate outlets for their initiative or spirit of adventure, these youths must find their own ways of magnifying their egos, which often brings them into the clutches of the law.

If in those ten years they had been led to carry through one creative project that maximated their own ego, if they had learned one poem that fired their imagination, or encountered one hero who stimulated their admiration, they might have been started upward.

With the new freedom to think and to speak that has come to educators new purposes are being set up. No longer are we content with the

traditional. No longer are we confident that our whole duty is to pass on the wisdom of the past. Again we are filled with the spirit of pioneers. We must find new ways to new ends.

NEW TOOLS

New ends demand new tools. The three R's, for a century essential tools, are diminishing in importance while the schools, with increased time given to the R's, do not train children to use them. The tools that men use change slowly. The stone handaxe lasted a million years. The Japanese still pull their saws where we push. East of Suez all drilling is still done with a kind of violin bow. There is just as much provincialism and irrational traditionalism about the tools of education. All about us are new ones unused.

The eye is chiefly appealed to in our system of education, which is based upon what we call study, looking at the printed page, to which some never become sensitive, more early become calloused. Our educational system offers little hope for these. We have got to have new tools. The new educational tools that are coming into use have not been developed by school people or universities for educational purposes. They have grown up around the schools and universities, and in spite of them, and have for the most part been looked upon with contempt. In Russia the greatest use has been made of the eye in quickly educating an illiterate people. Museums, exhibits, posters, movies, on every subject, have been used as nowhere else, especially in adult education.

The large part which the movies are playing in the education of our children has been the subject of repeated scientific investigations. Studies reveal that they learn more readily and that their impressions last longer than when gained from books, and that all this has a profound effect on their emotions, their sleep, and their conduct. Almost none of the movies are produced for, or are fit for, children. In this country scores of so called educational film companies have been organized, educational film movements started, but the motion picture as an instructional tool in the schools has been practically neglected. (1)

Radio appeals to the ear, and so called educational programs have been introduced into our schools. But the possibilities have not begun to be realized. If we had an educational system which counted economy and efficiency, radio and movies would utilize the best teaching of a few teachers of French, English, history and other subjects, to supplant in large part the inferior teaching of the tens of thousands of present incumbents. (2)

When television has been brought into the home, with its appeal to the eye as well as to the ear, radio will have even greater significance.

Long under development and improvement, it is ready for use as soon as a way can be found to make it commercially profitable.

USE OF LEISURE

When it became apparent that shorter hours of labor would mean more leisure, questions came from everywhere. "What are people to do with their leisure hours?" Most people seem to think that leisure should be used for pastimes, not for any useful thing. Books have been written, a magazine published, elaborating on devices for passing time.

Here again our ethical teaching has been all wrong and leaves us unreceptive and unprepared for the use of leisure. Obsolete today is our old ethical teaching on the sin of idleness and the sacredness of labor. The distress that comes from unemployment, from the surplus of labor, mocks at these old teachings. With the continued improvement in technical processes of production, labor becomes increasingly less important. But our traditional school training still tends to cultivate slavish habits of routine labor. In the new light this is not merely anachronistic. It lies at the root of all evil. It is the hotbed of mischief and crime, for it leaves the individual without resources to enjoy usefully the new leisure which is being thrust upon him. Pastime, fleeting pleasure, boredom, craving for excitement, crime, follow in sequence.

American youth crave excitement. So did their ancestors who found adventure in migration or piracy. If boys in their teens, for excitement, steal motor cars and race them through city streets defying the police, and from the reformatory course go on for a postgraduate course to the penitentiary, it is because they are bored with what their elders and the schools feed them.

Girls in their teens, whose interest in all that culture and art has brought the race is dulled by stupid teaching in the schools, easily revert to primitive pleasures, go boy crazy. Why shouldn't they? If their grandmothers had been desexed spinsters like their teachers, these girls and their problems would not exist.

Let us admit, then, that schools and homes are the great incitement to crime. They offer youth little opportunity to vent their surplus energies in achieving personal satisfactions in accomplishment that fits into the social scheme. Remember, their ancestors won approbation from plundering and burning and rapine. Shouldn't we expect them to revert if we don't show them other ways of spending their energies to bring greater satisfactions?

It is only those with a superabundant flow of energy, those who seek excitement, achievement, who have the stuff within them to make criminals or productive citizens. Most of us, with depleted energies, without

interests, without tastes, with no training in the use of leisure, seek pastimes. As though time in its ever onward flow might become clogged, like plumbing in cold weather! With no inner drive, no purpose, in finding ways to kill time we imitate others. Killing time, averting boredom, is not making use of leisure. We might take an opiate,—then time would pass unconsciously.

The young of all the higher animals engage in play, a means Old Mother Nature developed of utilizing their superabundant energy in preparing for exigencies to come, social or anti-social, for courtship or warfare. For those of us who never grow up, play remains normal. Some of us learn to sublimate in useful and productive activities what would otherwise be wasted energy. But the grown-up who has no purpose but to pass the time is a pitiful parasitic drone in the hive.

The sudden transition from school to college is often disastrous to the boy. From a fixed schedule and strict supervision he comes to a world of leisure, of what should be inviting opportunity, as wholly unprepared to use it as the soldier on leave or the suddenly freed slave. As long as a so called student is required or supposed to be doing something, even reading, there is likely to be pretense about it. It ought not to be assumed that a person doing nothing is wasting his time. Given interests, opportunities, facilities, and time, he won't—he'll be using his leisure. The one thing lacking is interest. Schools and colleges kill it.

KEEP 'EM BUSY

The old secret of discipline was 'keep 'em busy' then they can't 'get into trouble'. As children, many of our school teachers of today learned to sing in Sunday School, "Satan Finds Some Mischief Still For Idle Hands To Do" and "Work For The Night Is Coming". It was the soundest Christian doctrine of the time. We were just as sure of it as we were that truancy,—escape from school to wander idly in fields and woods communing with Old Mother Nature,—was the worst of childhood's crimes. (3)

But Cato, master of slave management, no Christian, understood this secret equally well. You remember his well known dictum, "The slave that is not at work should be sleeping". Even the enlightened educator today will find himself relaxing, falling back on the old precepts of work,—'keeping 'em busy'. It's the easiest way to keep his charges in hand. It saves a lot of trouble. It's the secret of discipline.

The only way to learn to use a thing is to use it, whether typewriter, bicycle, books or leisure. The predicament today is that there has been too little leisure to use, too much training in routine, in machine tending—in all kinds of activities that do not contribute to the use of leisure.

Our training in citizenship has missed its mark in this respect. Suddenly given leisure, the development of interests is fortuitous, unguided. So the use of this leisure thrust upon us is consequently largely controlled by revulsion from the things we have been obliged to do.

What men do with their leisure, with their free time, when they are not driven by routine, shows what they are and makes them what they are. If they have no leisure or do nothing with it, they are not much. We know a man who trains and maintains a considerable staff of intellectual workers. When looking for assistants he pays little attention to the platitudinous recommendations of professors or of former employers. What interests him most is the answer to the question, "What do you do when you are not doing anything else?" That is, what do you do with your leisure? It is a question difficult for the trivial minded to answer.

THE VALUE OF WORK

Most animals have to work to get their food, to make their kill. They can't fill their paunches if they sit on their haunches. To make a living, to get one's food, to breed one's kind, isn't characteristically human, not even animal. Even the cabbages in the garden or the lilies of the field do all this better than we do.

God gave us a better brain that we might do something more. Some leaders develop initiative to find new work for the others. Once the strong drove the weak, as slaves. Industrial leaders in England a century ago made possible through the factory system the multiplication of the population as machine tenders, wage slaves. And so our mid-Victorian prophets, Carlyle and Lowell, preached the nobility of work. And with new opportunities discovered, new jobs found, and increased production, came increased population and higher standards of living and eventually the dawning of social consciousness. But when all is said and done, work is only to supply the means of living. The value of work is to provide for periods of leisure. We work only that we may rest.

Once we held to the now outmoded theory of the leisure class, that men should work while women should weep, some should labor that others might cultivate the refinements of life. Now we look to the time when all shall work and all shall have pleasures that each may, insofar as in him lies, develop an appreciation for the good life and a noble use of leisure.

There is no unemployment among primitive peoples. Gathering their food, plying their handicrafts, taking part in ceremonial dances, tribal initiations, contests, war, sex play, keep them busy. When they have collected their food they have their leisure and out of it comes their culture and their art. (4) Under a highly organized civilization we find

man by the millions "bowed with the weight of centuries", a clod upon a clod. Feudalism fostered his breed. Machine industry multiplied his kind. The machine no longer needs so many tenders. So he's one of the unemployed.

Perhaps wrecked by the routine of machine tending he has no energy, no ambition and no interests with which to use his leisure.

Nothing worth while was ever done in the world except by the use of leisure. The great work of the world has been done by those who had nothing to do and consequently had time and interest and energy to do what had never been done.

So thank all the gods that be if you have nothing to do, if you are off the treadmill,—then you can do the thing you most want to do. When you have no work go to work. "Blessed is the man who has found his work." But remember, no one ever did anything who had a job.

WHAT EDUCATION MAY BECOME

All that man has ever done or ever can do is to make more or less use of some of the energy he has derived from the sun. All we can do in educating or training the growing boy or girl is to direct his energies, change or suppress them. We may temporarily stimulate the flow of energy, but we can't manufacture it. With all the thousands of definitions of education it is, in the end, merely a process of directing the energy of the individual along new lines. It may be memorizing the Koran, construing Latin, practicing a ritual, or engaging in the physical training that the Greeks prized. Probably no one single individual of the species since civilization developed has had a perfect education, an environment in which he could achieve the utmost that was within him.

Every civilization has made demands upon the education of the young, that they be trained in the mores of the tribe, that there be handed down through them the body of tradition, the wisdom of the old men. And thus education became a means of perpetuating the ideas of those in control. So have arisen the evils of our civilization, our neuroses, and that characteristic mark of our more advanced civilization, the insane asylum.

Dr. Frederick Tilney in his "Master of Destiny" has written a virtual biography of the brain. In his study of the fossil brains of earlier man, he traces the progressive enlargement of the frontal lobes to the culmination in Cro-Magnon man, but he tells us that the human brain is still in its infancy, that the creation of a "better world" and the future progress of mankind depend chiefly upon the further evolution of a still better brain than the one we have now. The rank and file of mankind use but a small fraction of their potential brain power. If the schools could turn

their attention from their traditional books to inducing and helping youth to use more of its brain power "there would be created a more intelligent world to live in, with fewer hatreds and fewer struggles".

Insofar as education has to do with reiterating the wisdom of the past, thinking the thoughts of the past, there is no occasion to utilize our great inheritance. So education and all the stabilizing influences of our institutions have served to keep it latent.

"It is to children we must go to see the creative spirit at its best, but only to uncoerced children", declares Hugh Mearns. Children have an instinct for the right word even at four and five,— "a beautiful, untaught rhythm in their natural speech whose outcomes—if we do not step in prematurely to 'correct'—are what we have always called literature. Unwittingly parents and teachers step in early to root out native expression of individual ability."

PRESENT EDUCATIONAL LIMITS

Education has been limited to some mental training, mostly of the memory and largely in the language field and in the ideology of the time and place. The effect has been to establish in association tracts, brain paths which would save or prevent the individual from using his cortex. There has been little conscious training of the emotions and no understanding of how they are controlled by the glands. The effort has been to suppress or ignore emotions, not to train them.

Only within the century have we learned to respect the body which medievalists taught us to look upon with shame. Physical training and pride in the physical is still more recent. In spite of our contacts with the East at the time of the Crusades, it remained for the retired nabobs of the East India Company to bring back to England with them the Eastern custom of bathing.

Yeats-Brown, hardboiled militarist, in "The Lives of a Bengal Lancer", tells us how he studied the methods of the yogis to control their nerves, their glands, their emotions, and their feelings. These are things we modern Western barbarians have not yet had time for. (5)

Yet inadvertently, unconsciously, in our Gothic architecture, which leads to up and down muscular eye movements, we have developed a means of producing indirectly an effect on the glands which we associate with the spirit of worship.

Some popularizers of endocrinology have gone so far ahead in their anticipation of what has yet been undemonstrated that they have provoked a deprecatory attitude toward the whole subject. All scientific knowledge of this is so new and has developed so rapidly that it cannot but stimulate the imagination as to what the future may bring.

We can now control growth to a considerable extent through changing the glands by a surgical process or by administration of their secretions. To a certain extent we can in the same way control some of the elements that make up personality. Aldous Huxley does not hesitate to anticipate the time within a few generations when, through control of the glands and their secretions, personality and even genius may be determined. We are able today to some extent, by correcting endocrine imbalance in the function of the glands, to change temperamental qualities as well as growth.

But there is another kind of control that may yet be achieved, conscious self-control. We know that it is possible for some men to control, suppress, or at will to bring into action that most primitive and useful of all emotions, anger. From physiological experiments we know that all the effects of anger can be produced by the injection into the blood of adrenalin.

CENTRAL CONTROL

Matthias Alexander for half a century has been teaching in a modest way to a limited clientele the possibility of what he calls "central control". He has published three books explaining what this is, how he discovered it and how it may be developed. Recognizing that man has only gradually, through the thousands of years of his existence, attained consciousness and conscious control, he has shown how the process of previously unapprehended control may carry us much further.

It is the lack of understanding of this, he believes, that is responsible for the nervous disorders and increasing insanity which is characteristic of our present day civilization. And this, he has demonstrated, is due to the dissociation of higher nervous functions from the more fundamental and primitive functions which together are the basis of our conscious life. With such central and inner control, it is evident that the possibilities of the individual are vastly greater than the mind itself in its present stage is capable of realizing.

All this was set forth in Alexander's first book, "Man's Supreme Inheritance", 1918. In a second book, "Constructive Conscious Control of the Individual", 1923, he explains more fully the technique he had developed for extending the conscious control of the individual over bodily functions which determine personality and character. A third book published in 1932, "The Use of Self: Its Conscious Direction in Relation to Diagnosis, Functioning and the Control of Reaction", tells more in detail of how through his own disabilities he discovered and developed his new technique, and demonstrates more clearly that the so-called 'mental and physical' are not separate entities and that all training "must be based upon the indivisible unity of the human organism".

John Dewey, our foremost American philosopher and educator, has been a pupil, a disciple and protagonist of Alexander's doctrines and teaching for more than a score of years. While Alexander's method is beyond the grasp of most of our educators, it has been more readily accepted by the medical profession, practicing psychologists and psychiatrists. Dewey tells us, "It is one of constructive education. Its proper field of application is with the young, with the growing generation, in order that they may come to possess as early as possible in life a correct standard of sensory appreciation and self-judgment. When once a reasonably adequate part of a new generation has become properly coordinated, we shall have assurance for the first time that men and women in the future will be able to stand on their own feet, equipped with satisfactory psycho-physical equilibrium, to meet with readiness, confidence and happiness instead of with fear, confusion and discontent, the buffetings and contingencies of their surroundings." Dewey maintains that with the control we have gained over physical forces of the external world we have brought ourselves to a parlous state unless we gain further control over the use of ourselves.

CONSCIOUS SELF CONTROL

We have gone only a little way as yet in the conquest of self, in the training of the individual to control self, in creating environment and methods which will enable each self to realize its best.

An Olympic Greek would not stand a chance in games today with southern California athletes. Statistical measurements of college graduates over the last sixty years show that without even taking thought we have added to our stature. Within the memory of some of us better hygiene and better understanding of the functions of the body have greatly improved the physique of the younger generation.

We have not made a similar improvement in the control of our emotions, in the qualities that make for personality. There has been no conscious attempt to do so, no use of the recently acquired knowledge and scientific data that would make it possible. The great mass of intelligent people still mouth the adage, "You can't change human nature". But the Soviets, with mass methods, have demonstrated that you can.

The possibility of bringing the individual to a higher development of his own powers, a higher control of his own mental, endocrine, and metabolic functions, through useful knowledge, planned training, and improved environment, is just beginning to dawn upon us. It would be possible today to bring together a group of less than a hundred physiologists, endocrinologists, psychologists, men in touch with the wisdom of the East, who could plan a regime for education which would lead speed-

ily to a greater development of each individual, to a more complete control of individual selves, which would speed the time when all men may be gods. (6)

NOTES

(1) In 1944 the University of Chicago accepted as a gift the Eastman Classroom Films, Inc., a \$1,000,000 outfit, which was made a part of the University's Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., which has also acquired the \$3,000,000 ERPI Classroom Films from General Electric (*Time*, April 24). This, along with what other universities are doing, and the Army's demonstration of the educational value of film, should result in much to make future classroom education more vivid (cf "The Future of Education", p 55). For the powers of suggestion of the movies, "The Long Arm of Hollywood", cf "War and Education", p 339.

(2) "Radio Is Dynamite",—"People can be bombed with words as well as high explosives." And how well the successful politicians understand this. With increased development of power, the radio can be used more and more to carry farther and farther. (Cf "War and Education", pp 77, 339, 346)

(3) "The Demand for Discipline", "The Academic Disciplines", "The Purpose of Punishment", and its psychology, are all dealt with at some length in "The Future of Education", pp 163-80.

(4) "Our problem is not profitable employment but how to use the profit of unemployment. . . . The true citizen is a man who can employ his profits in a civilized manner; this is the opposite from being profitably employed", Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy told the CCC Educational Advisers in May, 1940. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", Sargent, 1940, pp 500-1)

(5) "Yoga Explained", 1937, by Major Yeats-Brown shows, with photographs, how the physical and breathing exercises are adaptable to the use of Westerners. Paul Brunton in "A Search in Secret India", 1935, explores Yoga. "Yoga: A Scientific Evaluation", 1937, a Yale Ph. D. thesis by Kovoov T. Behanon, is a sympathetic presentation and appraisal and shows how much in common it has with psychoanalysis and psychic research.

Aldous Huxley in "Ends and Means" leans toward Yoga, perhaps from his close association with Gerald Heard, who in his "Source of Civilization" tells us, "It was not possible, until we in Europe became interested in psychology and realized the critical importance of the subconscious, for Yoga even to be inquired into seriously". So we Westerners set down Yoga and much of this 'wisdom of the East' as fake. But Western laboratory science has arrived at a stage where it can now understand and interpret how modification of our organic functions may affect mind and soul. (22nd ed, 1938, pp 130-1)

(6) In his "Counter Attack From the East", 1933, C. E. M. Joad brilliantly gives us a glimpse of the Eastern mind and summarizes, "The East possesses the tradition and the knowledge, but is without the vitality to make the tradition live or the knowledge spread, and is in danger of being swamped by the vigorous tides that flow from the West. . . . The West has the energy and vitality of a civilization still comparatively young, yet does not know into what channels to direct them. Possessing in abundance the means to the good life, it is without knowledge of the end. . . . Each lacks something that is essential, each has something to give. Can they, then, be brought together?" (20th ed, 1936, p 147)

THE PERMANENCE OF CHANGE

In fear of discomfort we seek security by opposing and obstructing change. To justify and preserve what is, we create ideals and institutions and indoctrinate the young, retarding growth and wasting resources. Accepting change as inevitable may eventually eliminate most human difficulties.

Like a smooth flowing river, change is so continuous about us that it does not trouble us until its course is obstructed. "Nothing is so enduring as change", a wise man remarked long ago. (1)

Of late there has been a revolutionary change in the phraseology of educators both in addresses and in books. We hear school men talking of "the changing world", of "education for a new social order", or of "social reconstruction". One is justified in suspecting that these phrases may become fad words like the 'apperception' and other Latininities that speakers used to mouth at educational meetings and in the up to date books of other years. But this gives evidence of need for a reorientation and a redirection of education in view of new revelations which so extend our horizons.

OBSTRUCTING THE INEVITABLE

Scientific research, a development of our ancient questing mind, is at ever accelerating rate increasing our store of tested knowledge. Yearly we gain new data from which to revise our understanding of the material universe, its extent, its elements; new understanding of life, of man and his ancestors, of the varieties of peoples and their political, moral and religious institutions. Out of this has come and should come further and deeper understanding of the development of the individual,—child, savage or politician, and what determines his personality and behavior.

If the new technology and scientific knowledge available could be applied to the wise use of our resources there would be work and satisfactions for all and the course of things would run more smoothly. The failure to use this new knowledge to our needs makes for the chaos about us. It is fear that prevents the use of this knowledge and the even flow of the inevitable social change that would come from it,—fear on the part of the privileged individuals and classes that they may lose what they now have. And it is their opposition to the inevitable that sometimes results in violence. C. F. Kettering, famed research man of the General Motors organization, says, "In applying these new facts in the future, we will have to use more intelligence.... We must plan for change, for change is our only constant!" (2)

Out of the knowledge of the world about him man in his past experience has set up ideals and standards. And out of these have grown institutions to preserve and render them permanent. (3) Where our vision is short we easily fall into the error of believing that such ideals and codes and institutions are immutable. But no institution stands today as it did 3000 years ago, and that is but a passing hour in the million year history of man.

Looking back over a long period of time or surveying diverse peoples of common origin it is apparent that in nothing is change more marked than in those things that man has held to most steadfastly,—his convictions which he believed eternal and for which he was willing to die. Few of us today would fight for what men have cherished and fought for in the past. Nor would we stand for the ethics of Abraham, human sacrifice even of his own son, or for the methods of our grandfathers with the Indians or with their own children.

CHANGING HUMAN NATURE

'You can't change human nature' is one of the oldest bromides. To those blinded by self interest, or who are not alert enough to see minor changes continually contributing to great results, human nature seems ever the same. "It is human nature to change itself. It is to be changed at all it is only in ways that will leave it more completely satisfied," wrote Professor William Ernest Hocking in "Human Nature and Its Remaking". "Human nature is undoubtedly the most plastic part of the living world, the most adaptable, the most educable. Of all animals, it is man in which heredity counts for least, and conscious building forces for most. . . . His infancy is longest, his instincts least fixed, his powers of habit making and habit changing most marked."

From the moment a child is born his unconditioned reflexes undergo continuous conditioning, month after month, until no unconditioned human nature remains. If conditioning factors remain unchanged, because of our institutions and what we call our civilization, then there will be little change in human nature.

The greatest experiments in changing human nature that the world has seen have been going on these last few years. Hitler in a few months changed a kindly, down-trodden and depressed youth into one of cruel, blatant confidence. A hundred and sixty million Russians, superstitiously religious, ignorant and lazy, are now rationalistic, hard-working, ardent for learning. In Italy, as *Fortune* explained July 1934, Mussolini "de-wopped the wop", transforming a disunited, improvident and importunate people into a united, disciplined, aggressively confident nation.

If we were all getting what we wanted, if we were free from economic

pressure, the world would be more stable. It is becoming more and more apparent even to the common man that our modern methods of production and technology might supply his wants, enough to go around, if there were not so much greed, so much waste, so much war.

OUR WASTEFUL SOCIAL SYSTEM

Since he was driven out of the garden, man by the sweat of his brow has brought forth from the soil the things he needed and the little surplus wealth that the acquisitive have accumulated. The uncontrolled greed, corruption and crime of our present regime is wasteful of life, wealth and opportunity. Recognition that it is this wastefulness that needlessly causes deprivation, destitution, and dissatisfaction, drives us to strive for something better.

In 1931 we wasted eighty-nine billions. Our income that year was only sixty-two billions so we went into the red twenty-seven billions. These figures are incomprehensible until you see them tabulated on a page in *Fortune* as they were worked out by a broker. No, it wasn't fire,—that cost only one billion; nor insects, the great enemy of man, which destroyed only two billions; and criminals cost less than four billions. The waste was due to our bankers, financiers and economists. Shrinkage of securities for one year were twenty-two billions, loss of wages eighteen billions, and unscientific pricing of labor, products, and services fifteen billions.

This squandering of accumulated capital and manpower is not, however, the great waste. Enormous as it is, it is not the essential waste. Greatest is the waste of human energy and initiative, that finds no impelling opportunity for utilization. (4)

In this age of machine tenders, of armies of clerks of great corporations, of standardized procedure in chain stores, there is little opportunity for the feeble initiative of the little man. Harassed by standardizing influences he is frustrated, discontent. He finds no compensation in his daily life and is ready to explode on slight provocation. Wars have been possible only because the populace could be stirred to hatreds, the repressed energies of the individual tapped. The 'old men' working for their own enrichment or aggrandizement knew that if war resulted they could always count on lives so thwarted, pent-up energies so bursting for escape, that even war offered hope of release and compensation.

It is the frustrated individuals, not merely the unemployed, but the unhappily employed, those who are getting no kick out of their daily life, no sense of achievement, of fulfillment, who make possible the next war. The danger lies not in the accumulation of chemical explosives and machines for projecting them but in the vast reservoir of human ex-

plosives whose starved lives may find compensation in the excitements of war. When the drums beat it is their feet we hear march down the street.

It was the 'old men', not youth, who started the last war. Some satisfied their pride of statesmanship, some their greed or lust. But it was youth that bore the burden, and youth must eventually pay. (5)

The one way in which youth can get back at the 'old men' is by paying only cents on the dollar, scaling down the debt. We call it inflation. Compared with the pre-war standard our dollar in 1935 was fifty-nine per cent, the franc twenty-five per cent, the mark nothing. (6)

SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

Great thinkers, men of vision, building on new knowledge, may see clearly new goals to be reached. But while those who hold power are content, their preaching avails little. Dissatisfaction must necessarily precede change. New social objectives can be made to appeal to the discontented. Today limitations in our initiative, the failure of opportunity to satisfy the urge within, makes for discontent.

In the search for remedial change demagogues and quacks with panaceas get a hearing. To the surviving conservatives of the confident, comfortable Victorian era, all the clamor and the changes about them are bewildering. To such it seems we are on the road to ruin. Once we have wiped the windshield and have clear vision ahead we can better steer our way through the mazes of the present chaos.

In our democracy functions that could best be performed collectively have from the first been undertaken by our local, state or national governments. And they have continued to take over additional functions as unrestrained and unregulated profit making has brought private management into disrepute. So by general consent government has taken over roads, sewage, water systems, hospitals, and the transportation of letters and packages. (7)

It is our tendency to bind the future to our ideals. Just as our founding fathers put the Constitution into writing, just as our bankers in the twenties mortgaged our future through bonded indebtedness, so our intelligentsia today would mortgage the future through commitment to a fixed and definite plan,—socialist, fascist, communist. Each has the conviction that his is the only way. Old Mother Nature millions of years ago perfected much more successful societies than anything she has yet achieved with the human species. The ants and the bees had no blue prints. With them it was trial and error, experimentation and failure, extinction or survival. That called for initiative, courage to meet disaster, and persistence in success.

Our democracy was originally planned for a growing people. 'These United States' is the phrase we still use, but it harks back to the time when, to 'form a more perfect union', the Articles of Confederation which had loosely held together the thirteen colonies were superseded by our present Constitution, which received many amendments in the first few years. Town and community planning prevalent in the early days has only recently been revived. Too long the taming of the continent and the plunder that could be accumulated turned planning to the plotting of real estate sub-divisions and the laying out of sales campaigns.

REDIRECTING EDUCATION

As originally conceived the whole purpose of our school system has been to provide an enlightened citizenship that would make democracy workable. John Adams demanded, "We must have a system of public schools devoted to instruction in moral and civic duties", and Charles E. Hughes said, "The people must be taught continuously to maintain a defense against party machinery controlled by a few".

As our school system developed, it, like our government, came under the control of those who had greatest influence. And so the program and curriculum of the schools became divorced from anything that had to do with civic or social needs of governmental defects. The corruption and destruction of democracy has been ignored, the attention of the pupils throughout their school years kept from almost everything that had bearing on their lives, present or future.

The schools of America have been used as a bulwark to preserve the status quo. The training in citizenship has too often stood for blind acceptance of the control that existed, ignoring the failure of democracy, the corruption of local government and the control of our economic life by selfish interests. Today there is a new understanding and awareness of what our ignorance has permitted greed to do in stultifying education and corrupting democracy. It is the failure of the leaders of the twenties that has brought Dewey down from the clouds and Counts up from the earth to salvage education.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

When John Dewey in the nineties began to establish some relation between education and life, he produced his first great book entitled "School and Society". It was a queer sounding name in that "Age of Confidence", for what had school to do with society? Did this have something to do with the people you read about in the Sunday newspapers or was it an euphemism for some heretical socialistic doctrine? Meaningless to some, revolutionary to others, the phrase lived on in books.

The always alert and incisive J. McKeen Cattell seized upon it for the title of a journal which for more than forty years held high aloft a steady beacon flame.

Later we began to hear of the "social studies". But to our elders this "social" stuff applied to other than afternoon receptions or to church get-togethers was a little suspicious. For the "socialists" to their minds were akin to the anarchists who threw bombs at the Czar. Still later the propagandists for the pyramided utilities found in the "social studies" opportunity to plant their doctrine of the wickedness of local governments monkeying with electricity, and to promote that horror, the spectre of communism.

WHAT EDUCATION MIGHT DO

In our acquisitive society the aim has been the development of rugged individualism. But the result has not been the maximum development of the varied powers of the individual. Our education might more fully equip youth to see and understand and appreciate the everyday things in the world about, which would open up to him larger opportunities.

In baccalaureate sermons, graduation speakers exhort youth to go out and win. "Now go to it, but be a good citizen, don't disturb the status quo." So, blind to the opportunities the world offers, lacking better things to do, some of the hearers find compensation in "making money". Others less ruthless are reduced to "making a living". It is such a paltry thing to make a living. There is something creative in most of us until it is killed. If what we wanted to do brought a little recognition there would be less need for money compensation.

We have boasted of our training for citizenship but there is growing realization that we have fooled ourselves and our pupils to maintain the status quo. (8) Education might do more to put its recipients in contact with the actual processes of government, to give them an understanding of the value of cooperation with their fellows, and to create in them a desire to play their part in raising the standards of living and justice.

It is not so long ago that, as a matter of duty, all feeling was suppressed or overridden by the will. The importance of feeling, the dominance of the emotions, the reality of their physical basis in our glands, the realization that here is something more fundamental than our more recently developed and little used brain, belongs to this century.

We have overlooked the importance of motivation which is dependent on feeling. We have taken it for granted that children would have ambition, that they would have mental hunger. Just as soon as the individual has gotten the stimulus of achievement from success in doing and has the feeling that he wants to learn, then we may safely leave feeling

to furnish the drive, having started the internal combustion engine.

For feeling lies behind every effort. One can learn by doing, but one can learn without doing if the urge within is sufficiently strong. School masters of genius and intuition for years have known this. The school as an organization has not yet appreciated the importance of feeling.

WHAT IS FUNDAMENTAL?

Our education and our institutions have to do almost wholly with improving the economic status of our children. Even when the study is of poetry or the fine arts, there is a latent, hoped for, economic value in the result. One may as a teacher or as a writer peddle this information for a price. One may raise himself socially and economically by the club he joins, or occupy a pulpit at a salary. It is true, every individual should be economically self supporting. That is only sane.

But the economic dominates our life, education, religion, government, trade and war. We accumulate, distribute or destroy wealth by taking something from one to give to another. When we see wealth displaced from one class to another, or wealth destroyed wholesale, as in war, we bemoan the passing of civilization. But civilization is merely a complex of mores and institutions, most of which will pass or will change in course of time. The average individual, from an economic standpoint, is just so much accumulated capital which has been put into him to bring him to his present growth and development.

In his insatiable curiosity man has kept prying into the darkness and mystery that surrounds him. He has created myths, believed devoutly in untruths, worshiped false gods. But once he has become conscious of something not previously seen, be it the utilitarian use of fire or the color of a sunset, that consciousness has never been permanently lost. There are no lost arts except for limited times and spots. Truth may be suppressed but will rise again. What has been lost are the old untruths, the old myths, the old beliefs, once devoutly held.

Once an individual has been able to perceive and tell his fellows about some discovery he has made in the world about him, that knowledge lives. The books in which it is recorded may be destroyed. The peoples who have talked of it and preserved it in their traditions may disappear, but the attitudes and the practices that resulted from the new knowledge have been inevitably transmitted to other peoples and have lived on. Once we get a new idea inside our skulls then, looking out through our eyeholes, the world that we see is a new world. Let a hundred men of different races look at the same scene and what they see is as different as the ideas they have in their own heads.

With new ideas we have new vision and are prepared for new dis-

coveries, and the results are accelerated and accumulated at an ever increasing rate. Our fundamental knowledge of things of real importance, our fellow men, ourselves, our glands, our brains, our past, our future, belongs almost wholly to this century.

Within recent decades due to careful study by anthropologists of what before seemed hateful and loathsome, heathen and savage, we have come to understand other peoples, their ethics and their religions, and from this comparative study and understanding we have learned of ways in which we may ameliorate some of the evils of our own ways. The old discoverers told in their books of new lands and the resources they were looking for. The new peoples were mere savages to be enslaved or slain. Today almost any enlightened explorer finds real companionship, something to admire in the primitives he may encounter.

Something of this new world that is dawning upon human consciousness and its meaning for each and every one of us is part of the rightful heritage of our children. But our boast is still that education preserves, passes on. That's not enough.

With all the new revelation that has come to us, with the ever increasing endowment bestowed upon us, with new vistas opened, new tools to use, new mastery of forces, we should do better than our fathers. Instead of being intent on the past with the backward look, our educators might well be greeting the dawn of a new day, interpreting the present and the future in the light of the past. Let us cheerfully 'accept the universe' and its ways, the inevitability of change. Let us learn to utilize the past to illumine the future. Then we will be, if not building a better world, preparing our children to enjoy in a fuller way the world they have inherited. (9)

NOTES

(1) "This Changing World", 1944, by John Bernal, Joseph Needham, J. G. Crowther, Karl Mannheim, Lewis Mumford, and others, is edited by J. R. M. Brumwell. Here is acceptance of Heraclitus' theme that all is flux, nothing is fixed. The need for change in educational techniques is emphasized. It is rather refreshing to get from the Bible belt emphatic denial of "the supposition that life is in all respects a ceaseless flux" and the declaration that "the gospel of Change is stultifying to pedagogy. For if everything passes and nothing is certain, what is the use of education? What could it teach?" The words are those of the professor of philosophy at Louisiana State University, Peter Carmichael, published in the *Journal of Higher Education*, Nov., 1943.

(2) Under "Fundamental Changes Ignored", in "War and Education", pp 25-64, is explained "how our thoughtways and institutions remain unadjusted to the power and technology of today, how the struggle for political power and the resistance to change have brought, instead of the economic abundance possible, war and waste".

(3) "An Analysis of Ideologies", by Gordon H. Armbruster, a student of the London School of Economics and a labor relations analyst on the staff of Ernst and Ernst, in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1944, attempts "an examination of the gamut of institutional life [which] will provide a full understanding of the elements entering into ideologies. As a method the analysis of discussions will help reveal the multiple sources of attitudes and thought processes."

(4) Under the titles "Material Resources", "Human Resources", "Wasting the Land", "Saving the Soil", "What's A Man Worth?", "Are Children Worth Anything?"—these wastes were dealt with in the 1937 edition of the Handbook. The subject has been trenchantly handled by Stuart Chase in "The Tragedy of Waste" and later in his "The Economy of Abundance". In "Rich Land, Poor Land", 1936, he presents an entrancing picture of America before the white man took it over from the Indian aborigines,—a land of forest and meadow and open savannah, teeming with deer and buffalo and wild fowl, clear running rivers filled with fish, of which the migratory salmon and shad came in shoals to spawn. But we "have wasted the pasture and the fresh valley, stunk the river . . . to build sham castles for imitation Medici." David Cushman Coyle in "Waste: The Fight to Save America", 1936, warns, "If we are going to wash away our human resources, if we are to be a country where paper wealth accumulates and men decay, the future will be dark no matter what our financial wealth may be."

Larger wastes are dwelt upon in "Getting US Into War", Sargent, 1941, pp 328-9: Strip six inches of topsoil from the face of the earth and the world becomes a desert without life, without human beings. The rich Persian fields, where Darius ruled, are now deserts. North African plains where Hannibal defended the rich lands of Carthage are now but burning sand. "More soil probably was lost from the World War, between 1914 and 1934 than in the whole previous human history", Jacks and Whyte tell us in "The Rape of the Earth". "Today, destruction of the earth's thin, living covering is proceeding at a rate unparalleled in history." "More of the earth's essential resources have been used up this century than in all of man's previous existence on this planet" writes Carleton Beals in "Pan America".

(5) "On the shoulders of youth rests the burden of straightening out the war. . . . 'Wild Bill' Donovan, who made such a valiant record in the first World War, just a few years ago . . . advocated that if there was another war, the old men be called upon to fight it out, that the younger men be kept at home to carry on our culture and develop the next generation." ("Youth the Scapegoat", "War and Education", pp 287-97)

(6) In 1935 taxes took in the United States 14% of the whole income, in England 22%, in Italy and Germany more, and in Russia practically all. At the height of our expenditure for World War II the percentage taken by the government was greatly increased, but in the United States kept deceptively low, as the 'income' was enormously inflated by including what was paid to labor and capital for producing war and Lend-Lease goods. Moreover, the United States met a lesser part of the war expense from taxes than did England. We were bequeathing a relatively larger proportion of our war debt to future generations.

(7) "Centralizing Tendencies" which characterize present day social and political trends, the unsatisfactory absentee dead-hand management of the price and profit system, have gummed up the economic machine so that there is demand for better managerial control. This is what we refer to as 'breakdown of capitalism'. If private initiative should prove unable to get the machine working, the sand

out of the gearbox, and better lubrication, perhaps some new parts and adjustments, some way of increasing the motive power, then centralized authority acting for the public will necessarily take over in the public interest. We must have production for use, whether the driving force is for profits or to meet human needs. Although the community has been obliged to take over some insistent necessities like water supply, it may still be possible to leave to the initiative of the individual farmer to supply some necessary foods. (Cf "War and Education", pp 65-70)

(8) 'Education for citizenship' has become a popular slogan among the unthinking who delight in verbalizations. To the shrewder men who promote it, the 'good citizen' is one who never makes trouble, who raises no objections, who believes in all the myths, the 'sacredness of the ballot' and the like. For illuminating comment on this, the 'cult of patriotism', and the teaching of politics, cf "War and Education", pp 222, 227, 362; "The Future of Education", pp 223-4.

(9) Heraclitus was right, any modern physicist will tell you. And the non-Aristotelian will assure you that so constant is change that no identities are possible. In the universe or any part of it we have structure, constantly changing. Any recognizable structure is an event. Not only is each individual an event, but each corpuscle in his blood stream and each molecule of hemoglobin, each atom making up the molecule, all in continuous movement, constantly changing, and within each atom protons and neutrons and other entities in continuous and inconceivably rapid movement. Try to plot the curve of an atom in the molecule of hemoglobin as the corpuscle travels through the arterial system while the individual walks about, the earth turns, revolves about the sun, the solar system rotates about the galactic center and the galaxy drifts through space. Can you stop that change? Canst bind the influences of the Plaeides or loose the bands of Orion? And yet so parochial is man in his thought, derived from a period when generations lived and died on the same soil, that he imagines a static world and in his effort to stay the hand of time and the course of evolution he obstructs, impedes, frustrates, aggravates, and so we have conflicts and wars.

John Foster Dulles has made clear in his "War, Peace and Change", 1939, that there will be no more wars such as we have at present when we cease in our attempts to obstruct inevitable change. Lancelot Law Whyte in "The Next Development in Man", Cresset Press, 1944, puts this non-Aristotelian view more clearly than anyone since Heraclitus. For him change is the ultimate reality, form or structure the manner in which the reality expresses itself. Thought based on the idea of the permanent reality of form or structure, in other words upon static concepts, is bound to lead to disaster.

LENGTHENING OUR VIEW

More new knowledge, ranging from the atom to the galaxy, has come to us in recent decades than in previous millenia. Interest in man's relation to his fellows and the world about him has increased and brought understanding of the long story of man, of his many civilizations that have come and gone.

Our consciousness and understanding of things about us and of our fellows is gradually enlarging. New and tested knowledge, the result of scientific research, affords safer deductions, longer views, and broader generalizations.

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE

All new knowledge affects old knowledge relatively. Even fundamental mathematical principles have to some extent been changed by the new knowledge of relativity. How much more then have our beliefs, however sacred, however long instilled, however cherished, been influenced by new knowledge! Without such new knowledge there would have been no advance in social understanding, in feeling of fellowship and kinship, no change in the old austere religious beliefs of our fathers, in the rigid moral codes of the past. All the changes in our economic, social, esthetic, religious and ethical life are due to new discoveries that have been made. But these discoveries are slow in reaching the people. The recent immense accumulation of scientific knowledge in every phase of human investigation is immediately apparent to any one who goes into a library where the proceedings of scientific societies are kept. The volumes of research and new discoveries seem to multiply with every year. Each year the volumes become thicker. It is safe to say that more tested knowledge has been accumulated in this first third of the present century than in all the centuries preceding.

How dramatic has been the advance of science within the last few years and how freighted with potential change in all our attitudes, theories and beliefs is made apparent in "The Advance of Science", 1934, the product of Science Service, Washington, edited by the director, Watson Davis. (1) We measure the universe, count the galaxies, weigh the stars, investigate the atom and its energy, explore the stratosphere. We learn of the possibilities of future radio and transportation, of eliminating disease, the importance of glands, race betterment, human behavior. The story of man is carried back tens of thousands of years in America and hundreds of thousands of years in the world. The last chapter takes a glance at the effect of science on the future of our population.

Such new and revolutionary knowledge, if it were known, would affect our lives profoundly and change the conditions under which we live. But the victims of our educational system have little curiosity about or interest in what's new or what's ahead.

THE NEVER ENDING QUEST

How revolutionary the development of science has been in affecting all our beliefs, attitudes, habits and customs in the past is made clear in "The Endless Quest: 3000 Years of Science", 1934, by F. W. Westaway. This is the story of man's insatiable simian curiosity, his unquenchable thirst for new knowledge. It holds up in relief such great exemplars of scientific method as Galileo, Newton, Faraday, Darwin, and Pasteur. It stresses the need for a wider scientific outlook on the part of all persons in authority. Admittedly the history of science is the history of the gradual development of some of the most fundamental ideas and conceptions of civilization. "The true man of science is one who never says 'I know' but 'the evidence seems to show'; who never makes pontifical announcements." Let us speed the day when schools and colleges may make us all "true men of science".

Our educational institutions, schools and colleges, act as a dam, holding back the stream of new knowledge from their pupils and students. Only those whose intellectual curiosity has not been dulled and dwarfed, only those not stultified by our traditional educational processes, only those who have escaped the supercilious sophistication that characterizes college graduates, can benefit from this new revelation, this new endowment of humanity. To them come the fertilizing streams from the perennial font of new knowledge dammed off from the academic curriculum. From such few seminal minds come the fertilizing influences for the lives of their fellows which would otherwise be barren and sterile. These unacademic minded through their writings are the true carriers of our culture. It is theirs to carry on the never ending quest, to stimulate scepticism of the accepted, to enlarge our understanding of our fellows and the world about us. It is they who have changed our attitudes, our beliefs,—that have made us what we are and are making the new world in which we are to live.

WHAT IS CIVILIZED LIFE?

'Civilization' has been held up as something of which we are the sole exponents. Other peoples are primitive, other religions heathen. All this is a hangover from our benighted theological past. The many experiments of man in developing different cultures, as revealed by the archeologist and the anthropologist, have been too long neglected. The broader

general view of man's story that we have derived from new and unorthodox historians, James Harvey Robinson, H. G. Wells, is as a new revelation to popular understanding and has enlarged human horizons.

Knight Dunlap of Johns Hopkins in "Civilized Life: The Principles and Applications of Social Psychology", 1935, makes it clear that understanding of man through all his history in all his varieties and all the variations of his institutions is necessary before one can arrive at any sound conclusion on some phase of the life or belief of a particular branch of the human race at any given time. Seen against such a background any political system, any ethical code, any religious creed, gains new significance. In this clarifying atmosphere dogma cannot live. It fades like ectoplasm under a Klieg light.

Dunlap gives us comprehension and interpretation of how individuals and groups react to their environment under a great variety of conditions and of how they have developed their ideologies and institutions. On so great a canvas there must be brush strokes awry, details amiss. But he gives us a composite picture of man from the standpoint of all the biological and sciences of ourselves, of the world we live in, and what we have made of it. What we call civilized life is a culture development capable of wide application and adjustment to change.

CIVILIZATIONS COME AND GO

History in our universities has for the most part been kept in sectional watertight compartments, and doled out to undergraduates in unrelated fragments in which minutiae were highly valued. To the academic specialists in trivialities who picked flaws in Wells' great sweeping pageant, petty souls of limited vision, Arnold J. Toynbee pays his respects in the introduction to the first of his three volumes of "A Study of History", 1934, to be complete in thirteen volumes. (2)

Types of civilization and their origin, the genesis and growth of specific civilizations, the range of challenge and response, the stimulus of art, of words, of pressure, of penalizations, are successively dealt with. He distinguishes five great current societies, our Western, the Byzantine, Islamic, Hindu, and Far Eastern. In wider range, in addition to many primitive societies that have arisen independently, he finds twenty-one other civilizations that have passed. (3)

Of Toynbee's civilizations two, Egyptaic and Andean, had no known relation to any others. Four, the early Chinese, Minoan, Sumeric, and Mayan, have no known relation to any earlier society. The Minoan was the most prolific, parent of the Hellenic and of the ancient Syriac which gave rise to the Iranic and Arabic. Mayan and Minoan, like many others of which we know less, were completely wiped out. (4)

"The Nature of the Growths of Civilizations" is followed by a study of the process, which "is governed by the dominant tendencies of the time and the place". And the dominant tendencies of recent time have been our industrial system and the complicated system of politics which we have called democracy. The true concern of history is "with the lives of societies in both their internal and their external aspects" and "the relations of particular societies with one another".

The emergence of a civilization is a product of interaction between environment and race. Toynbee's understanding of the growth of civilization takes into account some psychological factors. "Civilizations grow through an *élan* that carries them from challenge through response to further challenge, and from differentiation through integration to differentiation again." It is the "dynamic movement" of "creative individual personalities" that distinguishes a growing civilization from static societies. The "tiny creative minority" which has evoked in western civilization "the great new social forces of democracy and industrialism" is "wondering today whether it will be able to control and guide much longer these forces that it has let loose. . . . The creative minority in the modern western world is in danger of seeing its advance brought to a standstill and the ground that it has conquered filched away by an act of betrayal that has prostituted the new-won powers and the new-made apparatus of this handful of pioneers to the anti-social function of debauching the rest of Society." (5)

BROADENING OUR VIEW

The anthropologist's outlook is slowly bringing breadth to our understanding. Patient, sympathetic and scientific observation of those whom we once spoke of as savage has revealed that each group has its sacred traditions, its religion built up through long past time. Now we understand more about primitive religions. Once political theorists looked upon savages and primitive peoples as having no ideas of law or order. Now we know that law, fixed custom, is more inflexible among primitive tribes than in advanced civilizations.

In "Our Primitive Contemporaries", 1934, George Peter Murdock gives us an anthropologist's account of eighteen cultures representative of the great regions and races of the world. His interest is to show how peoples actually live, to reveal their economic, political and social life against their racial, geographic and historic backgrounds.

In "Patterns of Culture", 1934, Ruth Benedict describes three types and shows how custom molds character. Two of the types are North American, but a greater contrast could hardly be found. With the Zunis social values are important, personality subdued. Quite the opposite is true of

the Kwakiutls and of the Dobu islanders near New Guinea. How intricate, how dependent upon tradition these three cultures are is made apparent.

"Law and Order in Polynesia", 1934, by H. Ian Hogbin, is introduced by Malinowski, who explains that well-ordered legal institutions are characteristic not only of the Polynesians but of most primitive human societies. Machinery of historic jurisprudence may be lacking but there is organic law in their social functioning, the principle of reciprocity, of give and take, as organic as the relations of all primitive simians. Social authority is maintained everywhere in different ways, sometimes without formal legal paraphernalia merely by making certain courses of action honorable and others the subject of ridicule. Education, religious beliefs and the general publicity of primitive life are the effective means of enforcing and maintaining rules more intricate and standards more uniform than are possible in our western civilization. This intensive study of primitive life has broad bearings on our modern civilization.

HUMAN ECOLOGY

How and where men live together in groups, how the group is maintained by reproduction and what determines the rate,—these are questions that the study of the ecology of the human race would answer. Such matters have been fragmentarily taken up in the past by students of population and officials of the census. All these subjects, however, come under the head of human ecology, which has been neglected as a science, perhaps because it has been so easy to draw conclusions about population that the careful scientific selection of data has been neglected.

Human biology, the study of the underlying processes on which man's psychological as well as his sociological characteristics is dependent, is a new and but little developed subject. Ecology, which deals with the relation of the individual to the group and its environment, was first developed by the students of plant and animal societies. The interest in how organisms live and multiply in groups belongs almost wholly to this century. (6)

"The Dynamics of Population: Social and Biological Significance of Changing Birth Rates in the United States", 1934, by Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn, deals with population trends, their causes and control. As we tend towards a stationary population, fertility differentials are disappearing between negroes and whites. Mexicans, French Canadians and other groups maintain a higher fertility. Concealed in these factors is the future of the population of the United States. The meek who multiply most rapidly will inherit the earth. This seems to have social significance especially as there is negative correlation between reproduction and in-

tellectual capacity. The book is a vast storehouse of demographic material dealing with measurable characteristics of American groups with reference to physical, economic, and social factors that influence fertility. All this falls within the province of ecology, the relation of the population to the food supply, a part of the environment.

WHAT OF TOMORROW?

In this acquisitive world of rugged individuals in which most of us have been brought up with an education that looked backward and divorced itself from the present, it is well that the dean of Princeton in looking ahead and writing for a university trained audience should call his book a primer. It is a stimulating and provocative book that Christian Gauss publishes as "A Primer For Tomorrow: Being An Introduction to Contemporary Civilization", 1934. The author has a broad historical vision and a hard and fixed scientific perspective. But he lacks the biological point of view which would make for continuity in understanding and vision. Laws and codes and social systems have changed and will change. Feudalism, capitalism and religions have risen and decayed, but wherever a people have maintained faith in their system, in their destiny,—their culture, their civilization has remained vital. No force could put it down.

The teacher of history will here get new conceptions of history. Why was it that 80,000 Vandals with 20,000 fighting men from 406 to 455 A.D. could cross the Rhine, march through Gaul, leave their name in (V) Andalusia, rape Rome's African province, cross the Mediterranean and sack Rome, carrying away gold, silver, and the widow and daughters of the emperor? The Romans had lost faith in their destiny and the Vandals had not.

Once a people's faith in their own destiny has been destroyed their future is sealed. This idea, elaborated by Toynbee, is the beginning of a sensible application of the results of modern psychiatry and mental hygiene to the study of peoples of past times. In "The Reversal of the Time Sense" Gauss makes clear how man has always looked back into the past to his gods, to authority, until the present, when with the decay of the old religion and the old gods we have come to look to the future. But lacking clarity of vision and faith we have fallen into pessimism.

Science brought increase in knowledge and material facility but no popular faith has yet been built on its new revelations. The old faiths have been destroyed, the new faiths are yet to be built. Like Arnold, Gauss sees the world as a place where "ignorant armies clash by night". He sees in Russia a people imbued with a new faith, confident of their new destiny. We in the west fear this confidence because we lack faith in our own system. If we believed in our own destiny, in the soundness of our

own civilization, our own ethics, we would have nothing to fear.

Because we lack the biological view, because we fail to see life as an organic whole, because we fail to feel the rhythm of life through millions of years, because our vision is limited to historic time, we have been unable to build a great faith. We still give lip worship we know to be false, still mouth precepts we know are hollow, still give allegiance to gods we know are dead. Our faith is in institutions that must pass, in elements of our civilization that are dead or dying; and bewildered and unseeing, we can only express contempt for those who like Wells "stand tiptoe and reach out their hands among the stars". All honor to Dean Gauss for "standing tiptoe" though he cannot reach the stars.

FAITH IS NEEDED

The best that the greatest individuals of any race have ever done for their peoples is to strengthen their faith, to give them confidence that life was not purposeless. Man is ever unrestful, ever stretching out for what he believes to be the supreme good, unable in his blind misunderstanding way to find solid satisfactions in the world about him. He has ever been ready to reward those who could point to something in another world to which he should look. And ever these blind illusory pictures and promises must be remade for new peoples and new times.

Something of this is the theme of Baker Brownell's "Earth Is Enough: An Essay in Religious Realism", 1934. In melodious prose he tells us that religion is a way of seeing, an identity somehow with being. It has nothing to do with God, "a theoretical Being that men accept in modern times mainly as a way to give authority to values".

In "A Common Faith", 1934, John Dewey sets forth his thought on how religions have prevented and dwarfed the religious in man. The common faith that he here expounds is the faith that today imbues those who are doing the greatest deeds in the world, sacrificing ease, comfort, even life itself, for the enlightenment of their fellows as to their opportunities here on this earth, and the consequent betterment of their communities and their race. It is a faith that needs to be strengthened through sharing. It is a faith unfelt, unknown, unrealized by the ascetic, the cynic, or those whose faith and hope is fixed on some future world beyond this earth.

"We are forced to acknowledge that concretely there is no such thing as religion in the singular. There is only a multitude of religions. 'Religion' is a strictly collective term. . . . The fundamentalist in religion is one whose beliefs in intellectual content have hardly been touched by scientific developments. . . . But his actual life, in what he does day by day and in the contacts that are set up, has been radically changed by poli-

tical and economic changes that have followed from applications of science."

"God helps those who help themselves", but Dewey improves upon this. "Men have never fully used the powers they possess to advance the good in life, because they have waited upon some power external to themselves and to nature to do the work they are responsible for doing. Dependence upon an external power is the counterpart of surrender of human endeavor." In the possibilities of the race he finds "all the elements for a religious faith that shall not be confined to sect, class, or race. Such a faith has always been implicitly the common faith of mankind. It remains to make it explicit and militant." (7)

"CONFIDENT MORNING"

Gauss gives us Americans "A Primer for Tomorrow", but in England they are ready for the Second Reader. The Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals has issued a "Manifesto", 1934, edited by C. E. M. Joad, an attempt to unite the progressive thought of the world in a common creed. The Federation's program to remake the world is based on economic and political planning both regional and for the whole world. In education a universal system shall inform youth of the new knowledge now denied them.

H. G. Wells in the introduction in a few hundred words summarizes the common objectives of progressive world effort. About all he asks for is better development and distribution of the world's resources to provide a fuller possible life for the whole species; production on a larger scale competently and collectively controlled; a world system of money and credit; active creative work toward world peace; modernization of education to insure every human being the knowledge, ideas and habits for conscious, willing and competent cooperation in human betterment; greater measures of freedom in speech, publication and movement throughout the world. In his chapter "The Strategy of Progressive World Effort" he tells how all this is to be brought about,—through a great variety of forces and activities, not by any one organization. He would utilize to this end the natural resentment of the unprivileged classes as well as the passion for achievement and righteousness that actuates so many.

Julian Huxley, a member of the above Federation, in a separately published volume, "If I Were Dictator", 1934, explains what the trained scientific, idealistic mind would do if in control. He would put into effect scientific humanism, speed scientific research, and make plans which would not be mere "grandiose schemes of paper organization" but "the patient and humble application of human reason and the scientific spirit to affairs". Education in England he would remake, but not so radically

as would his brother Aldous,—he would allow us to be born in the old orthodox way instead of in test tubes.

THE MEANING OF THE YEARS

The first third of this century has seen the world's swiftest years. From production to human locomotion everything has been speeded up. For the first time in the history of man we find our fundamental ideas growing old and dying more rapidly than do our feeble bodies. Gerald Heard in "These Hurrying Years: An Historical Outline, 1900-1933", 1934, endeavors to interpret the meaning of these years, more freighted with significance for the species than any hundred years before. Ours, he points out, is the first age to suspect how much of the social order as well as the apparent natural order is made by ourselves and changed because of change in ourselves. Daily, new powers unbelievable to our ancestors are put in our hands. Increasing consciousness of things about us and of ourselves is the one thing that stands out in the chaos of modern events.

Economic and social events are but the "symptoms, a dust and debris screen behind which we have to detect those movements and heavings of deeper forces which fling the petty structures of our earlier making in ruins about us". The changes now going on come from man's ancient habits, his unselfconscious effort to satisfy his urges by causing changes in the world about him. Our future depends upon gaining better understanding and control over our own natures rather than increasing power over the outer world.

In the past generation there has been a great increase in sympathy and understanding where we thought no advance was possible. Anthropologists have shown us that there is no people or tribe that cannot be influenced to good by friendliness and courtesy. There is hope, Heard holds, if we have courage to realize that our gain lies in understanding and benefiting our fellows, that the next stage of our development of ourselves is through greater cooperation with other individuals.

NOTES

(1) "Living in a Scientific World" with "Destiny Trampling Upon Our Heels" was Watson Davis' topic before the General Science Association in 1942. "It is a world in which the scientific method and the mode of thought and doing which science has developed must be put to use. . . . Science . . . means understanding human behavior, recognizing the hidden motives of human conduct, visualizing the differences and similarities of other peoples, both enemy and ally. . . . It means, fundamentally, the ability to tell the true from the false, the effective from the ineffective, that which does work from that which does not. . . . That is the big job of education. . . . By education I do not mean alone the hours spent in school. Education begins in the cradle. . . . It is perhaps fortunate that it ends with the grave." (26th ed, 1942, p 206)

(2) Toynbee arrives at something like a philosophy of history. He concludes that "expansion on the grand scale" has led to social disintegration. The expansion of our own civilization may be "an intimation of mortality". He leads us to believe that we have gone so far that no longer our "year's at the spring".

Five years later Toynbee published another batch of three volumes, with seven more to come which have been delayed by the war. Meantime he was carrying on his annual "Survey of International Affairs", a colossal work which clearly revealed the coming of war but in the later editions, written with the aid of collaborators, also showed the influence of the Foreign Office.

The vast scale of the drama, 'with the impending catastrophe before him, was almost too much for one human mind, which begins to show some breakdown and disintegration as do his civilizations at the period of their greatest expansion. The parallel goes farther. Civilizations arise in response to new challenges which they can overcome, and the breakdown comes when the creative minority loses faith in its capacity to meet the challenge and the suppression by the dead hand of entrenched privilege. Our contemporary crisis Toynbee sees as the result of the anachronistic survival of the national state under circumstances that are radically altered and inimical to its survival. The violence of the present is characteristic of the death throes of the monster.

(3) Toynbee's twenty-six civilizations were arbitrarily but well selected. As exploration goes on, other ancient civilizations and their offshoots come to our knowledge. In "Buried Empires: The Earliest Civilizations of the Middle East", 1939, Patrick Carleton has written of a dozen lost civilizations not considered by Toynbee five years before. "The gap of darkness between the day when Mohenjo-Daro, Chanhudaro, Harappa, Amri, Alor and a dozen others were cities as Kish or Memphis, and the cloudy age when the Aryan incomers slowly emerge from legend toward history, is as tantalizing as any break in human knowledge. . . . The happenings of five thousand years ago are as much part of European and American history as the Industrial Revolution or the Great War. Most schoolboys, at any rate in the upper forms, are given some vague outline of world-events as far back as, perhaps the Siege of Troy."

Farther to the East in the jungles of Southeastern Asia, H. G. Quaritch Wales,—financed by the Greater-India Research Committee, of which Rabindranath Tagore is a member and the Gaekwar of Baroda a patron,—pushed through the jungle "Toward Angkor: In the Footsteps of the Indian Invaders", 1937, following the routes of the expansion of Indian trade and civilization of two thousand years ago. Two archeological expeditions from 1934 to 1936 had revealed these, along which the culture of India and her empire was extended into Indo-China, Java, and Bali. For half a century after Mouhot first found the gigantic monuments of Angkor amid the jungle, white men in their ignorance have repeated awesome, mysterious stories to account for its origin. Now from India itself has come the inspiration to follow the paths by which Indian culture, during and after the Buddhist period, was carried eastward and how as a result of its grafting on Malay or Mongolian stock, there grew up great empires, each with its own culture and art monuments. In Burma we have the thirteenth century brick city of Pagan, covering sixteen square miles. In Indo-China successive empires of Fu-Nan culture are now known.

Successive influences from India, Gupta, Palava, Chelukya sent forth waves of culture across the Malay Peninsula into Indo-China and Java. Mightiest of all was the Sailendra Empire, whose base was on the Malay Peninsula. It penetrated into Indo-China and Java, and maintained diplomatic relations and trade with

China and the Arabs. Borobodur, built between 800 and 1200 A.D., is its greatest monument. The last of these great civilizations, largely indigenous, was that of the Khmer which climaxed at Angkor. (22nd ed, 1938, pp 154-5)

(4) At the opening of the century we knew almost nothing of the great Cretan civilization, and the Hittites were little more than a name in the Old Testament. Now, thanks to the spade of the archeologist, we know these to have been two great and vigorous civilizations. Crete flourished for three thousand years or more, the Hittite flowered more briefly. In "Progress and Catastrophe", 1937, Stanley Casson, brilliant young English archeologist and classicist, killed in Greece in 1944, dwells on the sudden catastrophe that overwhelmed Knossos and Hattosas. He believes that our present civilization has passed its prime and we are now undergoing such a period of slow decay as did the Roman civilization, as reflected in the letters of Sidonius (430-487 A.D.), a Christian bishop who lived at Arverna, now Clermont in Central France. The slow infiltration of crude barbarians, the gradual decline of the culture for which he stood, filled him with horror and loathing. He shut himself off from the world about him, but kept up an active correspondence with cultured people like himself, carping about the changes that were going on, without comprehending their significance.

Casson sees here the same state of affairs, as among the cultured and conservative people of today. He writes, "Now they find life more amenable shut up in the confines of their own libraries, where the outer world regards them as harmless cranks unable fortunately to affect the general course of affairs, which are more satisfactorily run by ruthless men who are not worried by the logical necessity of liberty, justice or freedom of speech, those outworn shibboleths of a pedantic world." (22nd ed, 1938, pp 155-7)

(5) In "The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations", 1936, Joyce O. Hertlzer examines into eight of Toynbee's civilizations from whose ancient roots the classical cultures of Greece and Rome derived. Their social thought is preserved in precepts, law, wisdom, prophetic literature, moral codes, concepts of marriage, sex relations, property, government and economic relationships. In their literature may be found behavior formulas, pessimistic writings, utopian hopes, conceptions of social change, of human nature, of knowledge and education, of good government. Some of these social ideas antedate the civilizations here presented and reach far back into prehistory. (21st ed, pp 132-4)

(6) "Human Ecology", 1935, by J. W. Bews was the first book published under that title. "The ecologic view-point regards life as an interaction between the environment and man as a living organism. . . . Life apart from the environment does not exist." Radhakamal Mukerjee of the University of Lucknow is one of the greatest promoters of regional and ecological studies. His "Regional Sociology" as early as 1926 outlined a program of ecological studies more comprehensive than anything yet attempted in the field. "Man and His Habitation", 1940, deals with ecological and social factors and mechanisms.

Human ecology includes the study of all the influences on man. Once these were all comprised in Theology, out of which came about a century ago Moral and Natural Philosophy. When we have the science of ecology comprehensively developed, there will be no need of any other science or philosophy, because it has to do with life and the forces that have created and constantly modify it. Full comprehension of this brings man in contact with his God. We must know God to be saved. That is all there is to know, there isn't any more. For more on this subject, cf the chapter "Getting Down to Earth" in "War and Education", pp 455-8, which

deals with the relation of all these derivative sciences and their social applications, bio-politics, geo-politics, geo-economics.

(7) Faith was the subject of a number of books reviewed in the previous edition, 1934. Many of the authors believed they were writing on contemporary religious thought, so-called. For the most part they were actuated by awakened social consciousness, a well-meaning yearning to bring about a better world, with no definite method by which to achieve it.

"The March of Faith", 1933, by Winfred Ernest Garrison, a misnamed history of religion in America since 1865, recognizes the "contradiction between the church's moral claims and its actual functions". "The Ordeal of Western Religion", 1933, for Paul Hutchinson is to keep religion alive without faith, afire without flame, for "the realistic modern . . . has concluded that the idea of organizing this social order according to the ethics of the so-called social gospel is a delusive dream". "The Sensible Man's View of Religion", 1933, by John Haynes Holmes, is more realistic. "If Christians were Christians", he tells us, "there would be no churches, no dogmas, no sects, no denominations, no anti-semitism, no race prejudice, no nationalism, no war, no poverty, no violence nor the machinery of violence such as prisons, armies, navies, and the police". Here is faith that leaps like a flame.

The one thing that keeps man stumbling on, that has kept him climbing up, has been faith. It hasn't mattered much what he placed his faith in so long as he's had faith. Mostly his faith has been placed in gods that have played him false, gods now dead, dethroned, eviscerated. And all that man now holds most sacred, and cherishes most devoutly will doubtless in time be proven false and worthless. But faith keeps him striving on.

The whole thing is so simple. My own religion like that of primitive man arises from fears and resides in hope. He found his hope in supernatural explanations. I find my hope in scientific explanations. Religion didn't originate with our species—it's older, and I believe it will still continue after everything that we believe in has been negated.

I believe devoutly in the destiny of the species. The mastery of man over the forces of nature has but just begun. I believe that man's learning to use fire by which through some new combinations of molecules he derived heat and energy was one of the most important milestones in history, and that we are close to the next milestone in which we will split the atom and use its energy—to hold the stars in leash and fix nose rings in the comets.

I put my trust in man—not in the gods that he has created in his own image, Jewish, or Greek, or Hindu. I believe that everything that man has to do with can be improved, along lines now latent and unrealized. I believe that while there are latent forces at work, these can be controlled by man as he learns to neutralize and overcome deterrent forces. I believe the men today are better than the gods of old and the men of the future will be better than the gods we now conceive.

Today, as in the past, I believe that we need wise men who will follow stars to find a savior. But one savior will not suffice,—for this race we need many saviors. (18th ed, 1934, pp 91-3)

AMERICA LOOKS AT HERSELF

Absorbed in our individual lives and local affairs, vision was limited. Social consciousness and awareness of our country as a whole, what made it click, its possibilities, how it was run, were slowly coming to us.

To see ourselves as others see us, to get into other men's skins and look out through their eyeholes at ourselves, requires a kind of mental agility foreign to the 'hundred per center'. To have the truth-revealing mirror held firmly before us is disconcerting. We like to be described as we think we are, or hope to be. Man is naturally egocentric, the sun rises, passes *over him*, and sets. Even when he's dizziest, things seem to center about him, and when he is drunk, even drunk with power, all things emanate from him. The behavior of every dictator substantiates this.

NEW SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The debunkers and muckrakers, the 'new biography', Mencken's *Americana*, studies of our medieval prisons, asylums, and other characteristic institutions, growing feeling of social responsibility for our delinquents, criminals, and psychotics, give evidence that our nerves are steadying, that we are gaining consciousness,—social consciousness. The picture we had in the past was false, a dream. We were fooled while being looted and defrauded. Now we are beginning to contemplate our actual image without averting our faces as would our grandparents. (1)

The former stupid attitude of unwillingness to face our defects and correct them, of magnifying our ego by self-praise, once regarded as patriotic, was cultivated in our homes and schools. Painful as it may be for the individual to entertain new thoughts, it is still more so for groups to bring into consciousness what they have habitually overlooked. Those who insist on pointing out such things are usually persecuted, stoned, martyred. The most dangerous thing of all is to point out to a tribe, or a people, its own defects. But even we Americans have come to this through loss and privation. (2)

In the *fin de siècle* days when we were conscious that we stood on the apex of civilization, at the climax of God's design, that evolution had flowered in and for us,—we were satisfied and smug. In the idealistic days of Roosevelt the First, 'Onward Christian Soldiers' was our inspiration. The war changed all that. Stunned and blinded for a time, we dared not even look back at war.

A few years ago we were looking for the second car in the garage, the chicken in every pot. But the brain works better on an empty stomach.

The 'years of the locust' have brought us introspection and reflection. America has been looking at herself, reassessing some of the things that were accepted, held sacred. So there has been a tendency to look backward as in the movie "Cavalcade" and the series it gave rise to. A flood of books, too, have sought to recall to memory things that have faded because at the time we could not interpret or understand them. (3)

OTHERS TAKE A LOOK

From Colonial days and particularly during the early years of our national existence when the eagle screamed more loudly than it does today, Americans have always been embarrassingly eager to hear foreigners' opinion of their New World. Martineau, Dickens, Kipling, and scores of other Europeans have won American audiences with their satire or ridicule. But for a foreigner to write critically for Americans is a daring thing. Usually they show a condescension that irritates. Count Keyserling in his "America Set Free", 1929, dissected American culture with the sureness of a skilful surgeon. (4)

"America in Search of Culture", 1933, presents mature views of William Aylott Orton, who served as professor of economics in this country for ten years, but lacks the offhand freshness we expect in foreign critics. Bernard Fây, French historian, friend of Gertrude Stein, in "Roosevelt and His America", 1934, with Gallic fancy describes America as changing her attitude and expression every time she takes a new lover-president.

Dennis W. Brogan in "Government of the People", 1933, writes in the tradition of de Tocqueville, Bryce, and Siegfried. He is interested in how the American political machine works. He seems to understand the game,—who is holding the bag and who is getting the profit. (5)

OUR CRAVEN CIVICS TEACHING

The democracy of which we boasted, and which worked in our early small pioneer communities, is more apt to be worked than to work in our complex industrial civilization of today. Our ever-growing school system is not accomplishing the primary purpose for which it was founded, it was asserted by speakers at the N. E. A.'s Cleveland meeting. Clyde Miller of Teachers College charged that the country's schools and colleges have been "playing the rich man's game. . . . Leadership from the wealthy has bungled things completely. . . . Two per cent of the people in the nation control eighty-five per cent of its wealth."

Great financial interests in every community have derived benefits from and are interested in the perpetuation of a corruptible government. The people have been kept in ignorance of this, and when there has been reform their anger has been vented on the intermediaries, the middle

men, not the instigators and chief beneficiaries. (6)

Our civics teachers are not permitted to expose the defects, the rottenness in the workings of our body politic. But medical schools spend most of their time on the diseases of the body, their prevention and cure.

Richard Welling's National Self Government Committee proposes to make it possible for teachers to accept the responsibility of making boys and girls public-minded in both school and college. His "Civics As It Should Be Taught" brings home the fact that our public service "is more inefficient and corrupt than that of any of the enlightened nations of the world—and our schools are the most expensive". (7)

Powerful interests feel they can profit by maintaining the traditional attitude of speaking of the founding fathers only with bated breath. With this halo about our past our citizens are blind to the abuses and defects in our government. The Constitution still serves us well, but there has been a strong trend toward making it not merely a symbol but a fetish.

"The Constitution", 1933, by Frank Abbott Magruder and Guy Shirk Claire, provides comment and interpretation. The authors believe we are "on the threshold of a period of reinterpretation of the Constitution, perhaps like the period 1800-1835, which will witness a broadening of the powers of the Federal Government". "Our Obsolete Constitution", 1933, by William Kay Wallace, and "The New American Government and Its Work", 1933, by James T. Young, attract attention to some of the ways in which the system of checks and balances has broken down. (8)

THE ROOSEVELT REVOLUTION

We have been skidding. It is time the wheels turned round. And they are turning. Some call it the Roosevelt revolution, some an economic revolution, some the third revolution. Call it what you please,—laissez-faire is dead. It is to ring the knell and to insure decent burial that Arthur B. Adams writes "Our Economic Revolution", 1933. In reviewing the Roosevelt policies, he leads us to believe that the depression cannot be permanently cured "without government direction of industry" which implies a pretty drastic control of hours and wages and the limitation of "excessive profits".

"The Roosevelt Revolution", 1933, by Ernest K. Lindley, is a rapid factual recital of events of the year. In the first chapter "The Roots of the Revolution", he explains how Roosevelt organized his brain trust and formulated his policies. (9)

The game humanity plays calls periodically for new deals, particularly when the same crowd has held all the good cards too long and played them badly. Reluctant as the dealer is to change his role, he must eventually be turned down and thrown out. This New Deal shows

somewhat the patterns of Wilson's "new freedom" and Roosevelt I's "square deal" and reflects even earlier periods of unrest and aspiration. Here are some of the plays of those about the table.

Henry Wallace, in addition to many magazine articles and several small volumes, in "New Frontiers", 1934, treats realistically current conditions, the private ownership of government, the new conditions we face, the new rules of the game.

Harold L. Ickes in "The New Democracy", 1934, meets head on the rugged individualist who stands for "regimentation in mill, mine and factory so that a few may grow rich and powerful at the expense of the many". (10)

A NEW ECONOMY

Civics has to do with social behavior. So has economics, which is merely the Greek for housekeeping, that is, supplying material wants. A picture of our economic life as it is which, used as a text, may accomplish some interest in 'civics', is presented by Howard C. Hill and Rexford Guy Tugwell in "Our Economic Society and Its Problems", 1933. How things actually work and where the abuses lie and what improvements could be made are brought out. Tugwell in his "The Battle for Democracy", the year following, commenting on the New Deal's social and economic trend, maintains that "financial juggling, the exploitation of workers and consumers must be definitely ended once for all". (11)

The consumer has been the forgotten man. Walter B. Pitkin in "The Consumer: His Nature and Changing Habits", 1932, makes an exhaustive study of this much neglected member of the species. We are all consumers. So this book is about each one of us. More particularly it is about the things we most want, what we work to get, and how and for what we spend our energy and money. The American system has learned too late that though it is strong on production, "consumption remains a no-man's land. Advertising is a queer cross between a black art and a swindle. . . . Man the consumer is much more than an economic animal,—he is an enormously complex individual caught up in the Web of Life." (12)

SCHOOLS AND POLITICS

The schools have done relatively little to make us conscious of the world we live in, of our own country and its real significance and the part that we might play. We have thought we were keeping our schools out of politics. The result has been to keep the school curriculum unrelated to life. It is only recently that it has been possible for educators to put in the hands of pupils books that would lead them to some realistic

understanding of the economic, social, and political systems under which they live.

What have schools and educators to do with politics? On the surface until recently the divorce has been complete. But underneath, corrupt politicians have been mining away at the foundations and taking toll of the money set aside for our children. Today our educators are being directly charged with traitorous responsibility for the present rotten situation. Ignorant and fearful and timid, they have failed to train good citizens to take an intelligent part in government. Satisfied with shibboleths and myths they failed to see beneath the surface. And yet our schools were established and have been maintained in the devout but ignorant belief that they exist for the purpose of training an intelligent citizenry to take an active part in perfecting the processes of democracy.

Only a generation ago politics were eschewed by respectable people,—‘too dirty to indulge in’. Theodore Roosevelt was almost the first of the well born of his time to plunge into the political fray. A century before it was the aristocrats who held political office. It was not until Jackson’s time that the spoils system came in and not until the last of the Civil War that it became worth while for the rugged individualists building great fortunes, enterprises or industries to stand in with corrupt politicians, their political bosses, and so increase their power.

THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

Democracy works among people of approximate equality, particularly if there are not great incentives to plunder. Where there is great economic inequality, great prizes to be won through aggressiveness and greed, ballots as well as men’s souls and women’s bodies may be bought. So we have the political prostitute and the street walker.

In “The State in Theory and Practice”, 1935, Harold J. Laski investigates the theories and future of social organization and holds that the democracy we have known during the last century was a capitalistic democracy. In a time of prosperity it was possible to throw sops to the mob to keep them quiet. In a time of dearth they cannot be so fully satisfied, and this, with increasing conflict, necessitates that those who have, give up their privileges or go fascist to maintain them.

WHAT WE DO FOR OUR CHILDREN

How completely we have mortgaged the future generations is brought out by Roy Helton in “Sold Out to the Future”, 1934. He cites current non-callable issues of four per cent railway bonds on which the principal sum of fifty million becomes due for payment in the year 2361. It is as though we were now paying for bonds issued to finance Christopher

Columbus' caravels. Those who will have to pay the interest on these bonds during the coming years, who will have to make good our foolish spending,—how are these boys and girls faring today?

It is not a pleasant picture that Thomas Minehan presents in "Boy and Girl Tramps of America", 1934. This young, sane, and enterprising professor of sociology spent two summers and many winter periods of travel in box cars and living in tramp jungles, collecting case histories of over five hundred boys and girls. It will disgust and pain many to have these disagreeable facts brought to their attention, to learn how thousands of American boys and girls who in better times would be doing well in high school were getting their itinerant education, to learn of the "increasing number of late of maverick girl tramps . . . available to any and all boys in the camp including adults and late arrivals. . . . They enter a box car or a jungle—and without more ado the line forms on the right." (13)

NOTES

(1) A more discriminatingly critical attitude toward what that great symbolistic generalization "America" stands for is gradually coming to some of us. Recent immigrants singing "God Bless America" express gratitude for relative safety and freedom compared with their previous life in the ghetto or under European dictators. The old Americans, refugees from Europe before 1700, were less demonstrative. But through the generations these pioneers, having felled the forest and tamed the land, were exploited by the more rugged individuals among them who collected railroads and monopolized utilities, showing the buccaneering piratical spirit of their Elizabethan prototypes. America is many things to many men, still being discovered. "My Country and My People" is yet to be as fully and as feelingly revealed as Lin Yutang has so eloquently done for his own.

The thirties brought a flood of new books reflecting the new vistas that were opened up as we came to question and challenge what had been generally accepted. This was a result of the decline of utopian idealisms that followed the first war and the later collapse of our economic system. In this time of change and adjustment it seemed desirable to bring to the attention of those responsible for the next generation some awareness of what was being thought and written.

In his "America", 1927, the late Hendrik Van Loon presents unconventional views that challenge thought. Illustrated by one of his picture maps is the "royal and imperial game of land grabbing". The Beards' "Rise of American Civilization", 1927, is a monumental sociological treatment of the Anglo-Saxon adventure in America. "The Oxford History of the United States: 1783-1917", by Samuel Eliot Morison, a revision of his lectures to the English, is characterized by an alertness and independence which was later much tamed down in his revision and elaboration of this book with the collaboration of Commager.

(2) Holding the mirror is becoming the task of the sociologist. Equipped with scientific training, with knowledge of peoples and their ways in many lands, anthropologists like Rivers, Malinowski and Mead have objectively studied peoples and their ways in isolated South Sea Islands. Similarly equipped came Robert S.

and Helen Merrell Lynd to Muncie, Indiana, with no pre-positions and no theses to prove. They settled down to observe the people and their ways and to record scientifically and objectively what they found.

In "Middletown, A Study in Contemporary American Culture", 1929, we get a "close up" of the normal American, his way of living, feeding, propagating and worshipping. Here is a scientific study of a town midway in culture between "Gopher Prairie" and "Zenith", an anthropological study of "Babbitt" and his fellow-citizens. How he gets his bread, how he lives, how he uses his leisure, what gods he worships and with what ceremonial, all are studied and truthfully recorded. Well-fed, well-dressed, cocksure, destitute of ideas, he admires mean things and believes untruths; his government is corrupt; his industrial system inefficient; his ideals puerile. His great effort is to conform, to imitate, to 'keep up with the Joneses'. Rotary is more real than religion. He has no respect for knowledge for its own sake. Men are conspicuous for their wealth, not for their education. The town pedagogs are pedagogs and no more. These scientists have recreated the typical American in his own image. A civilized people had never before been shown up in this way. Such treatment has been meted out only to savage tribes. (13th ed, 1929, p 42) A resurvey eight years later, "Middletown in Transition", 1937, showed the effect of the depression years. The early regional studies of Howard W. Odum, now professor of sociology in the University of North Carolina, led to study of the caste system in the deep South and also gave rise to the growing study of regionalism, a phase of human ecology that relates human behavior to environmental forces. More recently there has been a series of studies supported by the Yale Institute of Human Relations, typical of which is John Dollard's "Caste and Class in a Southern Town". Another series of studies owes its origin to W. Lloyd Warner, who studied caste and class in an aboriginal Australian tribe. Under his direction was carried out "Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class" by Allison Davis, Burleigh and Mary Gardner. Sponsored by the American Council on Education were similar studies on "Color and Human Nature" by Warner, Junker, and Adams; "Children of Bondage" by Davis and Dollard; and "Growing Up in the Black Belt", by Charles Johnson.

These same methods Warner, with a large staff and ample funds, has applied to a settled New England community, Newburyport. The results are to be published in six volumes under the general title of "Yankee City". The first volume, "The Social Life of a Modern Community", 1941, summarizes the results that are to be detailed later. The second volume is "The Status System of a Modern Community", 1942. "The social systems of American communities . . . provide the stimulating environments that control our behavior, determine our school and educational system, and dictate what we learn and how we learn it." Warner at the beginning "assumed that the economic order was of greatest importance in the lives of the people", but a detailed study showed that "the members of this community are greatly influenced by a social-class order in which they look upon people as being higher or lower on the rungs of the social ladder. . . . The top group of the upper class is an aristocracy which values birth and family in preference to wealth. The lower-upper class stresses wealth and social climbing. Members of the upper-middle class are money-conscious, saving, and successful—the 'joiners' and those who take it upon themselves 'to run things'. The lower-middle class includes the little people who, with small jobs, are comfortable. Those in the upper level of the lower class, many of whom are skilled workers, are felt to be

ambitious by those on the lower level. The lowest stratum is believed to be shiftless and lazy, and most of the individuals in it are not social climbers. . . . Education everywhere in America may be used as a device for social mobility. An individual also may climb socially by marriage; by the proper symbolic use of wealth; or by the socially proper use of beauty, talent, and intellect. . . . If the school system is to perform its proper function and adjust children to the existing social structure, it can permit only a very small proportion of the lower classes to rise by educational mobility, since the truth is that there is plenty of room only at the bottom of the social heap." (27th ed, 1943, pp 65-9)

(3) The memory of man is short. We turn our backs and forget. So the same stupidities are repeated, the same depredations and outrages occur over and over again which, if we remembered, if we compared, if we generalized, we would put an end to. Schools and colleges have neglected to lengthen our memories. They have not dealt with recent history, the most important to us. They have attempted to center the attention of the young on far away meaningless periods and for the most part to divide history up into water-tight compartments.

Mark Sullivan in the twenties pioneered in popular presentation of the recent past with the first two volumes of "Our Times",—"The Turn of the Century" and "America Finding Herself". This was a new kind of history, everyday life of average Americans, what they talked and thought about. The five volumes he has published show his gradual mellowing as he settles into the hard conservative mold. "Our Times: Over Here", 1933, deals with what happened in this country during the World War. (18th ed, 1934, pp 68-9)

Sullivan's series established a pattern, just as had Wells' "Outline" or Beers' "Mauve Decade". Popular awakening to interest in and consciousness of national and international trends and tendencies were reflected in an increasing number of books published in the thirties, which were reviewed in successive editions of the Handbook, particularly from 1931 to 1934. For the most part these were sketchy escape books, with not much understanding of the present or foresight to the future.

Frederick Lewis Allen of *Harpers* opened up with "Only Yesterday", 1931, which dealt entertainingly with the customs of the twenties. Two years later came his "American Procession: American Life Since 1860", with illustrations of customs and costumes from the prurient hoopskirts to the shocking tights of "The Black Crook", which are more indicative of mental attitudes than of moral latitudes. In "Just the Other Day", 1932, John Collier and Iain Lang present the confusion of the English scene.

Henry Seidel Canby in "The Age of Confidence", 1934, reviews nostalgically and autobiographically the 'gay nineties' in Wilmington, Delaware, when we stood on the apex of a civilization with full confidence in the future. Education then was formalized, in "complete isolation from the major problems of society". In "Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College", 1936, he pictured academic life at the turn of the century. All unconscious were he and his fellows then of how Attorney Sterling, finding ways for our monopolists to evade the laws, was helping Harkness pile up millions from monopolies, profits of which were to flower resplendently in the bastard Gothic of the present Yale. In "The Sentimental Years: 1836-1860", 1934, E. Douglas Branch carried the story farther back to a time when the well-to-do were the virtuous. It was even argued "no man can be obedient to God's will, as revealed in the Bible, without becoming wealthy".

"Behold America!", 1931, a series of essays critical of the social system, was edited by Samuel D. Schmalhausen. "Tragic America", 1931, by Theodore Dreiser, reviewed our exploitation by shrewd financial powers. "The Years of the Locust", 1933, presents a 'fever chart' of the depression drawn by Gilbert Seldes. "Farewell to Reform", 1933, portrays John Chamberlain's pessimistic disillusionment. "America's Hour of Decision", 1934, led Glenn Frank to face both ways and see a great deal that was disturbing. "The Method of Freedom", 1934, afforded Walter Lippmann opportunity with well sounding sophistries to bring compensation and limited satisfactions to the backward looking and unadjusted prosperous beneficiaries of our economic system, yet in a way to prepare them for new things just around the corner.

"Culture and Education in America", 1931, is a praiseworthy effort by Harold Rugg to diagnose American life and take a long view ahead. "Aspects of the Social History of America", 1931, is a general survey by Theodore Sizer of art, politics, and industry, deploring the traditionalism of our artistic heritage. "The Epic of America", 1931, is James Truslow Adams' dream of the common man for a better world, not without recognition of the "injustice of the present regime". "Years of Tumult: The World Since 1918", 1932, by James H. Powers, shows in dramatic sequence the failure of Social Democracy and the rise of Fascism and Communism.

Those who guide the activities of the young have for the most part had their faces turned toward the past. Preparing the new generation for the future, they dwell upon isolated bits of what is remote and unrelated. But Herbert A. Miller, a sociologist fired from Ohio State University, traveled around the world and wrote "Beginning of Tomorrow", 1933, to tell us that East and West have met, that Lenin, Gandhi, and Sun Yat Sen have exerted an influence which will prove greater than that of Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, and Napoleon, that tomorrow's dawn may come up like thunder. Harold Rugg in "The Great Technology", 1933, planned a cultural reconstruction by which we may follow from today into a more successful tomorrow.

The above were voices in the wilderness preparing the way for the later more thorough-going studies of Beard, Curti, Gabriel, Cargill, Kazin, many of them noted or reviewed in later editions of the Handbook and in "War and Education", pp 432-4. Earlier, in 1927, Parrington had in his "Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920", looked at the field from a literary point of view. The third volume, left incomplete on his death, was not published till 1930.

(4) Interest in Harriet Martineau has been recently revived by a centenary edition of her writings. She was a particularly acute observer, possibly due to the fact that she was deaf. Deprived of the pleasure of conversation, she used her eyes to compensate for ears. She could see better because she spent less time talking and listening, so got a first hand impression instead of hearing second hand some one's else.

(5) Brogan, of Scotch-Irish origin and temperament, has spent many seasons in America, his understanding of which he shows in "U.S.A.: An Outline of the Country, Its People and Institutions", 1941, and his later appreciation of "The American Character", 1944. His greatest book is "France Under the Republic", 1940. More recently he shows the influence of the British Foreign Office in apologizing for the Empire and cultivating American support. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", p 548, "War and Education", pp 334, 378-9)

(6) The library shelves are loaded with dust-gathering reports of Congressional investigations revealing the corruption in our political machinery. A notable "Study in Pressure Politics" by C. H. Hamlin, "Lobbyists and Lobbying in the North Carolina Legislature", 1933, deals specifically with how school forces and textbook publishers were enlisted to spread the propaganda of the railroads and utilities.

In his autobiography, "If You Don't Weaken", 1940, Oscar Ameringer tells us, "There came to Munich American students of municipal government such as Richard T. Ely, Frederic Howe and Charles Zueblin to take back home stories of honest and efficient management that put to shame the inefficiency and corruption of our own cities. If Milwaukee today stands out as a notable exception to the run of American municipalities in the traditional integrity of its government, the credit for this is due to the Socialist immigrants who imported from Munich and other German cities of the 'Nineties their standards of good government."

(7) Richard Welling in his autobiography, "As the Twig Is Bent", 1942, tells of the sixty years of his eighty-year-long life in which he has fought for better teaching of government and more self-government in the schools. Paul Hanus, founder of the department of education at Harvard, devoted the latter part of his life to crusading in the same cause, declaring that school civics "fails to bring home to the pupils the contrast between good government and bad".

Felix Frankfurter in "The Public and Its Government", 1931, examines into the defects and virtues of an American Democracy, the demands of modern society on government. Charles A. Beard and his son in "The American Leviathan", 1930, take us on a tour of inspection of the modern ship of state and actually explain the functional activities of our government in all kinds of administration, research, big business and creative work on which we are so fully embarked. (15th ed, 1931, p 74)

The practices of government as realistically treated in recent books was surveyed in the 27th edition, 1943. James Burnham's "The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom", 1943, cuts through theory and myth. E. H. Carr's "The Twenty Years Crisis", 1939, and his later "The Conditions of Peace", 1942, elaborate the thesis that "relations between states are governed solely by power and that morality plays no part in them. . . . The ever increasing use of propaganda as a regular instrument of foreign policy has been one of the factors contributing to recent international tension." Benjamin Farrington's "Science and Politics in the Ancient World", 1939, tells us, "Ancient writers . . . inform us of . . . the two sources of ancient superstition, popular ignorance and deliberate deceit . . . the systematic efforts on the part of governments, priesthoods, and leaders of thought in various fields of human achievement, to provide the mass of their people not with true ideas but with 'wholesome' ones".

"What We Don't Teach About Government" was sardonically treated under such topics as "How Democracy Works", "The Art of Ruling", "Manipulation of Symbols", "Government As Behavior", in the 27th edition, pp 111-20. Government, the ruling and controlling of people, has to do with behavior, that of the rulers and the ruled. History is a presentation of how they behaved in the past. But much of it is propaganda of the time put forth to deceive the people and accepted by them. The study of government, which in our universities is so largely devoted to theories of 'sovereignty', 'the state', and the like, realistically considered is the study of human behavior and its control by the top men through various forms of power, moral, intellectual, economic, physical. All this was

examined into and expounded in the 24th edition, pp 104-94.

"How Governments Perpetuate Themselves" was explained with full documentation in "War and Education", pp 411-50. In "The Future of Education", pp 223-4, we read, "It's Work to Work Democracy" and to "Make Politics Respectable".

In the *Geographical Review*, London, July to September, 1944, Captain Quintin Hogg, M. P., explains "How We are Governed",—the origin and working of the two-party system in England, the meaning of the 'Three-Line Whip' and other mysteries of the House of Commons, how the government machine works and "the parties are organized inside Parliament" and discipline is enforced by "the Chief Government Whip", known as the 'Patronage Secretary'.

(8) The 150th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution led to an avalanche of books. Congressman Sol Bloom, in charge of the celebration, said he had read four hundred. Some of the more outstanding of these were reviewed in the 21st edition, 1937, pp 137-39: In "The Ultimate Power", 1936, Morris L. Ernst reminds us that up to 1865 the Court had vetoed Congressional legislation only twice. In fifteen years between 1920 and 1936 the Court had voided more acts of Congress than in the previous hundred and thirty. He concludes that "the ultimate power" belongs to the people themselves, which of course does not settle the question of how the popular will is to be exerted. E. S. Corwin in "The Commerce Power versus States Rights", 1936, makes it clear that "the battle today is . . . the struggle of an industrial feudalism, having nothing to do with state lines, to escape democratic government".

The makers of the Constitution were afraid of centralization of authority. They wanted rule but no ruler. They wrote with fear of the tyranny of the king before them. An old, mad, blind, despised and dying king had driven them to this extreme. "You have made a good Constitution", a friend remarked to Gouverneur Morris shortly after the Convention. "That", Morris replied, "depends on how it is construed". In "Storm Over the Constitution", 1936, Irving Brant analyzes how pressure of economic interests have affected decisions. "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is", declared Chief Justice Hughes. In "The Nine Old Men", 1936, Pearson and Allen tell us of the political and social backgrounds of the justices.

Henry Wallace asks, "Whose Constitution?", 1936. Is it the Constitution of the people of America today or perhaps of particular groups? He points out that when the Constitution was formed we were a nation of small property owners. "Before 1790 there were but 30 corporations, by 1800 there were over 300, but they were mostly turnpike, bridge, canal or fire companies."

Parliamentary government reached its apogee in the twenties. In these later days of derogation of the legislative bodies, usurpation of power by the executive, and growing dictatorships, those who once regarded the Constitution as a symbol becoming a fetish now turn to the Constitution as the rock on which our Republic was founded. John T. Flynn in "Meet Your Congress" (Doubleday, Doran, 1944), recognizing the "concerted drive to make the people believe that Congress is an aggregation of fools and knaves and that it is no longer capable of serving a complex modern industrial state", comes to its defense with an exposition as to how it works and an appreciation of the valuable functions it performs.

(9) The next year we wrote: We Americans are a revolutionary people,—natural individualists, insurgents, dissenters, resenting limitations upon our freedom. Our government exists only through the consent of the governed. Our

greatest statesmen, Washington, Jefferson and others have repeatedly maintained our right to change or overthrow it. (19th ed, 1934, p 65)

"As for your being a revolutionist—well, dammit, we Americans are natural revolutionists! Only, Ely, if you must be one, then don't disgrace your poor old father: lead, and don't be led." This is what his Pennsylvania born father told Ely Culbertson when he wanted to join the Russian revolution. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", p 615)

George Soule in "The Coming American Revolution", 1934, gave a rather inflammatory title to a quietly philosophic book. For him violence comes only when there is strong opposition to the slow process of evolutionary change,— "violence occurs when those who have been thrust from power strive to regain it. . . . Revolution is merely a name for a single cycle in a long evolutionary process of human society." (19th ed, 1934, p 66)

Few recognize a revolution when it is on. Soule thought it was coming. Everett Dean Martin in "Farewell to Revolution", 1935, held it was unthinkable "as a method for effecting any permanent change whatever". Adolf Berle was perhaps the first to officially announce on the invasion of Poland, "This is the beginning of the world revolution" (cf "War and Education", p 161).

Years later, in 1944, Garet Garrett in "The Revolution Was" (Caxton Printers), a study of the New Deal, discloses the design by which the revolution was brought about. Revolutionary technique has become "the science of political dynamics. . . . Always the single end in view is a transfer of power." The successive steps in the process are pointed out in the President's messages and speeches. Many hands and minds are evidenced in the varying style of the speeches. That the President was aware of what was taking place is not conclusive, nor that he was always conscious of what he previously had laid down. Behind him were acute students of the technique of revolution.

The nine steps in the process were: "To Capture the Seat of Government; To Seize Economic Power; To Mobilize by Propaganda the Forces of Hatred; To Reconcile and Attach to the Revolution the Two Great Classes, Industrial Wage Earner and Farmer; What to Do with Business—Whether to Liquidate or Shackle It; The Domestication of the Individual; To Reduce All Rival Forms of Authority; To Sustain Popular Faith in a Spiral Increase of the Public Debt; To Make Government the Great Capitalist and Enterpriser". All these steps took place while the naive American was saying, "Something is going to happen to the American form of government if we don't watch out". How it was brought about was forecast by Aristotle 2000 years ago, "One thing takes the place of another, so that the ancient laws will remain, while the power will be in the hands of those who have brought about revolution in the state".

(10) "A New Deal", 1932, by Stuart Chase gave the title to the new regime. It is a plea that the nation's wealth and welfare shall be safeguarded against the sixteen ways by which the rugged individual has become rich under our economic system. How "the New Deal grows inexorably out of the Old Deal" is explained in "The Future Comes: A Study of the New Deal", 1933, by Charles Beard and George H. Smith. "Challenge to the New Deal", 1934, by Alfred M. Bingham and Selden Rodman, presents the protests of thirty writers at the worst abuses, which belong not to the New Deal but to our long inheritance, to our characteristic Americanism.

(11) A flock of new books that brought out these new economic conceptions were reviewed in the 21st edition, 1937: Orthodox academic economists long lost

sight of the human factor, distorted the teaching of Adam Smith to meet short-sighted prejudices of bankers and industrialists. They failed to point out that the law of supply and demand applied to capital, now a glut on the market so that former interest rates cannot possibly be maintained. University economists, dependent upon gifts from accumulated wealth, must watch their step. "An Economic History of the British Isles", 1936, by Arthur Birnie, adopts a modern view. He tells us, "The main defect of the earlier political economy was its tendency to accept the economic system which happened to exist in nineteenth-century England, as something absolutely and universally valid, and to regard all other systems, past and present, as inexplicable aberrations of the human intellect".

Price fixing by big corporations destroys the whole mechanism by which our financial capitalism is supposed to function. Since it is not possible to go back to laissez-faire, other adjustments and controls are needed. This is the theme of "The Modern Economy in Action", 1936, by Caroline F. Ware and Gardiner C. Means. "This Way Out", 1936, is Henry Pratt Fairchild's simplification of the economic problem. The absurdity of unemployed men and idle plants while people go hungry and unclothed is expounded. Production for use is held up as an intelligent alternative.

"The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money", 1936, by John Maynard Keynes, deals profoundly, if not clearly, with immediate problems. Wealth and production are determined by labor, but employment is dependent upon profits. Entrepreneurs are actuated by demand, profit, interest rates. "Leadership in a Free Society", 1936, by T. N. Whitehead, son of the illustrious philosopher, recognizes that the old traditional values have passed and endeavors to find a basis for desirable human satisfactions under our present day industrial, profit-making social system.

"The Open Door at Home", 1934, by Charles Beard, supplementing his earlier "The Idea of National Interest", following the sane lead of Keynes, the English economist, would get away from the idea of producing and selling goods for profit, as distinguished from the production and exchange or consumption of goods to add to the pleasure and beauty of life. He believes foreign trade should be carried on not in the interests of private exporters but in the national interest and as such subject to government control.

In "Man's Worldly Goods: The Story of the Wealth of Nations", 1936, Leo Huberman, laborer, salesman, teacher, out of his broad vision and a summer of digging among old documents in the British Museum, has produced a romantic, lurid, bestial story of how our ancestors have advanced from serfdom. Economics, the dismal science, becomes history, and history becomes story under his facile hand. "Create the Wealth", 1936, William Beard, son of Charles Beard, demands, declaring of our present social and industrial organization that, while technologically efficient, economically and socially its efficiency is low. "The Rise of Liberalism", 1936, Harold Laski shows was the result in the 15th century of the growing power of merchants. Once the merchant had acquired freedom, "the pursuit of wealth for its own sake became the chief motive of human activity". "The main function of justice is the protection of property", Adam Smith pronounced.

(12) Under the titles "Consumption Construction" and "Production Plethora" in the following edition, 1935, were reviewed important books of the year dealing with the subject: The average citizen hears of "over-production" and "under-consumption". What does it mean? The great achievement of the last hundred years has been to improve methods of production. The best brains have gone

into this. More recently we have begun to improve our system of distribution. The modern profit system with its handmaiden advertising as a means of stimulating consumption is today subject to critical scrutiny on the part of consumers, who are rapidly becoming organized.

"The Economy of Abundance", 1934, by Stuart Chase, gives a dramatic picture of the vast possibilities of machine production. The Brookings Institution has produced a series of studies. "America's Capacity to Produce", 1934, denies that we have overbuilt our productive capacity. "America's Capacity to Consume", 1934, leads us to believe that we must still work and labor to produce more, not merely to satisfy existing wants but to meet a decent standard of living. "The Formation of Capital", 1935, brings out the dependence of capitalist expansion upon consumptive demand. (19th ed, 1935, pp 61-2)

In "Capitalism and the Consumer", 1936, Fred Henderson attempts to give a new orientation, "a thoroughgoing reappraisal of some long accepted 'inarticulate major premises' ". The basic test of an economic system is the extent to which it supplies the necessities for the satisfaction of human wants. Horace M. Kallen in "The Decline and Rise of the Consumer", 1936, emphasizes that "throughout history, education has been conditioned on scarcity rather than abundance, kept a special privilege of the consuming classes; denied to the producing multitudes so that the subservience of the producer who produces without consuming toward the consumer who consumes without producing might be perpetuated. . . . Liberal education is the education of the 'gentlemen'; vocational education is the education of the commoner and since the industrial revolution, never the twain shall meet!" (21st ed, 1937, pp 145-6)

(13) "A Portrait of American Youth Today" is the subtitle of "The Lost Generation", 1936, reviewed in the 1937 edition of the Handbook. Maxine Davis, to make that portrait, traveled in a second hand car ten thousand miles over a period of three months, talking to boys and girls. She was inspired by Disraeli's "The youth of the nation are the trustees of posterity". One gathers from her narrative that we haven't well equipped our trustees. A year later in "They Shall Not Want" she reported on her studies in England and Sweden.

The picture of "The Child in America" in 1928 as presented by William I. and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, is pitiful. No qualified anthropologist in his descriptions of life among savage tribes has ever portrayed more savage treatment of children than is here set forth in this Christian twentieth century America, the wealthiest country in the world (12th ed, 1929, pp 42-3). "War and the Children" in England and America, "Working Hours", "Children in Labor", are dealt with in "War and Education", pp 319-36).

The economic value of children has decreased greatly in this country with the increasing restrictions of law and public opinion on hiring them out. However, two million children were gainfully employed in 1937. To preserve freedom of contract for children and the sanctity of the home in Massachusetts ex-President Lowell of Harvard and ex-Bishop Lawrence, whose names and fames are perpetuated in the great child laboring textile cities, year after year opposed the child labor amendment. The mill complex seemed to have survived to the third generation. Aligned with them was Cardinal O'Connell who in his "Recollections" told us with bitterness how he as a child worked twelve and fourteen hours in the mills.

WHO AND WHAT CONTROLS

Theoretically the people control, but they have been careless. Rugged individuals meantime monopolize resources, politically skilful men seize power and, with control of communications, demonstrate that ruling is fooling.

Once the owner controlled. Today millions of owners of stock in the great corporations have no voice in control. But whenever legislation is proposed to regulate the great utilities, we hear that they are owned by widows and orphans. Control is in the hands of a few men.

But men are instruments, most of them mere puppets operated by others of greater power sometimes behind the scene. Often the shrewdest, longest headed, most powerful remain unseen, unknown. Such men love power rather than fame. What controls these men? Instinctive greed, some say. Perhaps,—but they have ideas, ideals, ideologies, learned at mother's knee, in the primary school, and from the daily newspaper. Even these powerful men work for their ideals, harnessing them to their instinctive drives. The ideologies that control, then, are those of men of power. (1)

IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

New ideas and ideals can be planted in the minds of men, but not while they are fat, sleek, contented. Discontent may bring on a French Revolution. It was fancied injustice on the part of the king and his ministers that drove to rebellion the fathers of our republic.

Their ideals of freedom were embodied in the Declaration of Independence, but it took men of ideas like Jefferson and of action like Sam Adams to bring on the rebellion. Feeling came first, then the idea, then the man of action. Leaders fall, others succeed. It is the idea, the ideal, modified by personality and economics, that furnishes the drive. Eventually the idea is crystallized, built into the organization, the social structure. Then new ideas from minds of new men like Bentham, Mill and Marx develop which are inimical to the organization and impel change. Freedom and organization are constantly in conflict.

In "Freedom vs. Organization: 1814-1914", 1934, Bertrand Russell reflects all this and the social and economic changes that developed in European countries as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the imperialism of the 19th century. Against the historic backgrounds he projects the philosophical radicals Malthus, Bentham, Ricardo, men without vision, arguing from false premises. (2)

Russell gives us a vivid picture of those in control at the Congress of

Vienna, where the Holy Alliance was set up. In England the king was insane, the prince regent licentious and lascivious. The New Europe was organized under the guidance of Metternich, vain and vapid, Talleyrand, "undeniably a scamp" who, however, did less harm than the more righteous Alexander of Russia. Castlereagh, who dominated England's foreign policy, maintained a front that has been respected by the historians, but he was perhaps the most engaging hypocrite of the lot. (3)

Russell's purpose is to "trace the main causes of political change during the 100 years from 1814 to 1914". The theme is given by Milton's lines on the title page: "Chaos umpire sits, and by decision more embroils the fray by which he reigns: next him high arbiter Chance governs all". Russell recognizes the value of ideas but wisely points out that chance and personality as well as economic factors enter into the history of the 19th century.

Writing on "Democracy and Plutocracy in America", he describes the development of economic control, the conquest of the continent, the importance of the coming of the railway and with it the appearance of the "robber barons", the builders of the country, Vanderbilt, Fisk and others, looting and plundering it of its spoils. (4)

INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

Elihu Root, who had large dealings with Platt, the political boss of New York, first used the term "invisible government". He recorded that "the ruler of the State during the greater part of the forty years of my acquaintance with the State Government has not been any man authorized by the constitution or by law".

Theodore Roosevelt wrote: "Behind the ostensible Government sits enthroned an invisible government owning no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics, is the first task of the statesmanship of the day." (5)

Taft, fresh from his experience as president, admitted that things "seem to have crystallized into a rigid control of all by the great business combinations. . . . That the occasion for the general alarm was justified, no one who had studied the situation can deny."

Wilson, Roosevelt, and Taft in 1912 were all accepting money from plutocrats to advance their candidacy for the presidency. Wilson in the "New Freedom" said: "Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government. You will always find that, while you are politely listened to, the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of railroad corporations and of steamship corporations.

The Government of the United States is at present a foster-child of the special interests."

In "The Passing of the Idle Rich", 1911, Frederick Townshend Martin wrote, "It matters not one iota what political party is in power or what President holds the reins of office. We are not politicians or public thinkers; we are the rich; we own America; we got it, God knows how, but we intend to keep it if we can by throwing all the tremendous weight of our support, our influence, our money, our political connections, our purchased senators, our hungry congressmen, our public-speaking demagogues into the scale against any political platform, any presidential campaign that threatens the integrity of our estate. . . . The class I represent cares nothing for politics."

WHAT PROFITS A MAN

The desire for profit, money profit, is supposed to control the action of men in our economy. It does, if they are untouched by stronger incentives. But no one works for money who has anything worth working for. The great work in the world has been done by explorers, discoverers, mountain climbers, military men, who didn't work for money.

The rich plunder of an unexploited continent was a temptation to men to seize power and gain wealth. Just how this grosser profit motive worked with the plunderers has been the subject of many expositions. (6)

"Partners in Plunder: The Cost of Business Dictatorship", 1935, by J. B. Matthews and R. E. Shallcross, presents evidence that "the ordinary commercial methods of American business are essentially indistinguishable from the gangster methods of racketeering", that the Government as the defender of private property "is a partner in the plundered billions annually extorted from the American people". (7)

There is nothing new about that. It has been going on since the neolithic shaman deluded the primitive hunter into giving up his choicest spoils to him. But it is still news to the ninety per cent to whom advertising appeals. In "The Popular Practice of Fraud", 1935, T. Swann Harding, though he smiles as he does it, hits hard at the art of duping the American consumer. James Rorty has shown in his recent writings on advertising how the interests of the consumer are sacrificed to profit making (8)

POLITICAL POWER

How power might be acquired, held and used was explained to his patron by Machiavelli in "The Prince". Marx wrote a thick volume and Lenin many volumes to expound how the proletariat might seize power and use it to their advantage.

How wealth has come to be concentrated in this country and con-

tinues to be, was explained by Berle and Means, who showed that two hundred corporations controlled 49 per cent of the corporate wealth and 22 per cent of the total wealth of the country. (9)

"The Great Game of Politics: An Effort to Present the Elementary Human Facts About Politics, Politicians, and Political Machines, Candidates and their Ways, for the Benefit of the Average Citizen", 1924, by Frank R. Kent of the *Baltimore Sun*, made his reputation. This little book explained how our democracy actually works,—or rather how it is worked, and by whom and for what purposes. It showed how a political machine is built up from the smallest unit, the precinct, how the precinct is organized, and how the vote in it is controlled. From this unit the whole system of government, city, state, and national, is built up. (10)

"Political Power: Its Composition and Incidence", 1934, by Charles E. Merriam is a revolutionary book which investigates with psychological understanding such problems as the "birth of power", the opposition to it and the significance of propaganda. (11) "Power does not lie in the guns, or the ships, or the walls of stone, or the lines of steel. Important as these are, the real political power lies in a definite common pattern of impulse. If the soldiers choose to disobey... if the guns are turned against the government... then authority is impotent and may drag its bearer down to doom... The leader leads not because he is entirely different from others, but because he is much like the others and may symbolize and fuse their aspirations and desires." (12)

Through education, through systematic training of children, nationalistic myths are exploited. The struggle for power through control of the young is as significant as through control of the army, and more important in the long run.

THE DIPLOMATIC GAME

Diplomacy, once sacrosanct and still largely so regarded in certain aristocratic families, was cracked wide open when the Russian Revolution, revealing secret state papers, gave us an inside view of how international affairs were controlled. We have recently learned that little prejudices in the international game may determine whether or not our sons are to be cannon fodder.

"The American Diplomatic Game", 1934, by Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown, is disillusioning when explained by these alert, disenchanted sophisticates who have watched the genesis and evolution of such diplomatic gestures as the Kellogg Pact and other peace plans. They tell breezily and realistically of the parts played by Coolidge, Hoover, Dawes and Stimson with MacDonald, Briand, Laval and Herriot as they ignorantly blundered in the diplomatic game involving hundreds of mil-

lions for armaments and preparing the way for new wars. We are taken behind the scenes to see how Levinson and Shotwell egged on the belligerent Secretary Kellogg to put across the famous pact whereby the powers of the world signed a paper renouncing war as an instrument of international policy at the same time that contracts for new armaments were being signed. Petty personal and psychological traits, antagonisms, jealousies, prejudices and delusions are shown to have been at the base of important international decisions. The authors cannot but regard cynically the gestures made toward promoting peace, which leads them to prognosis of the next war due to the blunderings of men for whose ineptitudes and prejudices we have paid and shall pay still more.

Muckrakers bringing to light the hidden, reformers tearing away the curtain from the secret, will not go so far toward revealing who and what controls as the good reporter who naively and honestly tells what he saw of the events which we still recall in newspaper headlines. Vincent Sheean in his "Personal History", 1934, succeeds, as a good reporter, in making the reader see and share what he saw and in conveying the emotions of pity and terror, than which as Aristotle said, there is no higher art. His is the story of one of the lost generation, lost as a newspaper correspondent in Europe, in the Rif, in China, wherever news was making. His life and the risks he took are material for romance.

IMBECILE MISDIRECTION

A ghastly tale of political and economic skullduggery in which the great names of recent history appear badly tarnished is "World Diary: 1929-1934", 1934, by Quincy Howe. What Sheean intimately contacts as a reporter Howe from his editorial eyrie sees in broader perspective. For Howe knows more than has appeared in the newspapers. He has seen behind the scenes. He remembers, and knows how to put two and two together. He brings into focus hundreds of meaningless headlines and gives them significance. With a mind impregnated with facts and philosophies he cannot be satisfied with the punctilious platitudes of academic scholarship. As editor of the *Living Age* he has made that periodical foremost in revealing what was actually happening in the European scene. He has discerned and published the significant follies of our statesmen and the traitorous profiteering of our industrial and financial masters. That work has uniquely prepared him for this book. Half of the writing is his own. The other half is quoted from foreign commentators and the actors on the international stage. The narrative shows month by month the doings throughout the world.

As Bernard Shaw has said, "The man who writes about himself and his own time is the only man who writes about all people and about all

time." (13) Howe, who specializes in the study of international affairs, has made the experiment of setting down in almost day-to-day chronicle the chief political events upon this planet during the past five years—from the Wall Street panic of October, 1929, to the Saar plebiscite. It is a chronology of five years of imbecile direction of world affairs and consequent misery of the people.

NOTES

(1) Those who attribute human events to human action and seek to interpret the motives of the actor are sometimes accused of holding to the 'devil theory'. Once we attributed all to Providence. Now we refer much to 'social', 'economic', or 'political' forces, regarding these as occult, beyond analysis. When anything goes wrong in our economic, political, or social life, it is generally assumed that there has been violation of, or interference with, economic laws or inevitable social forces, to which conformity is essential. But today we can understand that social forces must necessarily result from human activities, the resultant of individual purposes manifested in mass action. (Cf "The Future of Education", p 247)

(2) In "Citizenship in a Great State", *Fortune*, Dec., 1943, Russell discusses "the modern limits to liberty and self-interest". "The powers of the state . . . started by punishing criminals and defending the community against external enemies. . . . In savage tribes, the chief has much more authority in wartime than in time of peace. War gives people a sense of cohesion with their compatriots that makes cooperation easy and leads naturally to acquiescence in state action."

Hegel, as the result of the Napoleonic wars, "considered the state the main end of man's existence. . . . In practice, this point of view is inevitably combined with belief in an aristocratic or monarchical form of government. The king or the governing class can enjoy the privileges of the 'noble savage', while the rest have to be good and obey their masters. In this way the community as a whole is supposed to effect a synthesis of anarchy and law: the top men remain anarchic, while the rest are subject to law."

The more total the war, the more completely totalitarian the country becomes. World War I gave the British Tories and President Wilson opportunity to concentrate power in their hands, to commandeer the lives of millions, to impose death by starvation on hundreds of millions. In peace no democracy would have stood for such measures. To bring the people to yield their privileges and freedom, hard won through the centuries, it was necessary to fill them with fear.

In emergency, legislators are likely to delegate their powers to the executive. Most of us like to escape responsibility. With concentration of power, the executive requires additional lieutenants, janizaries, secretaries, with a passion for anonymity. Those who are most responsive in carrying out his wishes become in course of time a kind of 'palace guard'. Such men exert great power. Many of the measures that are delegated to them have to be carried out with tact and skill. Lacking full confidence, they often keep their acts under cover. So gradually the administration becomes more and more secretive. Jealousies develop among the 'palace guard'. Powerful, they have opportunity to increase their power through their appointments. And those who are looking for privilege or appropriations come to them. The tendency will be to revert to a kind of oriental autocracy with increasing intrigue and secrecy among the favorites. Undercover methods lead to underhanded methods. The democratic safeguard of having things in the open

which no longer holds would sterilize intrigue, avoid disastrous commitments.

The executive even then may come to an impasse. Patronage, funds, confidence in his measures are low. New measures and means of stimulating the flow of funds become essential. At such an impasse the king advised Prince Hal, "Busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels". Establish fear by a new line of propaganda, then war will loosen the purse strings and result in delegation of additional powers. But all this involves secret diplomacy.

Military necessity requires both secrecy and deceit,—we call it strategy. The commander-in-chief who is not a master of deceit is a failure. Slips, mistakes, errors will be made. They must be covered up. The people must not lose confidence. Rumors leak out and where there is so much smoke a stench sometimes arises from the haunts of the 'palace guard'. If all ends victoriously, these errors, deceptions, crimes will perhaps never be uncovered. But some day the rumors that have clustered about the names of Kent, Kimmel, and Kummel may lead to interesting disclosures,—or they may be proved to be merely the names of new foreign drinks.

(3) Castlereagh's subsequent suicide is vividly described by the mistress and confidante of Metternich in "The Private Letters of Princess Lieven to Prince Metternich, 1820-1826", 1938,—"The lady's maid opened the door and told him that my Lord had just entered his dressing-room. The doctor went in after him, and found him standing up, his eyes fixed. He cried, 'Let me fall in your arms, it is all over'. The doctor ran to him; at that moment, streams of blood gushed from an artery in the neck, directly connected with the heart. In his right hand, he was holding a little penknife which he used to cut his nails; he fell stone dead."

Just before World War I Europe was controlled by a group of men as narrow and selfish and as ignorant. And essentially the same Tory crew was in control before World War II. Castlereagh's grandnephew, the Marquess of Londonderry, whose great wealth is in coal through land holdings of 54,000 acres, was a friend of Hitler, Goering, Von Ribbentrop, and a close associate of Stanley Baldwin. At the Munich Conference he was "a potent behind-the-scenes figure in Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasing the dictators" (*Time*, Dec. 26, 1938). In his book "Ourselves and Germany", 1938, he quotes his granduncle, "It is not our business to collect trophies, but to try if we can bring back the world to peaceful habits". Britain had already collected her trophies. She needed only to hold what she had by keeping the world peaceful. At the Geneva Disarmament Conference, Londonderry thwarted the effort to outlaw the bombing plane, claiming that it was necessary in policing the "outlying districts" of the world. This was somewhat confusing to the Turkish delegate, who came back, "The world is round. What are the 'outlying districts'?" (Cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 21, 27-8, 36, 100; "War and Education", p 78)

(4) "The Robber Barons", 1934, by Matthew Josephson, tells the story of those whose canny prowess brought them large material reward. How Vanderbilt, Fisk, Drew and Jay Gould looted the railroads, how J. P. Morgan got his start in unsavory Civil War contracts, Rockefeller's ruthless extinction of competitors, Whitney's buying of the 'boodle alderman', the iniquities of Carnegie, Hill, Russell Sage, H. H. Rogers, and Collis P. Huntington, are all related to show them strong armed villains of finance without much reference to the essential part they played in the organization and development of industry or the breaking in of a new country and its raw populace. Land swindles, the packing industry, the control of the press would all afford equally lurid chapters with possible portraits

of many additional 'robber barons'. Though the materials lie at hand, there is not yet a history of our country which shows all the forces at work building wastefully, warring ruthlessly, to bring about what we have today.

"Who Rules America?", 1934, by John McConaughy, makes it abundantly clear that there have always been shearers and sheep, that those who have had the power have used it to enrich themselves. He reminds us of the scandals connected with the first Bank of the United States, of Patrick Henry as an old man mixed up with the Yazoo land swindle, of the graft that followed Alexander Hamilton's treasuryship, of how John Jacob Astor borrowed five billion dollars of government money and kept it for twenty years without paying interest.

In "The Lords of Creation", 1935, Frederick Lewis Allen reconstructs the financial history of our country during the past generation and shows how the "Lords" built up the structure that was to topple in 1929. With lucidity but without fire, he tells incredible stories of Carnegie, Morgan, Insull, the Van Sweringens, of pompous privilege and colossal stupidity, of pygmies posing as men of power.

(5) One of the earliest objectors to the ruthless methods of the rugged individualists was Henry Demarest Lloyd who in 1880 revealed the big business practices of Standard Oil. Fourteen years later he returned to the same theme in his "Wealth Against Commonwealth". Contemporaneously Lester Ward in his numerous writings on sociology explained how wealth accumulated and man decayed, as Samuel Chugerman makes clear in his "Lester F. Ward: The American Aristotle", Duke University Press, 1939. Both these pioneer sociologists were regarded as 'attacking' sacred institutions. Their investigations gave rise to a whole group of writers who in the magazines under the aegis of S. S. McClure made startling discoveries. Ida Tarbell revealed the illegal practices of Standard Oil, and Lincoln Steffens laid bare "The Shame of the Cities".

"The movement to put a stop to exposure was systematically begun by those who felt that they could no longer tolerate interference in their affairs", writes Louis Filler, who in his "Crusaders for American Liberalism", 1939, tells how the muckraking magazines were suppressed, their writers bought off and diverted (cf "What Makes Lives", 1940, p 171). "The decline of muckraking . . . resulted in part . . . from the boycott imposed on the muckraking magazines by bankers and advertisers, and in part from the actual extension of government control over business", writes Curti in "The Growth of American Thought", 1943.

When Gustavus Myers published his documented study of the "History of the Great American Fortunes", it was tabooed in our great universities and libraries. Twenty years later when he optimistically reported on the results of his exposures in "The Ending of Hereditary American Fortunes", 1940, he was hailed as a scholar and thinker.

(6) These manifestations of greed are the result of our social set-up, easily changed when understood. We are coming to appreciate that types of behavior which we consider delinquent, criminal, are the result of conditions that can be changed, that even slum clearance may reduce delinquency and crime, that the avoidance of frustrations among adolescents and children would reduce criminal impulses, that political corruption is due to the plums that industrialists and monopolists offer for economic privileges.

Lincoln Steffens' famous answer to the bishop who, appalled at Steffens' story of civic and political corruption, asked, "What shall we do about it?"—"Take away the apple"—harked back to Eve's temptation in the Garden. It's the op-

portunity to gather in plunder from our rich natural resources that has made us a nation of scramblers,—not instinct. It's just a temporary abuse due to our carelessness in leaving ungarded the fruit that lies all about in this American garden. If the public, the collective common man, whoever or whatever he is, awoke one day to a consciousness that God has endowed him with the riches of the earth, then he might take care of his property. Then he might clean up the garden, harvest the apples, gather the plums, distribute them wisely. Then there would be enough for all. As it is the more aggressive men have taken the apples, the politicians the plums, and the people the crumbs that have dropped from our wasteful table.

"American civilization may be summed up as a free-for-all scuffle to get rich quickly and by any means", Albert Jay Nock reminds us in "Free Speech and Plain Language". "In so far as a person was prepared to accept the terms of this free-for-all and engage in it, so far he was sustained by the exhilaration of what Mr. Dooley called 'th' common impulse f'r th' same money'."

In the greater wastes of war expenditure, bigger profiteers find opportunities to roll up fortunes of millions or hundreds of millions. To stimulate the process they can afford to spend large sums, individually and as organizations, in affecting publicity, creating propaganda, influencing foreign offices and chancelleries, to so turn events as to afford them larger opportunity for profit.

Zaharoff was working for profit, for money, of course. But that meant to him power. Evidently he didn't care much about money. But, having been an outcast and a derelict, a Levantine without a country, who had suffered under the Turks and been more or less adopted by the Greeks, he had a hatred of Turkey and a desire to do something for Greece. With his backstairs approach to the British government, he could do much to prolong the war and his profits. In another culture such a man could be given power and reap greater satisfactions in other ways with less harm to humanity. (Cf "What Makes Lives", 1940, pp 93-4)

(7) It was Ambassador Gerard who after the World War first named the forty-nine men who ran America. Most of these are today dethroned with others come to power. Arthur D. Howden Smith in "Men Who Run America: A Study of the Capitalistic System and Its Trends Based on Thirty Case Histories", 1936, gives us free human sketches of thirty exemplars of capitalistic and financial power. These selected from his list of two hundred and seventy-five, are young, old, good, bad, well known, unfamiliar. Some are praised, some put in the criminal class.

"Rulers of America: A Study of Finance Capital", by Anna Rochester, 1936, is more realistic in telling the story of "The Rulers and Their Domain" and "How Finance Capital Rules Industry". It tells of the control of industry, how after the war we sunk 16 billions in foreign loans, and ends with "Will the Rulers Maintain Their Power?"

In "Who Owns America?", 1936, Herbert Agar with Allen Tate edits the views of a score of writers under the subtitle "A New Declaration of Independence". He writes, "One of the first tasks of American leadership will be to banish the idea that our Lords and Masters are a formidable crew. To be formidable, they would need either principles or a plan."

In "The Guggenheims: The Making of an American Dynasty", 1937, Harvey O'Connor, the man who told us about "Mellon's Millions", tells how the Guggenheims and Barney Baruch during the first World War took 350 million from the

American people, increased the market value of their copper stocks three to four times. This, of course, is more of an indictment of the intelligence of the American people than of the cupidity of the Guggenheims. It gives point to Henry Ford's question, "Why should such men as the Guggenheims be paid for ore in the ground in the state of nature?"

Ferdinand Lundberg's "America's 60 Families", 1937, shows the extent of intermarriage among these families that have had great wealth over a period of three generations, making them "the living center of the modern industrial oligarchy which dominates the United States, functioning discreetly under a *de-jure* democratic form of government behind which a *de-facto* government, absolutist and plutocratic in its lineaments, has gradually taken form—since the Civil War".

Brandeis "found that the great danger was not that these men owned all these resources but that they controlled them by means of 'other people's money'—the essence of finance capitalism. Such control made for recklessness of operation, since the very great losses that were sustained from time to time bore most heavily on moderately circumstanced citizens. Such control also made possible the reaping of enormous profits by manipulation, profits in which the actual owners of property usually did not share. The consequences against which Brandeis specifically warned did not descend on the nation until 1929-33." Chief Justice Hughes' investigation of the insurance companies, he recalls, showed that \$51,000 of stock, whose dividend amounted to $\frac{1}{8}$ of 1%, "gave control of \$504,000,000 of assets". (Lundberg, pp 105, 81)

(8) Advertising is a means of communicating to the masses information much of which is true and some of which may be important. Advertising largely supports not only the newspapers, but the great periodicals which supply the mental content of the greater part of the American people. No periodical can carry advertising without the good will of the advertising agencies. No advertising agency can do business without financial accommodation. Financial accommodation will not be awarded an agency if it is promoting the 'wrong mediums', those that publish what is not approved in financial centers. The government uses tax raised money to subsidize periodicals in giving them a postal rate at a small part of the actual cost. This should entitle the government to exert control over the material communicated. But advertising in the United States is powerful enough to protect itself from taxation and paper restriction even during our great wars. The agencies encourage corporations to charge up to expense the money spent on advertising, which would otherwise go to taxes. At the same time they serve the government by advertising its slogans and promoting its loans. In England advertising is relatively less powerful and criticism is still possible. Denys Thompson in "Voice of Civilization: An Enquiry Into Advertising", Muller, London, 1944, makes clear with references, statistics and documentation how American advertising methods are on the increase in England.

(9) The great change in the control of private property in America in the past twenty years is revealed to us in the statistical and legal study of "The Modern Corporation and Private Property", 1933, by A. A. Berle and G. C. Means. Interlocking directorates place the control in the hands of a relatively small number of bankers. Actually "ownership has passed from the managing few to the investing many." (19th ed, 1935, p 87)

(10) John Chamberlain in "The American Stakes", 1940, sees all government as the broker between competing pressure groups, and regards democracy as a 'limited racket'. It all comes down to crafty old Louis XI's "To reign is to dis-

simulate". The art of ruling is as always the art of fooling. Jerome Frank in his philosophic compendium "Save America First", 1938, remarks, "Statesmanship involves a handling of the folkways. A politician is a working anthropologist. The less he is aware of his function, the less adequate his performance." (Cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 490, 497-8)

As suffrage has been extended, first to all men and morons, then to all women, it becomes increasingly important to control the votes through vote brokers and manipulators. The crude method of thrusting a wad of bills into the hands of a local boss for distribution is obsolete. The Tammany method of doing favors, providing necessities that the government or the community has neglected and so through gratitude winning votes, is followed by all city bosses. The aspirant or holder of office once had to be strong of voice. Now magnifiers suffice, and radio makes it possible to speak to millions. After the 1944 election Kiplinger, wise Washington observer and commentator, asserted that Hillman won the election by ringing doorbells in important places. It wasn't votes but electoral votes that determined where and what doorbells should be rung.

(11) A group of realistic books on the art of politics, city keeping, was reviewed in the 21st edition, 1937, pp 149-50:

In "The Role of Politics in Social Change", 1936, Merriam tells us that our contemporary troubles are not merely economic but also technological, territorial-racial, socio-political, philosophical-psychological. Our ideas are wrong, our institutions irrational, our forms of behavior inimical to the good life. Back of all that he might have added that our system of ethics is all wrong, that children are bent, distorted, deformed. Our life is unnatural. To characterize all these factors as economic and then to try to solve all our problems in terms of the oldtime economics is supreme stupidity. Our problem is to organize the old value systems and the new science in workable forms and practices for the present age.

"Intelligence In Politics", 1936, by Max Ascoli, is a discussion of the part American intellectuals might take and shows how professional politicians play an essential part in our economy. "The Promise of American Politics", 1936, is by T. V. Smith, academic legislator and politician who believes it is time for a new liberalism. "To treat property as sacred is to limit the liberty which ought primarily to apply to life." Marshall's famous dictum, "The power to tax is the power to destroy", Smith would utilize for the equalization of wealth. But he admits it cannot be accomplished without depriving the Supreme Court of authority to declare legislation unconstitutional.

"The Politician: His Habits, Outcries and Protective Coloring", 1935, by J. H. Wallis, is described on the title page as "a textbook for office-seekers, and for enlightened voters, setting forth infallible guides to political success, illustrated and enriched with many examples from the careers of contemporary American politicians." Wallis is a student of Machiavelli, and in his keen, satirical presentation he deflates the swollen pretenses and lofty attitudes of our leading politicians.

"You're Paying For It: A Guide to Graft", 1936, is by Charles H. Garrigues, Pacific coast newspaper man and crusader. Brilliant, cynical, it takes for its text J. Edgar Hoover's "Politics is Public Enemy Number One". His thesis is that of Lincoln Steffens,—'competitive business exists to receive or buy privileges. Politicians have such privileges to confer or sell.' Those who have power want further privilege. The politician and graft is their avenue to it.

"Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?", 1936, is by Harold D. Lasswell, Chicago political scientist. Our civil rulers are the "political elite". Realistic

political science must consider influences and the influential whose rewards are "deference, safety and income". The slogans and symbols by which they hypnotize the people are studied. Before the Civil War it was "the Union". Today it is "freedom, liberty, independence, economy". "Our forefathers, the framers, the founders" are deities held up for worship. Lasswell has read Pareto and gives us strong medicine. In his "Democracy Through Public Opinion", 1941, Lasswell later commented, "Physicians have power of life and death; but do not politicians? In 1917 men whom we elected to Congress voted to declare war on Germany. These men had constitutional authority to say that billions of dollars should be spent in war, and that millions of lives should be hazarded in battle. . . . Anybody who wants to cure a horse must pass a test of skill. Anybody can try to cure the nation without a license."

(12) "Leadership and Education" in "The Future of Education", 1944, pp 199-202, pointed out the distinction between being "Outstanding and Understanding", the latter of which is the more necessary for the leader. James S. Plant was quoted,—"The leader must 'know how it feels' to be led. . . . The training of the leader is largely a matter of training in communication—one which implies that the leader is as good a listener as he is a speaker. . . . If educators wish to develop leaders, we must address ourselves to teaching the relationship of symbols to reality."

(13) A notable series of autobiographies revealing America of the past generation from very different social levels and through the eyes of intellectuals and idealists who look upon wholly different scenes, was reviewed in the 16th edition, 1932, pp 72-4:

In "My United States", 1931, Frederick Jesup Stimson reflects a rich life,—youth in Iowa and Massachusetts, college days at Harvard, novel writing, law partner of President Lowell of Harvard. This outstanding Massachusetts aristocrat and Democrat who was ambassador to Argentina during Wilson's administration gives us an inside view of German diplomacy in South America at the outbreak of the World War.

Quite another view of the War from the standpoint of the man who floated the 'Liberty Loans' is given by William G. McAdoo in "Crowded Years", 1931. Having lent the money, he knows who borrowed it. There was no gift or contribution about it. The allies spent with us for munitions and war supplies about \$11,500,000,000. Of big business he writes, "Its chief outstanding vice, in my opinion, is its reluctance to accept fair and legitimate profits. It has a passion for unearned money, for water capital, for fortunes that appear to be created out of the air but which come nevertheless from the pockets of the people."

Theodore Dreiser in "The Dawn", 1931, presents a gray picture of his boyhood life, the sordid American scene in Indiana and Chicago in the eighties. Apparently without reserve, it comes as near as any to being an honest biography. Clarence Darrow's "The Story of My Life", 1932, gives us a different picture of an unjust and cruel America seen by a tender hearted humanitarian. Emma Goldman in "Living My Life", 1931, tells a still more dramatic story of America's cruelty and brutality to idealists who are ahead of their time. Living her life through this book shatters one's smug complacency.

LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, AND ALL THAT

Shibboleths, slogans, assumptions, glittering generalities, ideologies we cherish and fight for. Ignoring realities, unconscious of inevitable trends, feebly co-operative, we lose our liberties and democracy decays.

Most of us hold a conception of social organization which centers about some abstract word like 'democracy', 'communism', or 'fascism'. For such it is an absolute, an ideal which may prevail anywhere at any time. It is like building a house from an architect's blueprint without regard to terrain or climate. If the house blows down, the blame is put on the occupants for not holding it up.

SLOGANS AND SHIBBOLETHS

Instead of goals for social effort we have had slogans, shibboleths, ear-filling, not mind stimulating. Democracy! We have never yet seen it. We could stand a lot more than we have had. Whether it can be made to work or not is yet to be proved. Like Christianity it has never been tried. We have been satisfied with words. We have been following false trails and worshipping at the shrine of false gods. (1)

Banding with words and slogans,—democracy, communism, fascism, gets us nowhere. Russia isn't communistic, though it started out to be. It's autocratic and private initiative has been stimulated though limited. American genius may yet be able to find its own way, learning from European countries what to avoid.

All liberty is relative. There is no such thing as complete liberty. It is an ideal. No one is ever free, no one longs for freedom until he is consciously restrained. Liberty is something we become conscious of, or think we do, when we feel we don't have it. When we are no longer repressed or frustrated, when we are creating and joying in our work, we don't think anything about liberty. Once liberty centered largely around freedom to worship God in your own way. For five hundred years Europe was drenched with blood in support or repression of such liberty. Now we think nothing of it.

"Liberty, equality, fraternity", "the pursuit of happiness",—these are man invented shibboleths, hangovers from the 'age of reason', which flowered in the French Revolution and brought the elite to the guillotine. The pillar of fire, the column of smoke of our fathers has become an 'ignis fatuus', a hollow phrase in a plutocratic world where liberty is for the Liberty Leaguers. (2)

Faith knows not reason, nor does democracy. They are not on speak-

ing terms. Democracy believes in sweat, in striking it rich. "Rail splitting is the ideal background for statesmanship."

WHY DEMOCRACY?

Social organization is a function of environment and population pressures, very largely influenced by the food supply. In the social changes ahead we are told there are three ways, democracy, fascism, or collectivism. Already all three actually enter in, with a good deal of plutocracy as a backstop. (3)

Fear seems to dominate the writers on democracy. Defeatism is in the air. Those who lament the passing of liberty seem unable to cooperate. That is characteristic of radicals, of the strongly individualistic. And so even the crude organizations of those henchmen whom we call politicians, who do the bidding of privilege, and trade in bunk and platitudes to fool the voters, easily override the more intelligent but unorganized opposition.

In "Why Democracy? A Study in the Philosophy of the State", 1936, Jay William Hudson, author of "The Truths We Live By", pays homage and sings his requiem to democracy. "Democracy partakes of the inevitable defects and the unconquerable aspirations of human nature. So does every human institution." Democracy as we know it, a misnomer and a red herring, has been two hundred years a-building. It led up to the war to make the world safe for democracy, which has made the world safe for dictators.

"Where capitalism means a nation of wage-earners and the control of the real property by high finance, capitalism must end in the tyrant state", warns Herbert Agar in "Land of the Free", 1935. "America can do a lot to postpone that twilight, if she dares to try and be a free state, to reject the road that leads toward tyranny." Agar is all for the old agrarian society that Thomas Jefferson envisioned as the ideal of democracy. He sees Jacksonian sentimentality for the common man finally destroying the defense that John Quincy Adams raised to preserve public property from gamblers in order to perpetuate personal liberties. So we wasted our heritage, largely destroyed our natural resources, and endowed with wealth the aggressive and the stupid. (4)

In "The Challenge to Democracy", 1935, C. Delisle Burns of the University of Glasgow, as in his earlier works, deals with the crisis democracy now faces. "Democracy is the name given to a system for ruling and being ruled, consciously adopted at the end of the eighteenth century in Europe." (5)

From idealistic and revolutionary origins, democracy in practice has become "a form of government in which the organized public power is

maintained by a tacit agreement between different groups, who want to use that power for their advantage". Democracy as we know it has been applied only politically,—by giving the vote, the ultimate source of power. But votes are readily controlled by those who have economic power. The issue is not the "question of political devices or economic organization" but the possible loss of opportunity for "free discussion of opposing views and the criticism of authorities". Those in authority are progressively learning new techniques for suppressing criticism through promise or threat. Bureaucracy makes it possible to employ at increased salary those who would be most critical, to produce propaganda in support of those who would suppress what they would ordinarily write if free. So freedom fades, and fascist methods prevail.

The alternative to dictatorship is not necessarily democracy. "The alternative is a much greater participation in the art of government than is involved in an occasional vote at an election or an unwilling payment of taxes. The best system of government is one which makes the largest number of citizens understand what government is."

TOWARD DICTATORSHIP

In "Dictatorship and Democracy", 1935, Sir John A. R. Marriott, disturbed by the outlook, inquires into the nature of democracy and dictatorship and the part they have played through history. He recalls some of the writers who a hundred years ago, surveying democracy in America and England, prophesied that it must eventually fail. He reviews the age of the Greek tyrants, the rise of Athenian democracy, of the Roman dictatorships, and takes us through the Middle Ages to the rise of parliaments.

In his "Liberty and Tyranny", 1935, Francis W. Hirst, actuated by the same worries, traverses somewhat similar ground. Torture, physical pain, deliberately imposed with ingenuity by laceration, pressure, or percussion, has at times been quite the thing. Going out of fashion in England a century ago, it remained proper in Russia up to the passing of the czars. But in all countries during the war torture came back, with a preponderance of public approval when applied to those who called themselves conscientious objectors and to others who opposed the public hysteria. War-bred fears and hatreds left no country free from examples of torture of these harmless people. Hirst is still strong for Mill's "Essay on Liberty", which was inspired by Humboldt whose essay on the same subject was not permitted to be printed during his lifetime.

In "Liberty Today", 1935, C. E. M. Joad opens with a discourse on "The Twilight of Liberty". His text is Bury's fatuous remark in "A History of Freedom of Thought",—"The struggle of reason against

authority has ended in what appears now to be a decisive and permanent victory for liberty. In the most civilized and progressive countries, freedom of discussion is recognized as a fundamental principle."

Now, twenty years after, with nine dictatorships in Europe, with a sedition act in England, the home of liberty, more rigorous than George III would have put through, with similar sedition acts continually coming before American legislatures and with fascist forces everywhere marshalled to suppress liberty, Joad is filled with fear. The "intolerable paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty . . . holds up the existing economic system to ridicule". If political liberty is to survive, there must be reform in parliamentary procedure, an educational system "designed to form and strengthen the capacity for critical judgment".

SAVE US FROM FASCISM!

How close we are to fascism Sinclair Lewis revealed with bitter irony in "It Can't Happen Here", 1935, showing convincingly how the transition could come in the rock-ribbed conservative state of Vermont. It is a middle-aged small town Vermont editor who experiences all this and still maintains, "I am convinced that everything that is worth while in the world has been accomplished by the free inquiring critical spirit, and that the preservation of this spirit is more important than any social system whatever". "Fascism and National Socialism: A Study of the Economic and Social Policies of the Totalitarian State", 1936, by Michael T. Florinsky, presents dispassionately the origins. Economic conditions were intolerable. A savior had to be found. A dictator stepped into the role.

"The Coming American Fascism", 1935, is an alarum signal. Lawrence Dennis earlier in his "Is Capitalism Doomed?" warned us of the rottenness of the system, and pleaded for spiritual leadership to save us from fascism. Now in a brilliant, closely reasoned exposition he shows us that capitalism has arrived at an impasse,—“If profit-yielding investments cannot be piled up in a compound interest or geometrical progression ratio, capitalism does not work”.

The alternative of communism, which would overturn our present plutocratic finance capitalism, fills us with such fear that our elite will welcome fascism as the only means of maintaining privilege and property and perhaps some degree of private initiative. With the coming of fascist methods he recognizes that there would follow loss of freedom of the individual, suppression of free speech, and that "conceivably, of course, a State and government might fall into the hands of a few individuals whose every act would be abuse".

"Deliver Us From Dictators!" cries Robert C. Brooks, 1936, but shows

little consideration of the economic factors which have brought them into power. How imperfect an instrument may prove effective in a great emergency is revealed by George Seldes in his "Sawdust Caesar", 1935. He looks upon Mussolini as a man and an individual rather than an instrument of circumstance, and he is shocked and embittered to find that he once wrote as a socialist, a pacifist, and a democrat.

"Dictatorship in the Modern World", 1935, edited by Guy Stanton Ford, presents the views of seven American and European writers. The chief theme is that there is nothing new or amazing about dictatorship. But modern use of propaganda, radio and print have facilitated this dominance of people by dictators. Max Lerner writes, "The dilemmas which fascism seeks to resolve are our dilemmas, the institutions it wishes to conserve are the basic economic institutions of our society, the loyalties it appeals to are the loyalties that attach to the nation-state which we have created." Communism is international in outlook, fascism is national. "Communism regards dictatorship only as the necessity of a transitional period." Dennis Brogan, alarmed at the prospects for democracy, warns that it is "a dangerous trade". (6)

COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

Schisms in opinion were largely based on religion up to the time of Marx, who promoted political isms. Socialism and communism are both his offspring. Their disciples sometimes show an emotional intensity that amounts to religious feeling. As the words themselves indicate, the elements of both have always existed in every society or community.

England is on so solid a feudal foundation that it still preserves as sacred the trappings of kingly sovereignty. It is so closely controlled a plutocracy that it can afford and has been obliged to throw sops to the mob, so that as a matter of fact it is socialistic. English socialism with its caste system keeps the populace fooled effectively, fed meagerly, and ready to fight for 'The Crown'. The school system promotes loyalty and the Foreign Office improves upon political techniques which enable Britain to draw on its Empire as well as on the Americas for resources and to enlist allies to fight its battles.

The Scotch don't miss out in England, either, nor the Jews. Even Levantines like Zaharoff, who married Spanish and lived Parisian and the Dutchman Deterding, who supported Fascism and lived in Germany and Switzerland, are not only enriched but knighted. The rulers of England understand the art of ruling and fooling. They never fail to give the people what is necessary to keep them loyal. The Whitehall slums have become luxurious in appointments. The coal mines when no longer profitable will be socialized.

In England there are always "New Trends in Socialism", 1935, as explained in a symposium by leading English socialists, edited by G. E. G. Catlin, with a preface by the late Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, who says, "Rapid and far-reaching change in this country is not only desirable: it is inevitable". (7)

"What Is Communism?", 1936, asks Earl Browder in a book as mild as his mid-western drawl. Outlining his visionary plan of bringing about the millennium quickly, his writing is studded with the usual clichés, 'toilers', 'burning questions', 'capitalist attacks'. He denies that communism can be banished from America by deporting alien agitators. Browder himself is of Kansas pioneer stock, and William Z. Foster, his predecessor, was likewise of old American family. Their kind of dreamy good-will doctrine has been propagated in the orthodox way by persecution. If either of these men had been crucified actually, not metaphorically, the communists might be in complete control. But they are coming on. Neither Browder nor Foster wanted to be white ants any more than the rest of us. If Debs and others who sacrificed for social justice had been listened to, the successors' songs might have been different.

CONSOLATION FOR THE COLLECTIVIST

For so many years we have been hearing about the march of collectivism that some have begun to adjust their ideas as to how they will continue to exist with their present liberties curtailed. Collectivism has been stealing upon us. Our strongly individualistic grandparents would be uncomfortable set down in our present world. They would object to the government's taking so large a part of their income to pay for services that they got along without, public schools, water supply, sewers, hospitals. They would object to the restrictions on their liberties, zoning regulations, requirements for registering this and that, and licenses for one thing and another. Suddenly transported, like the cowboy brought to an eastern city and restrained from shooting up the town, they would feel cabined and confined.

In "Individuality in a Collective World", 1935, Barbara Spofford Morgan, who has lived long in China, tells us that what we prize as our individuality is a cultural integration, something acquired, an achievement, not a birthright. "This achievement can be fostered in part by a society which fertilizes spiritual as well as practical efforts, but more by individuals themselves, in their determination to bind together their different spheres of action." Collectivism she thinks of as "the average man triumphant", "the mass created by common mental denominators", "the attempt to reduce life to quantitative terms".

Education in America is on this collectivist mass level. The principal

motive for getting an education is an economic one, the desire to be able to earn a more substantial living, the only basis of individuality the masses can understand. And by "the masses" she means not merely the proletariat, but particularly the bourgeoisie.

In a disciplined collective society, individuality becomes less common than on the free frontier. Higher qualities are necessary, that the individual may stand out from the crowd. Like Pareto, she looks for an elite based not on acquisitive qualities, but on each individual distinguished by his sense of values, ability to look into the future, "power and will to expand himself and grow", and willingness to accept responsibility. The crowded East—China and India—has recognized such individuality only in the limited number who, through intellect, intuition, cultural and social inheritance, stood out from the mass. (8)

Perhaps there is still a middle path. Democracy has failed in many an industry as in many a school where autocracy has brought success. After all, it is a question of handling animals, a matter of human behavior, of achieving results. The old idea that salvation could be secured by a single act of repentance or that a perfect state of society may come from a form of government, hasn't stood the test of time. As Pope put it, "For forms of government let fools contest; whate'er is best administered is best." In times of crisis freedom of action is always restricted. Democracy works best in stable times. When danger comes, then come dictators. When danger is past there is a lessening of fear and an upspringing of individualism, a tendency to criticize, a recurrence of demand for individual freedom.

PHILOSOPHIC ANARCHY

Two generations ago the anarchist was our bogey man. Gradually it seeped in that anarchists are rugged individualists like the plutocrats, who are about the only anarchists left today. Were men rational, philosophic anarchism would be the only course to follow. But today we have left only one exhibit of the philosophical anarchist, or only one who succeeds in getting publicity, and that's because he is perhaps our most brilliant essayist.

In "Our Enemy the State", 1935, Albert Jay Nock brilliantly and pointedly shows the damage to the human spirit that has been done and is being done by governments of all kinds everywhere. He shows that the state has been at all times an instrument of exploitation in the hands of the few that control, the economically powerful. Like Confucius he believes that the only good government is self-government, and the less interference the better. The American, he says, "is indifferent to the theory of things, so long as he may rehearse his formulas; and so long as

he can listen to the patter of his litanies, no practical inconsistency disturbs him—indeed, he gives no evidence of even recognizing it as an inconsistency.” That would seem to show that the American is like other humans. Pareto recognized all these characteristics as human.

COOPERATING IN COMMON INTERESTS

We Americans originally were cooperative. Necessity made the first settlement at Plymouth Rock in 1620 communistic. In our early primitive communities neighbors cooperated for all kinds of community efforts,—‘raisings’ and ‘quiltings’ and ‘working the road’. In the nineteenth century through America sewers and schools became socialized. With us as elsewhere in the world, cooperation and competition have existed side by side. We perhaps would have advanced more rapidly in the process of socialization if dogmatic advocates had not held up their particular system as the one and only means to social salvation. (9)

But the wealth of our resources did not require economy and promoted the waster. The plunder gained in exploiting the continent, the temptation of great wealth, brought the rugged individualism of the pioneer and the gambler. We were all out for profit, all to be millionaires or presidents, each man a king. So those who through luck or fortune had become monopolists or plutocrats found a people ready for exploitation.

The modern cooperative system started with the starving Rochdale weavers a century ago in England, where now there are 2000 cooperative societies with 7,000,000 members, who own their own coal mines, tea plantations, flour mills and bakeries, banks and insurance companies. In Nova Scotia sixty agricultural and fishing communities through cooperative stores, loan associations, buying clubs and study clubs, have from impoverishment arrived at comparative prosperity. (10)

The greatest development has been in Scandinavian countries and particularly in Sweden, as Marquis W. Childs tells us in “Sweden: The Middle Way”, 1936. “Sweden has muzzled the rapacity of big business, has provided excellent cheap housing, decent living conditions for the working population. . . . Utility rates there are lowest in Europe, and utility services are provided for by a combination of government and private ownership that exploits no one.” Cooperative stores now do one third of the retail and one tenth of the wholesale business. Economic problems have been solved by common sense methods without destroying or limiting private initiative. Goods are produced not merely for profit but also for general welfare.

In “Denmark: The Cooperative Way”, 1936, Frederic C. Howe enlarges on the theme that he had preached for fifteen years that here is a successful “challenge to capitalism, fascism and communism”.

From Finland the movement got its recent start in America in 1917 through the Finns of our northern states. Today they own oil wells, refineries, and have bought out the competing oil companies' distributing plants. "Consumer Cooperation in America: Democracy's Way Out", 1936, is explained by Bertram Fowler, who spent three months in a second hand car investigating the cooperative distribution and sale of "gasoline and oil, groceries, feed, fertilizer and so on. . . . Consumer cooperation is a technique, a rule of action, rather than the outline of a utopian State. . . . It declares for full and absolute consumer control of distribution and production", with the individual "owning whatever property he can utilize as an individual producer". (11)

So from the poor weaver of Rochdale and the privation of foreign people has come to America this ideal of cooperation which may so reduce profit and plunder that monopoly and even war will lose their actual appeal for those who defend or promote them.

NOTES

(1) Ideals, glittering symbols are the things people work for and worship and by which they are controlled. They fail to realize that both are manipulated by men, individuals and groups in their own interests, as we pointed out in the 27th edition, 1943, p 113:

For those who seize or control government, the art of government is like that of the magician. The essential thing is to distract attention from the act you are performing. That's all there is to palming, producing the rabbit from the top hat. The disappearing lady or the boy you see having his head cut off may be only the reflection in mirrors of someone off stage. What the magician does with mirrors the politician does with symbols.

Magic has played a large part in the life of man. The magicians and shamen, with their fetishes and hocus pocus and abracadabra, distract our attention from what they are actually doing and deceive us as to their miraculous powers. Rulers have their techniques. They enthuse or awe us with symbols or ideologies, a much more advanced art of distracting attention from what is actually being put across. The art of ruling is fooling of those whom you would control, make loyal. The great statesmen of the past are the politicians who succeeded in this art.

(2) The ideal of the Liberty League is quite different from that of the Civil Liberties Union. One wants liberty to do as they please, the other wants liberties for all. The bunk of the former is disclosed by George Soule in "The Future of Liberty", 1936. He recognizes that they who have the power have the liberty. In "The Blessings of Liberty", 1936, Francis Pickens Miller emphasizes that to achieve the liberty our fathers sought for, a balance between freedom and security, "either economic forces must be made subservient to democratic ends, or political institutions, and hence the whole of American life will in time be ruled by an oligarchy of industry and finance allied with the discontented propertyless classes". And that's what conservative leadership wants. (21st ed, 1937, pp 135-6)

(3) Carl Becker tells us, "Collectivism is a general term which may be applied to the trend in all industrialized countries during the last hundred years toward a greater degree of governmental regulation of the economic life of the com-

munity. In this sense it is set over against the terms 'laissez-faire', and 'free economic enterprise'. There are four different forms of collectivism, differing according to the extent of governmental regulation and the methods employed.

"Social Democracy is the form of collectivism that has appeared in all democratic industrialized countries during the last hundred years. . . . Socialism and Communism are both based on the theories of Karl Marx but each advocates different methods of reaching the goal of nationalization of land and industry, of government control of production and distribution of wealth. . . . Fascism is the general term to denote the systems established in Italy, Germany, etc. . . . Communism regards the dictatorship and the suppression of the individual liberties as temporary; Fascism regards both as permanent." (*The Humanist*, 1944)

In response I wrote thanking him for "straightening us out" and added, "Collectivism is a word, an abstraction, applied to certain phases or trends in behavior. Human behavior is about all most of us are interested in. Looked at in another way, through the eyes of the entomologist, the paleontologist, and the biologist, it is a form of social organization or a type of behavior of organisms which live in groups. The ecologist would claim the subject worthy of a paragraph in his treatise. Words, of course, are traps. The trouble with all these words used in the struggle for power, for votes,—what we call political activities dominated by political forces, which means men of force more or less behind the scenes,—is that they all take on color. Fascism is black or brown, communism is red, socialism is drab, social democracy is gray. It takes red blood to stir us, and most blood, any biologist can tell us, is nearly colorless."

(4) The tremendous possibilities in using our natural resources for the up-building of the country were clearly envisioned by John Quincy Adams. But the Americans were land gamblers, and Jackson made a stronger appeal to them. Adams waged a losing fight for improvement and preservation of the public domain (Cf "War and Education", p 157; "Getting US Into War", pp 574-5). In "Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936", 1942, Roy M. Robbins tells briefly of Adams' "revenue attitude" toward the public domain, his desire to make it "instrumental . . . in the national administration of social and economic interests".

(5) The term 'democracy' was little used before Jackson's time. The founders feared the idea and hated the word, just as the 'economic royalists' did 'bolshevik' in 1920. Harold D. Lasswell in "Democracy Through Public Opinion", 1941, reminds us that "in many respects there was even less democracy in Colonial America than there was in England at that period". He quotes: "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordeyne as a fit government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarch, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved, and directed in the Scriptures, yet so as referreth the soveraigntie to himselfe, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best form of government in the Commonwealth, as well as in the Church." This gem is from John Cotton, the first minister of Boston, to whom was awarded the first allotment of land, a farm on the mainland, on part of which his last descendant built in 1820 for a son-in-law the house in which I now live.

"What Is Democracy?" asks Charles E. Merriam, 1941, and tells us what it is, what it is not, its relation to equality and liberty, and how to make it work. "Gunpowder Democracy", Professor H. C. Brearley of George Peabody Teachers College explains, was the right of the citizen to bear arms to defend his rights,

home, and country, but now it is the right of a small group to direct the citizens with tanks and airplanes and chemical warfare (*Current History*, Nov., 1941).

The "Treasury of Democracy" of Norman Cousins, 1942, is his collection of the wisdom of the wise and great who lived in China, Arabia, under tyrants or monarchs. It expresses longings for freedom, liberty, denunciations of tyranny. But there is not much about democracy. He has gathered all the glittering things that looked good, just as the bower bird does in building its nest. It is an example of emotional and intellectual acquisitiveness and has little to do with the rule of the people. Because I have spent some time traveling around the world and climbing into other people's skins and have no difficulty in cooperating with Burman, Hindu, Negro, should I call myself a democrat? I would say I had developed some understanding. But you may call me names if you wish.

(6) Herbert Hoover on his return from Europe in 1938 (*Life*, April 11) noted the "fear by nations of one another, fear by governments of their citizens, fear by citizens of their governments and the fear of people everywhere that general war is upon them again; fourteen nations with 240,000,000 people, have adopted notions of Fascism. And Fascism has demonstrated a way to fool all the people all the time—by suppression of all criticism and free expression."

In a democracy as Lincoln remarked, you can't fool all the people all the time, and Gracie Allen puts it you can't fool some of the people some of the time. But we are learning to fool most of the people most of the time. Fascism requires implicit obedience to centralized authority. Authoritarianism is justified when a people are so confused and scared that they are willing to give up their liberty for safety. Fear, insecurity, willingness to sacrifice liberties, is necessary before fascist authoritarianism can prevail.

The roots of fascism go back to the intensification of nationalism,—in Germany to the after effects of the war. "The starvation period of Central Europe due to the blockade and its criminal extension during the period of wrangling over the spoils of war shows the effect of insufficient nutrition upon the development of the body. Apprentices in Vienna, measured in 1919 and 1921" showed a difference in height of up to 3 centimeters and weight up to 3 kilograms, says Franz Boas, in his "The Mind of Primitive Man".

Much that the dictators adopted and adapted to achieve their success had American origins,—the summer camp, the military school, Boy Scout methods. Other American methods, not so admirable, were those used on conscientious objectors during the war, such as the barbed wire enclosure for even the Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor. Our current horrible and sadistic methods of suppressing unpopular racial or religious minorities have recently been illustrated in the picture magazines. The 'third degree' was developed by our politically dominated American police at a time when in stabilized Europe police methods were on a higher, professional, well disciplined basis.

The above selections are from the introduction of the 1938 edition, separately published as "Human Affairs", in the chapter "Fascist Tendencies", which dealt with "Fear and Fascism", "American Roots", "Unifying the Nation". Cf also "The American Roots of Fascism", *Yankee*, Feb., 1938, by Porter Sargent.

(7) In his "Theory and Practice of Socialism", 1936, John Strachey, brilliant scion of a famous family, holds, "There is no salvation for mankind from war, hunger and further destruction of millions and millions of human beings",—except 'socialism'. Any 'theory and practice' to be laid down for the future of the whole human race is enough to make any free man revolt, whatever kind of

an 'ism' it may be. (21st ed, 1937, p 148) In "The Coming Struggle for Power", 1933, Strachey challenged all we held as sacrosanct in our political system. (17th ed, 1933, p 88)

(8) The intellectual elite, the intelligentsia, as described by Arthur Koestler in the *Partisan Review*, Summer, 1944, is a group "which by its social situation not so much 'aspires' but is driven to independent thought... which debunks the existing hierarchy of values and at the same time tries to replace it with new values of its own".

(9) It was the Russians, and particularly P. Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid a Factor of Evolution", 1902, who first pointed out how widespread was co-operation among animals. If all animals were predatory, it is a question if animal life could continue to exist. The "red of fang", laissez-faire, predatory humans could not. The wolves must have sheep to prey upon. The most successful groups, those who have persisted the longest time, are not predatory. No group of predatory animals has lasted as have the termites, the ants, the bees.

"Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples", 1937, presents a series of researches directed by Margaret Mead on thirteen different cultures. "Among the societies selected for study there were cultures strongly co-operative and strongly competitive, and others not so clear-cut." Nor was there any correlation between these factors and the environment or the activities. They were just what they damned pleased to be, apparently. "In all the competitive societies children are hurried toward adulthood"; in most "co-operative societies children are permitted, even encouraged, to grow up very slowly".

(10) The centenary of the Rochdale cooperatives is being celebrated in 1944 by millions of cooperatives not only in England but in China and many other countries of the world. It was about the middle of the eighties, some fifty years after the pioneer weavers in England had started their experiment, that my father became greatly interested in the unit which was forming in Brooklyn at that time. I remember his subscribing, going to meetings and telling of the talk and the prospects, and for a time even at a special effort we got all our groceries from the Cooperative. The Brooklyn experiment, however, did not last very long. People were not ready for it. The idea was that the consumers, the users of goods, should divide all the profits that came from distribution. It was a simple, straight idea, but like most such met with great difficulty in displacing the complicated, irrational mores that had been established and which decreed that capital and labor should divide the profits, though neither of them would have any profit without the consumer.

(11) James Peter Warbasse, who has been promoting cooperation for a lifetime, in his "Cooperative Democracy" presents the history, philosophy, methods, accomplishments, possibilities, and practicability of the cooperative movement. In a later book, "Cooperation As a Way of Peace", 1939, he tells us of the International Cooperative Alliance, "a federation of 70,500,000 members in 120,000 affiliated societies. In terms of families, this means over 250,000 people supplying some or many of their needs through their cooperative societies. The total business turnover of these societies in 1938 was \$20,000,000,000. Their total share capital is \$1,300,000,000. Their reserve funds are \$1,500,000,000. . . . The 35,000 cooperative banks and credit societies in the Alliance had \$180,000,000 share capital, \$600,000,000 savings' deposits, and \$6,500,000,000 turnover in 1938."

EUROPE ASCENDANT

Of diverse ancient Asiatic origin, we mongrel Europeans show great variation physical and mental. Adjustments, hampered by institutions of our boasted civilization, await the violence of war to relieve repressions.

Our schools and colleges deal largely with European culture. It is only recently that one could discover in the curricula of even our greatest universities that they had knowledge of the cultures of the East. Out of this egocentric view have grown our nationalistic myths now exploited by dictators for their own aggrandizement. The problems of "We Europeans" are largely due to incomplete adjustment to our environment and neighbors. (1)

If the peoples of Europe had stayed put and not migrated these past three thousand years, we would not be facing the problems that now continue to make for chaos. Driven out of Asia a few thousand years ago, we returned in the past few hundred with fire and sword. Since the age of discovery, European ideas have been in ascendance throughout the world. (2)

For two centuries the English-speaking peoples have held the world in the hollow of their hands. What it is today their statesmen, colonists, imperialists, exploiters have made it. Who are we that have thus brought the world to its present sorry pass, defiling God's footstool with the result of our ideologies and other emanations?

A MONGREL PEOPLE

Much needed is the realistic, scientific presentation of European ethnography in "We Europeans", 1935, by Julian S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon, with a chapter on "Europe Overseas" by A. M. Carr-Saunders. "The purpose of this book", subtitled "A Survey of 'Racial' Problems", "is to bring together the chief scientific facts now available on the subject of 'race' in man" and especially in Europe. It is made abundantly clear that there are no pure races in Europe. We are a lot of intruders and mongrels who have pushed our way in where we did not belong and bred with the women of the people we have displaced. In a few spots in the Dordogne and in the Basque there are true aristocrats, men whose ancestors lived on the same ground for ten thousand years or more.

Our scientific knowledge about blood, learned since blood transfusion has been practiced, reveals four major blood groups. These result from the interaction of three genes. Bernstein's brilliant study of the fre-

quency distribution of these genes has shown the same type of blood among the aborigines of South Africa, Central Asia, and Western Europe, showing how broadspread were our original ancestors.

Man is a peculiarly unstable mongrel, and with the breaking down of former isolations, with improved intercommunication, there is increased interbreeding. There is probably no race on the face of the earth with which the white man has not cohabited. But the more numerous and extreme cases of miscegenation during the last three hundred years have been on the American continent, resulting in the "mestizos" of Latin America and the mulattos of North America.

RACE AND NATION

"The violent racialism to be found in Europe today is a symptom of Europe's exaggerated nationalism: it is an attempt to justify nationalism on a non-nationalist basis." The cure is "a reorientation of the nationalist ideal, and, in the practical sphere, an abandonment of claims by nations to absolute sovereign rights". (3)

There is no such thing as a race of Jews. European Jews today are more Slavic and Armenian than Semite. The Jewish nose isn't Jewish at all. It is Hittite. The Jews that for a thousand or more years have lived in north Africa, in China, are largely of Asiatic blood. (4) In the scientific groupings of man, the Cymotrichi, with wavy hair, include not only the Nordics, Alpines, Slavs, Armenoids, Jews, Hamites of north Africa, Semites, and Mediterraneans, but the almost extinct Ainus and Veddas. The Germans, we learn, are the result of prehistoric admixtures in Neolithic and Mesolithic times. Later the so-called "Nordics" migrated from south Russia, while into the southern highlands of Germany entered Eurasiatics. Some of the northern Nordics passed over into Scandinavia to return as the climate became more severe at the end of the Bronze Age. From these returned Scandinavian Nordics came the Goths, Gepids, Lombards, and Bergunds. Later Slavs penetrated to the Elbe, so in Germany east of the Elbe Nordic features are less common. In the south the Germans are a definitely round headed people, Eurasiatic.

In Great Britain no aristocrats remain, only parvenus who arrived at the close of the Paleolithic and during the Neolithic period. Migrations brought from the Mediterranean new ethnic types. The great stone monuments we owe to Mediterranean peoples, the long barrows to people from the Baltic. From central Europe came the Beaker folk to the eastern coast, spreading across England. These were followed by the invasions of the Bronze and the first and second Iron Ages. Then the Celts overran England, followed by the Teutons, so that we still proudly call ourselves Anglo-Saxons.

WHAT MAKES US DIFFERENT

No two men are alike. The more intimately we study them the more individual we find them, not only their finger tip patterns and other externals but other particulars observable or measurable. What makes them different and what made them so? "God made us as we are", our fathers said. Character was the only worthwhile collateral to the elder J. P. Morgan. Heredity was the key to the aristocrat, family to the class-conscious. Lombroso identified criminal types, but Goethe said, "I have never heard of a crime I could not myself have committed".

To heredity, the summation of environments in the past which the biologists and paleontologists have revealed, we give due weight, but we know that in addition the environment of the individual affects his metabolism, his endocrine functions, and that these play a part in determining his physical form, nervous and mental qualities.

"The Range of Human Capacities", 1935, is reviewed by David Wechsler, psychologist and psychiatrist, revealing wide possibilities in body temperature, respiration, blood, memory span, weight of brain, and other human traits. He finds that mental ability and usefulness reaches its optimum at thirty, though the work of the world may be done by the few at a later age. "What Makes Us Seem So Queer", 1935, is explained by David Seabury as the emotional difficulties and turmoils of the average person, which can be traced to childhood emotional upsets.

MAN, THE UNADJUSTED

In "Modern Man: His Belief and Behavior", 1935, Harvey Fergusson examines his own fears, actions, beliefs, in a gallant endeavor to study himself rather than the group or the social animal, with the detachment an anthropologist would bring to the study of a primitive. He finds his behavior is habitual, seldom rational or logical or predictable, that he does not do as he intends. Modern thought he finds a wilderness of contradictions and subterfuge. Our beliefs, our creeds, our codes do not square with the conditions under which we live. The necessity of making choices, of acting as though free willed, fills us with fears.

Modern man is not so completely adjusted to the changing social conditions under which he lives as is the primitive individual who lives under the rigid code of an unchanging social system. Our institutions, our codes of morality are rapidly changing today, and human nature is changing with it, but we still cling to old beliefs and creeds with which we can not square our behavior. We are filled with a consciousness of guilt, of having violated standards set up by the group. Our desire to punish others, to stand for righteousness, in a way satisfies or compensates

this guilt consciousness within us. And so we become material for the psychiatrist and the police.

None is more unadjusted than the "rugged individual". The rough necked, strong jawed, iron willed is not an individual at all. Behind him is the gang or group for which he acts. On the other hand the individual whose thought and imagination are free shows little capacity to act. Joyce and Proust or even Dewey would make poor leaders. "In our world action is typically divorced from thought."

Growth of "awareness" may set man free "from his worst oppressors" both within and without. "If we perish soon, it will not be because we are too intelligent, but because we are not intelligent enough; not because we are too civilized, but because our civilization is an instrument too few of us have learned or dared to use."

CIVILIZATION TODAY

"Our Contemporary Civilization: A Study of the Twentieth Century Renaissance", 1935, by Roscoe Lewis Ashley, is a bold and worthy attempt to look at American and Western civilization, undeceived by shibboleths and symbols. "The World War left us with more nationalism, more large-scale competition, more greed, more profit taking, more dilemmas." Schools have been used to promote nationalism, the feeling of superiority and consequent contempt and hatred for others. History is distorted. Youth, frustrated, more readily responds to the drum beat.

The science of government has changed little since Aristotle or Bentham, while everything else has changed mightily. In Washington's time there were only three banks in the country, and no corporations. Today, "corporate property has partially supplanted private property in this country".

The significance of the Civil War as an industrial and political revolution is brought out. The impossibility of continued compound interest in a corporate world is made plain, and the needs and means of economic reorganization to produce an economics of plenty are expounded. "Years ago Soddy showed that a ball of gold five inches in diameter, compounded annually for a thousand years, would then be a ball of gold equal in size to our earth. If compound interest cannot be fact, why is it law and why was it the basis of new era financialism?"

FORBIDDEN HISTORY

It was Buckle perhaps who discovered that history must be rewritten for each generation. Only rarely does a genius like Gibbon know so exhaustively a period of history that his work has much, if any, value a generation later. We hear much about the "new history", just as if

history is not always new and must always be new. But the flood of light cast on historic events by anthropology and sociology, all the sciences, gives an especial newness to our interpretations today.

In his "History of Western Civilization", 1935, Harry Elmer Barnes has on an epic scale presented us with a history, for this time, of Western man. A vast amount of pertinent information previously inaccessible, in large measure forbidden, has been coordinated and documented. (5) Barnes omits the insignificant and pedantic detail of pimps and princes, of war and waste, of politics and privilege, that specialists have ladled out to students from their water-tight compartments, assuring them that it was the nutritious historic broth that would enable them to interpret the past and future.

There is an intrinsic freshness in Barnes' comprehensive treatment of our western civilization today and its revolutionary bewilderments. He shows us how "The conception of the divine right of kings has come down to us in the form of the divine status and sanctity of constitutions. . . . The conventional theory of ethical standards . . . which represents morality as almost wholly dictated by religion and limited to sex . . . is highly convenient to the plutocrat, since the reprehensible practices associated with finance capitalism and the theory of business enterprise thereby escape condemnation. . . . Most radical programs of social and economic reconstruction overlook the insuperable difficulties that reduce the practicability of their proposals." The historic development of these elements of our social heritage which cause our contemporary problems has remained unknown, forbidden knowledge. When it becomes the commonplace information of economists, sociologists, and legislators, our problems will be simpler, the future clearer.

KEEPING THE POOR ALWAYS WITH US

How the poor of England today came to be poor and why they continue so is the remarkable story of money and finance from the medieval managed currency to the present time, told by Christopher Hollis in "The Two Nations", 1935, subtitled "A Financial Study of English History". The two nations are described by Disraeli in his "Sybil" as "the rich and the poor . . . between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners and are not governed by the same laws."

Hollis traces the development of our money and banking system under the scheming machinations of the Stuarts, the Oranges, the Whigs. He makes clear how our artificial money and banking system has taken

wealth from the producers and concentrated it in the hands of the few schemers and usurers, as Hollis calls them. Here is a phase of English history, fully documented, that has been left out of our text books, not because it does not concern us, but because it concerns us so much. Still it cannot be taught today, even in our universities.

Independence won, America entered a second fight "to decide whether independence was to be true independence or whether, after the change of names, the financial system was to re-establish over the new government that same control which it has exercised over the old. . . . The protagonist of plutocracy, a surprisingly frank protagonist, was Alexander Hamilton." As Secretary of the Treasury he tipped off his friends so that they bought up defaulted Revolutionary War bonds, which he then paid at par from a New York bank loan, thus saddling the country with a permanent National Debt. "He wishes it never to be paid", explained Jefferson at the time, "but always to be a thing wherewith to corrupt and manage the legislature".

After the World War, Hollis tells us, "the gold standard could not conceivably be made to work without lower wages", so while output of industry was increased twenty-five per cent, wages were kept down and purchasing power increased only five per cent. With easy plunder it is little wonder that the pursuit of profit plunges us into war.

INTERNATIONAL PARANOIA

The nations of the world have been spending billions in preparing their fireworks for the next war, but the total expenditure on war past and present is vastly greater, a large proportion of their total income. America leads in this expense supposedly for defense. It takes a tremendous propaganda in this land of the free and the brave to keep us perpetually scared so that we can be mulcted of a billion a year. But there are few businesses so profitable as selling to the government. Everyone knows that. And if what you sell is for defense and in the name of patriotism, and if the purchaser is hysterical with panic, the profits are greater.

In "International Delusions", 1936, George M. Stratton with psychology understanding treats of the paranoiac symptoms of nationalism. He reminds us it is only a little time since the Scottish clans were engaged in continual warfare. With all the instigations and incitements today, it is no wonder conscientious directors of heavy industries manipulate their puppet statesmen so that they may still return dividends.

"In "The Road to War: America, 1914-1917", 1935, Walter Millis shows simply and convincingly how Lord Grey and Earl Balfour put it over on our simple minded American boobs from North Carolina and Texas, Page and House, and with the aid of the House of Morgan, in

order "to keep our nation prosperous", brought us into the war. The Morgan partners made some paltry millions at a cost to the country, Calvin Coolidge estimated, of a hundred billion. (6)

On the eve of the next war, it would seem wise to bond the country for at least ten billion to present to the bankers and munition workers and then demand that they desist their patriotic efforts. That would save us the other ninety billion. But as the next war is likely to be bigger and better, probably the saving could be ten times as much. There would be no opposition to such measures by the Veterans of Future Wars, organized in the colleges, and the Gold Star Mothers of Future War Veterans since suppressed as indecent, because they would already have been provided with their pensions and their European trips and the visits to the sites of the battles. The Association of Future War Propagandists and the League of Profiteers would have to be provided for.

THE TERRIFYING UNCERTAINTY OF PEACE

Nationalism with its competition must be promoted by artificial hates, by patriotism with its fetishes and flag worship, so that the people will respond to the call to arms. True patriotism such as Shakespeare's love of England which he voices through Gaunt in "Richard II" is quite another matter.

Some understanding of all this is dawning. A. A. Milne in "Peace With Honor", 1935, holds that a gentleman will fight to defend his honor, but a nation has no honor. It fights for self-advantage. Patriotic gentlemen will have difficulty putting the nation into war. However, a powerful clique in control can easily manage it if they can find the money for necessary propaganda to create a feeling that the fight is for righteousness. Sarcastically he reminds us that "War is 'a biological necessity'; an 'inevitable outlet of human nature'; that it is 'the extreme expression of Patriotism' (than which there is no higher religion); that it 'stamps the mark of nobility upon nations'; that it provides opportunities (10,000,000 in the last war) of a 'pleasant and fitting' death." "Is it not inevitable", he asks, "that, when the New War comes, it will come for no other reason than that nations were afraid of its coming; that, so far from being 'a war to end war', it will be a war to end the terrifying uncertainty of Peace?"

H. M. Tomlinson in "Mars His Idiot", 1935, tries to scare us about war, but we are too brave to be scared. He drools on calmly and scornfully about the stupidity of the last war and the people who ran it, but he doesn't tell us a word about the people who are running the next war and what they are going to get out of it. The best thing his book has done is to inspire Robert Sherwood's play, "Idiot's Delight". A third English-

man, in "Roll On, Next War", has written Chesterfieldian letters of advice to his son on how to gain preferment among the brass hats.

THE WAR VICTORS

War would be wonderful and we would spend all our time in war probably, if it were not for the lowly louse and the flea and the rat, which rush in, weakening our morale, lowering our banners, stilling the band, Hans Zinsser of Harvard tells us in his "Rats, Lice and History", 1935. (7) In the tradition of Shakespeare's fools, this wise man sings a paean of praise to the louse, who has eschewed the peaceful and industrial social ways of bee and ant and followed a course more like our own, though he is not cannibalistic. "The louse—like man—has, for one reason or another, failed to develop the highly complex civilization of the bee or the ant. Such development has perhaps been unnecessary because of the infinite and ever-renewed supply of abundant territories for exploration." Once there were free living lice that moved about and earned their living, but the louse we know has sacrificed its liberty; it meant exposure, uncertainty. It gave up its wings, perhaps, for "secure and effortless existence on a living island of plenty. In a manner, therefore, by adapting itself to parasitism, the louse has attained the ideal of bourgeois civilization, though its methods are more direct than those of business or banking, and its source of nourishment is not its own species."

But Zinsser is hopeful of *Homo sapiens*. "With us a spiritual deepening is imminent, with the complete exploitation of our continent and the exhaustion of those easy pickings which, for two hundred years, have allowed us to remain, like the louse, undisciplined."

MEN OF GOOD WILL

There is enough good will in the hearts of men to overcome the evil that exists. Witness the twelve million votes for peace in England this past year. But the sinister crew who represent the heavy industries and manipulate the puppets of the British ministry by clever political manipulation utilized this passion for peace to perpetuate their control.

"Men of Good Will" Jules Romains ironically entitles his great series epically portraying the state of mind of Frenchmen before the World War. Futilely they busied themselves while the world drifted into the great war that overwhelmed them. Now we, too, are drifting toward another perhaps greater world cataclysm while the world is filled with men of good will who know not what they do. With the purest motive and the muddiest thought, poisoned by propaganda, we set the pace in spending for war, for defense against hypothetical enemies and for the sure enrichment of those who promote the propaganda.

Blind and deaf to what lies behind, we mouth words and phrases. Ignorant of inevitable trends we try to dam the stream, or divert it into other channels advertised with slogans,—the Constitution, the New Deal, Communism. Blind idealists perfect panaceas, blue prints for the future guaranteed to bring the millenium quickly. Mild eyed dreamers present a complete philosophy of friendship, plans which would relate education to the solution of our social problems. Traditionalists still rely on means of salvation that have proved futile for two thousand years.

NOTES

(1) We Europeans have long been parochial in our outlook. Marco Polo was denounced as a liar. Even after the discovery of America we remained ignorant of the East though we exploited its wealth. Europe first learned of Buddha from the letters of Jesuit missionaries in Siam about 1700. Chinese porcelains, early imported, were imitated at Dresden and Delft. But the art objects of the East were still regarded as 'curios' by Europeans. When some inferior Japanese prints came into the possession of Whistler in the eighties, they influenced his painting and eventually led to our discovery of Chinese painting from which they had been derived. The English were in India for a century or more before they discovered its art and architecture, and then deprecated the best of it as of Persian or Italian inspiration. Ferguson and Havell, who showed appreciation, were treated with scant respect. When I was at Harvard in the nineties they had not yet discovered anything from the other side of the globe worthy of consideration or study. Except for Lanman's course in Sanskrit, which had come out of theology and Hebrew, there was nothing that was not strictly European.

(2) In "The Retreat of the West", 1937, No-Yong Park gives us a new point of view. The little peninsula of Europe for thousands of years was overrun and settled by invading tribes from Asia. It is only since the Europeans perverted the use of ritual gunpowder to killing that they have been able to demonstrate their physical superiority, and now again they are in retreat (cf "Human Affairs", 1938, p 36). In "Europe—Going, Going, Gone", 1939, Count Ferdinand Czernin from still another point of view arrives at similar conclusions. "The Passing of the European Age", Harvard University Press, 1943, by Eric Fischer, is a scholarly study of the same theme, in which he sees the ascendancy of Europe rapidly coming to an end. These authors are not merely adopting the pessimistic Spenglerian trend, they are attempting to interpret sequence of events.

(3) "A nation has been cynically but not inaptly defined as 'a society united by common error as to its origin and a common aversion to its neighbors'" (Huxley and Haddon, "We Europeans"). Myth and hate promote the nationalistic spirit, which may prove profitable to those in control.

(4) In "Noses, Knowledge, and Nostalgia—the Marks of a Chosen People", a chapter in his "Twilight of Man", Earnest Hooton writes interestingly on the origin and development of what I here call the Hittite nose because of the greatest civilization established by those with this facial feature.

(5) Several books by the prolific Barnes were reviewed in the 22nd edition, 1938, pp 158-60. His "Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World", 1937, is a whale of a book, a colossal 'mappa mundi' of the human mind, not merely an historical panorama, but a guide to our present day mental content, a

help toward understanding what lies about us and ahead. "Social Thought from Lore to Science", 1938, in collaboration with Howard Becker, is in two volumes, "A History and Interpretation of Man's Ideas About Life With His Fellows" and "Sociological Trends Throughout the World". "An Economic History of the Western World", 1937, tells the story of how man has provided for his daily needs from the stone age to the present. Narrative, concise, comprehensible, neither orthodox nor radical, it shows us fundamental economic forces at work through thousands of years of man's history. "A History of Historical Writing", 1937, considers the development of pre-literary history and the mastery of the art of writing, historical writings from the Greeks to the Reformation, the philosophy of history, and the rise of critical scholarship in the eighteenth century. He tells of the influence of the World War in debasing the critical faculties of most historians, except the few who stood stoutly for truth and were subjected to persecution and invective. He concludes with a survey of the broadening perspective of the historian,—archeology, anthropology, the history of science, of technology, economic history, social history.

(6) Walter Millis, whose "Road to War" before publication was expunged of reference to the part Morgan played in bringing us in,—now avoids such censoring. In "Why Europe Fights" the present war, he labors the thesis that this is not 1917.

(7) The Black Death which swept from Asia over Europe at intervals during the Middle Ages was the modern bubonic plague. Theologians said 'It is the will of God', the medicos that 'humors' of the body were unbalanced, the common people 'The Plague is in the air' and burned pungent herbs. Their observations were inaccurate. "During the plague of the seventeenth century... we can imagine the scant attention that would have been then paid a request for a grant for a scientific study of the life habits of such creatures as rats, fleas and the wriggling animalcules which Leeuwenhoek discovered at about this time in drops of putrid water. And yet our knowledge of rats, fleas and bacteria is one reason why centuries later pest hospitals are not found in London and we no longer dread the plague", remarked Dr. Albert F. Blakeslee in his address as retiring president of the A.A.A.S. in 1941. (26th ed, 1942, pp 203-4)

Typhus, one of the greatest curses during World War I, stuck its head up on the eastern front during World War II. But for two years little has been heard of it. At the Civilian Public Service Camp at West Campton, N. H., during the summer of 1942 thirty or forty conscientious objectors volunteered for experiments that ended the menace. For two periods of two months each these young men while doing heavy labor in the woods carried and fed on their bodies lice there planted. Refraining from scratching or washing, they propagated the lice while medicos experimented with upward of a hundred chemicals in powder form to discover which would be most effective. The 'winner was a complex chemical that had been invented by the Germans a score of years before and which is known as DDT. Used on 1,200,000 after the taking of Naples, it eliminated typhus and has since become standard equipment for the Army. Clothing shaken up with the powder in a bag prevents the development of lice for two months. [The Army has now taken over the credit for this discovery, and the administration promises gardeners that after the war and when this is available it will be their salvation from all bugs.

HOW WE GET OUR IDEAS

That our ideas are mostly second hand is a belittling idea to most, for we like to impose ideas on others as our own. Few suspected whence their ideas came or how until propaganda came to popular attention.

Most of our ideas are passed on to us,—half ideas at best. Most of them come from the past. Most of our opinions are prejudices. Most of our thinking is 'thobbing'. We carry a great burden of absurd and curious conceptions of what is of worth, moral, right, lasting, that does not stand scientific scrutiny. Pareto has shown how irrational are our instincts and emotions, 'residues' of the past which we hold sacred, and our sentiments and beliefs, 'derivations', with which we attempt to justify this cherished inheritance.

Ideas were put over on our ancestors by witch doctors, sorcerers, shamen, priests. Today ideas are being put over on us, for good or evil, for social or selfish purposes, mostly by those who are paid to do it. Some of the most vicious ideas take. To some of the most educational and beneficial ideas we are impervious as a duck's back to water. (1)

BECOMING PROPAGANDA CONSCIOUS

Perhaps there is more power behind the selfishly actuated sinister propaganda. Perhaps better teachers at higher wages are employed. The most effective teaching comes from the propaganda bureaus of nationalistic governments and great utility and holding corporations. The greater the prize, the higher the stake, the greater amount of money and energy can be put into propaganda by those who strive for privilege. Some of it may appear as paid advertising but most of it is disguised so that it is difficult to detect and is not even suspected.

Propaganda, as in the propagation of plants, has to do with growth. Modern propaganda, fostered by special privilege under nationalism or monopoly, is like a cancerous growth. Some forms are malignant. The difficulty is to make the correct diagnosis and then to operate quickly and efficiently.

If ten million men, cheated with lies, had not died for the sake of lies, we would probably even now not know about the sinister uses of propaganda. Perhaps before we have learned to control propaganda, twenty million more, choked with lies, will die for lies before enough of the truth becomes known to save them. (2)

The story of how selfish interests, British and American, used propaganda to bring us into the World War was first made known by the story

in *Fortune*, largely based on Quincy Howe's researches, and which led to the Nye Congressional investigation. (3)

The results of these sensational investigations forced the newspapers to give attention. Though the power of the press is not what it once was, the newspapers remain the great mediums of propaganda and through concentrated ownership they are relatively easy to control.

When Robert Bacon, a Morgan partner and our former ambassador to Paris, decided that America should go into the war, a conference of twelve key newspaper owners was called, March, 1915, and plans laid to capture or control the press. All over the country the attitude of the press immediately changed from one of neutrality and fairness. (4)

POISONING THE NEWS

"All I know is what I read in the papers", Will Rogers often said, repeating the creed of millions of Americans. Only a minority of super-intelligent readers have learned as yet that what they learn from the papers is what someone wants them to know and is spending money in order that they shall know it. For uncorrupted information they must go to other sources. (5)

John Swinton, when editor of the *New York Tribune*, speaking to the New York Press Association, declared, "There is no such thing in America as an independent press, unless it is in the country towns. You know it and I know it. . . . There is not one of you who dares express an honest opinion. If you express an honest opinion you know beforehand it would never appear in print. We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are intellectual prostitutes." (6)

"What Makes You Think So?" asks Will Irwin in the subtitle of "Propaganda and the News", 1936, the story of his life as a newsman. He knows politicians and how they employ the news for their plutocratic masters to mold public opinion in the interest of business and politics, "the most ruthless and unsportsmanlike business of all". He shows that even the best newspapers poison the news at the source or pollute it at the spigot. It will surprise many who know how venal and corrupt is the French press to have Irwin tell them that it has more freedom than the press of England. (7)

William Allen White, usually complacent at the control of the press, occasionally broke forth in condemnation of the way in which powerful plutocrats for profit prostitute the press. He declared, "Unless democracy is indignant at the encroachments of plutocracy, democracy cannot fight. When plutocracy destroys the sources of information which should make indignation, plutocracy has paralyzed democracy."

No nation is made up of a single people. Seldom is a political bound-

ary a natural one. To hold nations together there must be pressure from within and from without. Hatreds must be generated. Nationalistic propaganda accomplishes this. But we were too unconscious of it until the World War. Now we see clearly enough that the dictatorships of Germany and Italy are maintained by propaganda. (8)

OUR PROPAGANDA PABULUM

What propaganda can do in changing the attitude of millions of people, the World War demonstrated. The mental pabulum provided by propaganda bureaus may be doctored to create either admiration or hate. Little has been known or understood about the subject until very recently. Naturally propagandists don't like to have their methods exposed. They attempt to suppress the freedom of speech of those who would. Even up to the publication of Zechariah Chafee's "Freedom of Speech" there was little understanding of the vast sums that were being spent to suppress freedom of speech and to poison and distort the news by those who held or were seeking extraordinary privileges.

In 1933 when we reviewed F. E. Lumley's "The Propaganda Menace", it was almost the only book on the subject available. It lifted the veil. It revealed how much money was being spent by foreign countries in America to favor causes that would favor them against our own interests. Since then there have been numerous works published upon it by specialists in the art like Ivy Lee and E. L. Bernays, by journalists like Walter Lippmann, Silas Bent, Pearson and Allen, who know how the newspapers are used. Recently some books have been published that are extremely revealing. (9)

J. Duane Squires' "British Propaganda at Home and in the United States", 1935, is an academic study based almost wholly on publications of the British government secretly and surreptitiously put forth to deceive Americans. (10) Squires quotes from General Frank P. Crozier's "A Brass-Hat in No Man's Land" thus: "The propaganda departments and the popular press of the various countries alone enabled the war to be carried on so long".

How great a task was accomplished was explained by the French statesman Gabriel Hanotaux in the words he quotes of Robert Bacon. "In the United States there are at present perhaps 50,000 persons who feel that the nation should immediately intervene in the war on your side. But there are over 100,000,000 Americans who do not so think. Our duty is to reverse these figures so that the 50,000 may become 100,000,000."

How well that work was done a member of Parliament, Leif Jones, told in a speech in the British Parliament in 1918, comparing the merits of British propaganda in various countries: "America was perhaps best

done, and that was due to the fact that Sir Gilbert Parker, a former member of this House, was responsible for a great deal of correspondence to America." Most of us remember as true what William McAdoo, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury, wrote: "The British agents managed to make a large part of the American people believe that German soldiers had cut off the hands of Belgian children." (11)

"Fired by such notions about the behavior of the enemy and by others equally absurd", Squires adds, "the American people launched themselves into the war with an emotional hysteria that can only be understood by realizing the power of propaganda in generating common action by a nation under belligerent conditions."

"Propaganda and Promotional Activities", 1935, by Harold D. Lasswell, Ralph D. Casey, and Bruce L. Smith, is an annotated bibliography of 4,500 titles. Lasswell in a preliminary chapter, "The Study and Practice of Propaganda", distinguishes between education, which has to do with the transmission of skills and accepted attitudes, and propaganda, a method or process which strives to organize collective emotional attitudes. "Propaganda in the United States", he says, "is notable for its quantity and for the high degree of specialization that has arisen in connection with it". Government propaganda men, turned loose after the war, became specialists in publicity or public relations. At one time in 1928 there were no fewer than five thousand professional press agents in New York City, who adapted wartime methods to private and corporation interests. Public opinion since then has largely been formed through the activities of these professional men in advertising and public relations. There has been constant development in techniques adapted to the new means of communication not only through print but the radio, the movie, and the comics. (12)

THE TECHNIQUE OF PERSUASION

The arts of propaganda and the technique of military intelligence, greatly advanced during the World War, are now utilized in peace time propaganda, "conducted either directly by governments through official or semiofficial agencies, or by private organizations. As the word is commonly used in America, propaganda connotes deceit or disguise in motives or source, and these elements of dishonesty are especially present in nationalistic propaganda. Propaganda generally passes under the name of education." Usually it is unsuspected. "The Story of the New Propaganda" is thus explained by O. W. Riegel under the title "Mobilizing for Chaos", 1934. He tells of the techniques of control and distortion as used in England, in France, as well as in America.

"Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique", 1935, by Leonard W.

Doob, Yale psychologist, approaches the subject from the standpoint of a scientist, explaining what propaganda is and how it works in all its forms and applications. It constitutes a manual for the propagandist, showing him how to work and what to avoid. It is equally valuable to those who may wish to set up counter-propaganda or to detect propaganda and understand why they think as they do. All persuasion is propaganda. Some, dishonest and harmful, is difficult to detect.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the study of various types of propaganda and counter-propaganda: group propaganda for promoting the interest of special groups; commercial propaganda for increasing sales and profits; political propaganda for promoting ideas communistic, republican, or monopolistic; and war propaganda, in which munition makers and peace advocates play a part. Radio, newspapers, the movie, pamphlets, billboards, sandwich-men, sky writing, magazines, books, meetings, rumor, parades, ceremonies are all considered under "Vehicles of Propaganda". The essential thing is to recognize propaganda for what it is, from whence it emanates, and the purposes for which it is designed, and if it is for selfish, monopolistic, destructive purposes, to counteract it. The most effective way would be to reduce the stakes for which the gamblers play so that the measures they take to win would be less vicious.

DEFENSE AGAINST PROPAGANDA

"Propaganda is the only weapon against which we have not begun to create a defence." It remained for Charles W. Taussig to make this statement before the Department of Superintendence meeting in March, 1936. This is almost the first time the educators of America seem to have had the viciousness of propaganda brought to their consciousness.

Taussig advocated the introduction of "the study of the nature of propaganda into the curriculums of the elementary school, high school, and college. . . . Today, in many schools and colleges, they are teaching the synthesis of propaganda in courses on public relations and advertising, but, to the best of my knowledge, there are no courses in the analysis of propaganda. . . . What with certain types of public-relations counsel, news syndicates, and the radio, a lie travels infinitely faster today than it did a hundred years ago. Its effect is more immediate and, therefore, of greater harm to the contemporary generation. Much study has been given to the psychology of propaganda, and its subtlety frequently makes it proof against detection. I would not have you think that I would suppress propaganda or that all propaganda is lying and harmful. It is but the modern way of disseminating information and misinformation. I do maintain, however, that it is essential that our youth be taught to recognize it and to learn to assay it for its true worth." (13)

PREPARING THE VICTIM

We pay a million teachers and maintain schools at an annual expense to the tax payer of over three billions so that children may be kept free from propaganda of church, state or pressure groups and trained for democratic citizenship.

Education is supposed to supply us through the curriculum with the mental content, the information and ideas on which to base opinion and belief. We are supposed to provide our children with the knowledge they will need with which to face life. The effectiveness of teaching then will depend upon the proportion that retain the information so presented, the amount that sticks and the extent to which it leads to definite attitudes and action. The curriculum, made up of accumulated rubbish and rag-tail and bobtail ends of knowledge, has failed in its purpose. Instead of their rightful heritage we have fed the young on husks. Without genuine interests, without critical faculty, they fall easy victims to advertising writers and paid propagandists. (14)

Baldly stated, the creed upheld for the schools has been,—avoid controversial subjects in school, leave them for the adult and the community to settle. Lead the pupil to believe "whatever is, is right", that the status quo should not be questioned, that our government is a perfect democracy which functions as the text books have outlined, that our political wisdom is descended from the founding fathers, that we know no more about foreign affairs than is contained in Washington's Farewell Address.

Meantime, the pupil is being indoctrinated with propaganda, camouflaged, through the ideas presented by his teachers and through text books,—still more, outside the school, through newspapers and magazines, the movies and the radio. Against this he is left unwarned, wholly defenseless, an easy victim because live controversial issues in which the propagandist is interested were avoided in the school. It behooves us to understand propaganda as the most successful and most important form of education now being undertaken. (15)

DEAD AND FOSSIL PROPAGANDA

Propaganda is merely a means of making others believe or think what we want them to. If they are young and helpless we indoctrinate them. In the past most propaganda was sincere because it was then less worth while than it now is to pay people to prostitute themselves. Professional propagandists, publicity agents or public relations counselors are largely of our postwar world.

When we took our religion more seriously, when we believed it really necessary to make an effort to save other people from hell, most propa-

ganda was for that purpose. Anyone that holds a living faith and any organized religion that retains any vitality will do something to propagate it. The Church of England was once vital and its Society for the Propagation of the Gospel built many of our eighteenth century churches in New England. "Collegio di Propaganda Fide" is carved across the front of a 1622 building near the Piazza di Spagna in Rome. It still carries on though the Church of England's society is moribund. There is little Christian propaganda today outside a few evangelists, but Christian missions are maintained in the belief that we can put it over on the ancient civilizations of those whom we once called heathen. Children still drop pennies in the box at Sunday School for foreign missions.

Our minds are filled with beliefs and conceptions that were put over on our ancestors by propagandists of their day. Much of this we regard as a sacred body of tradition which still holds us in the power of the dead hand. This dead propaganda is preserved in our beliefs, our books, in the very words we use. Our language is filled with words and phrases in which are crystallized and preserved past prejudices. Words have color that arouse passions or irrational hates like 'red', 'yellow', 'white livered', 'hun', 'dog'. Then there are 'imposter-terms' as Albert Jay Nock explains in the *Atlantic*, Feb., 1936. Jeremy Bentham pointed out a century ago that words like 'honor', 'glory', 'dignity', are used "to extenuate flagitious political projects". 'Liberty' was a red word, an inflaming word at the time of the French Revolution. Now it serves the purpose of the Du Ponts. 'Democracy' was a new and dangerous term to the framers of our constitution, a term of opprobrium like 'bolshevism' today. Such words have become symbols, all powerful. The *Elementary School Journal* for February, 1936, for the first time in the educational world points out "the menace of symbolism".

Deep in our subconsciousness are 'fundamental truths' so 'sacred' we dare not analyze them. Much of this is priestly propaganda of the past, stratified deep in our subconsciousness ages ago by the tabus set up at that time. Then our minds are filled with other curious fossils which we call superstitions,—how prevalent among school children has been made shockingly clear by the investigation undertaken by Otis W. Caldwell and his assistants and published by Columbia University in 1932. It was found that after taking courses in science the same pupils because of development of the critical faculty showed a lower percentage of such beliefs.

But it is only in a few schools that this scientific attitude of the open mind and suspended judgment is cultivated. As has been shown by the work of Thorndike and his associates, to develop the scientific attitude in our pupils, we will have to give them opportunities for practice in generalizing and cultivating a critical attitude outside the laboratory.

STARVED INTELLECTS

The great tragedy is not that the wheat elevators are bursting while so many starve, it is that we are deprived of mental nutrition, fed on the husks of propaganda. Stores of knowledge and wisdom are denied us which we need for our mental health and the health of the race. Those starving for lack of physical food have the wit at least to form in queues for relief. But those starving for lack of mental food, unconscious of it, go about braying. And these are the men who occupy the important positions, who control, who think they are rugged individualists. Fed on newspaper and political bunk, deprived of their birthright, they are starved and wizened puppets. (16)

If we can keep the school curriculum to traditional subjects, if in our school process we can establish a distaste for books, so that there will be little danger of school and college graduates reading too widely, if in the school and college we can dull the keen edge of curiosity, if we can establish a feeling of hopelessness and frustration, if we can make the chief purpose of those who have been subjected to education one of merely passing the time, if we can make the chief interest of our graduates baseball, football, cards and games, then we ought to be able to stabilize the status quo, insure its continuance, prevent the majority of our citizens from entertaining new ideas, and establish in them a hatred for those who do, so that they will attach to them opprobrious labels,—radical, bolshevik, subversive. That will make the world safe for those who have, and keep contented or resigned those who have not. To make the world safe for plutocracy is the purpose of most modern propaganda.

NOTES

(1) Ideas that originate and die in the brain of the day-dreamer are his own private property,—something he owns because no one else has the power to seize it. How important such ideas may be to the world, the world will never know. Such ideas, however, successfully communicated to others have sometimes aroused emotion and physical action which may have turned the course of history. How much are your ideas your own? Did you receive them from others? Did you ever try to trace them back to their source? Most of them came from your mother or father. But where did they get their ideas? Some from the minister, the Bible, the Israelites, who in turn got theirs from the Chaldeans, the Egyptians.

In the little Greek city states Plato and others before him showed how to use ideas, 'the noble lie', in the political warfare for control. For the struggle for power, between the oligarchy of hereditary landowners and the rising artisan and merchant class was not always fought out with the sword. The Roman tradition of using ideas for political purposes, to control the people, with improvements works today. Wars are waged for ideas, religious, economic, world-saving, given us to make us fight for democracy, the four freedoms, or what not. But were such ends ever achieved by war?

(2) Twenty years brought us some consciousness of the sinister part propaganda lies played in our lives. This use of the word 'lie', as in the much quoted phrase 'history is a lie agreed upon', is a bit crude. When we first became conscious of the untruth of what we had been brought up on, taught to believe, it was natural enough that we should in indignation denounce it as a 'lie'. Max Nordau's "Conventional Lies of Our Civilization", published in the early eighties, was the first angry challenge that achieved popular appeal and wide circulation. "Edition followed edition. The publisher wrote daily reporting on the progress of the sales and also on the furious attacks by certain papers. . . . It was banned in Austria", which proved "wonderful publicity. . . . The Pope added his condemnation" and the book was publicly burned. "With the advent of Hitler, the book had the honour of being publicly burned again." There were "seven editions in seven months" and "100,000 copies sold". In the 59th edition in 1909 Nordau wrote, "Since this book came out . . . knowledge has spread and penetrated deep layers. Millions of souls have risen from amid the shadows of primitive superstition to the clearness of the scientific temper." This is from "Max Nordau: A Biography, by his wife and daughter, Anna and Maxa, published by the Nordau Committee, N. Y. C., 1943.

(3) Quincy Howe as editor of the *Living Age* from 1929 to 1935 continued its century-old policy of reprinting articles from foreign periodicals. He sought out documents revealing the collusion of the armament makers of France and Germany during the past war, which *Fortune* later exploited in the influential article "Arms and the Men", March, 1934, out of which grew Nye's investigation of the munitions business. In the *Congressional Record*, Dec. 19, 1944, Senator Nye reviewing his twenty years in the Senate tells of the results of the investigation published in forty-eight volumes, the revelations of which stand unrefuted and which inspired the people, the President, and even the American Legion to espouse 'conscription of wealth', 'taking the profits out of war', and to pass the neutrality laws. He tells how the President took over credit for all this and then how by 'small decisions of each day', 'cash and carry', 'on the barrelhead', 'lift the embargo', 'short of war', we were gradually brought into convoying and shooting, while at the same time we were making money out of supplying both Germany and Japan with war equipment. This was done in the 'national interest', which means economic interest of those in control, and involved the intrigue of State Department officials, referred to as diplomacy, which involves secrecy and deceit. It "is done with mirrors", "to keep the suckers happy", "believing in fairy tales", as in the Dumbarton hoax (cf Edith Wynner, *Common Sense*, Dec., 1944).

Hilton Howell Railey in his autobiography "Touched With Madness", now out of print, referred to himself as "Fortune's Fool" and told how he was sent to Europe by Henry Luce for further investigations, gathered hundreds of pounds of documentation. These investigations were suddenly stopped. Railey asked Luce, "What about Bracken's claim that Luce agreed he could bluepencil everything British that appeared" in *Time* and *Fortune*. Brendan Bracken at that time was London correspondent for *Fortune*, is now the British Minister of Information and Churchill's right hand man. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 49, 158)

In "England Expects Every American to Do His Duty", 1937, Quincy Howe reminds us, "The White House did not lift a finger to help. . . . From the outset the British Government and the Conservative British Press ridiculed the work of Senator Nye." When "the investigators prepared to study Morgan's files . . . Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British ambassador to Washington, swung into action. On

April 16, 1935, he called on Secretary Hull to express concern." The same day Baldwin explained to the House of Commons that the ambassador had expressed "the danger of reviving a long-since obsolete controversy which might have undesirable effect on the present international situation". The next day "President Roosevelt laid a restraining hand on the Senate munitions investigators to avoid embarrassing Great Britain".

The Beards in "America in Midpassage", 1939, summarize how the Nye committee's investigations were restricted by the State Department "to protect the sensibilities of the powers associated with the United States in the world war by withholding certain transactions from public scrutiny" (p 402).

In England there arose a great clamor for a similar investigation. Finally granted, it was closely restricted so as to disclose no state secrets. Lord Robert Cecil explained, "There is a very sinister feature to all the disarmament discussion. I refer to the tremendous power wielded against all the proposals by armament firms. . . . We must aim at getting rid of this immense instrument in the maintenance of suspicion." This 'sinister feature' is explained by Emile Gauvreau in "The Wild Blue Yonder", Dutton, 1944, which the author says has been semi-suppressed (*In Fact*, Dec. 4, Dec. 11, 1944). He tells how the machinations of Zaharoff (Vickers) in America, England, on the Continent wrecked our \$1,500,000,000 airplane program in World War I, as was disclosed by H. L. Scaife (*Congressional Record*, Apr. 11, 1922).

(4) In an extended two-column review of this 20th edition in the *Springfield Republican*, May 30, 1936, the literary editor, Edward N. Jenckes, Jr., a distinguished Harvard graduate, challenged these statements. In reply I wrote him: "I am glad I brought news to a news man. If you are interested in verifying this news, let me refer you to the address of Representative Oscar Callaway of Texas, February 9, 1917, in the *Congressional Record*, permanent edition, pp 2947-2949, and also the following remarks made the same day by Representative J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania, and later referred to by Mr. Moore February 13 and 15, 1917, in the *Congressional Record*, permanent edition, pp 3215-3217 and 3359-3360. Briefly, Mr. Callaway stated:

"In March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States. These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest newspapers. The 25 newspapers were agreed upon—emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers. This contract is in existence at the present time, and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country being filled with all sorts of preparedness arguments and misrepresentations as to the present condition of the United States Army and Navy, and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.' "

In the 1940 Handbook, p 170, reference was made to how the British took over control of the American press with Lord Northcliffe's 'social visit' to America in 1917. Early in 1939 the business manager of the London *Times*, C. S. Kent, came to this country for 'strictly business', explaining his visits to the chief newspaper offices as 'merely social'. Shortly after, the headlines and lead paragraphs of papers all over the country took on a more pro-war tone. Lord Beaverbrook arrived in New York, September 30, 1939, explaining that he was here on personal business. In the next few weeks millions of Americans became convinced that war was inevitable, that we should have to go in.

(5) In "The Press and World Affairs", 1937, Robert W. Desmond, long time foreign correspondent, tells us, "Almost all that any person knows about public affairs is gleaned from newspapers. It is equally certain that what any person knows, or thinks he knows, determines how he behaves. His opinion and his behavior, multiplied by the opinions and behaviors of all those of his fellow-men, who are similarly influenced, determines the history of the world." (22nd ed, 1938, p 91)

(6) "A newspaper is a private enterprise, owing nothing whatever to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefore 'affected' with no public interest. . . . Editors take their policy from their employers. . . . But for ridiculously obvious reasons, there are many newspaper owners willing enough to encourage the public in the delusion that it is the editor of a newspaper who dictates the selection of news and the expression of opinion." The preceding, from *The Wall Street Journal* in January 25, 1925, is equally true now. The dishonest distortion of the news on Russia printed in the *New York Times*, investigated and reported on by Walter Lippmann in the *New Republic* in the early twenties, resulted in a change of policy and the appointment of Walter Duranty to represent the *Times* in Russia. Lippmann, then a socialist, has since won the ear of 'business' and 'industry',—as was explained in the 1938 edition of the Handbook.

"Comparatively few papers give significant accounts of our basic economic conflicts", 86.6% of Washington correspondents report, according to Leo C. Rosten in "The Washington Correspondents", 1937. Kent Cooper of the Associated Press has made it obvious how in past time international news has been controlled by various press agencies. Newspapers have become effective organs for distorting and suppressing news and misinforming the public. The *Congressional Record* contains any quantity of news which is never permitted to get to the people through the press. Congressional investigations and hearings produce sensational news, little of which reaches the newspapers. The fifty-seven volumes of the Federal Trade Commission's reports on the inquiry into the utilities showed how millions of dollars were spent to keep out of the schools important information and to get into the schools misinformation useful to the maintenance of high rates charged by the utilities. But this, although it would have been news, was not much permitted in the press.

In "What Makes Lives", a reprint from the 1940 edition, newspaper propaganda was further dealt with. The two most important books reviewed were "Propaganda in the Next War", 1938, by Captain Sidney Rogerson, formerly of the British Foreign Office, and "Propaganda for War", 1939, by H. C. Peterson of the University of Oklahoma. Rogerson's book has since been suppressed, and Peterson's not encouraged (Cf "Getting U S Into War", index).

(7) Clemenceau after the war wrote, "What angers me about France is that my whole life I have fought for what is called freedom of the press, freedom of speech and so forth. Now it seems to me that all these liberties culminate in the worst

sort of slavery, which is degeneration. Before giving the French their liberty it would have been wiser to teach them what liberty is and how to use it properly. I have come to feel that the preparation was not sufficient." (Geoffrey Brunn, "Clemenceau", 1943, p 203)

(8) Dr. Mark A. May, Director of the Yale Institute of Human Relations, in his "Social Psychology of War and Peace", 1943, deals exhaustively with the subject of how hate is promoted (cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 37-8). Dr. May recognizes that though the leaders or elite are a small group, "having control of the political, economic, and social machinery of the nation as well as the instruments and channels of communication, and perhaps also to some degree the agencies of education, they can manipulate public opinion and 'work up' a war spirit whenever it suits their purposes. . . . In a national crisis hatred is highly susceptible to quick and easy mobilization."

"Propaganda and the Democratic State" is dealt with analytically and exhaustively by Dr. W. B. Pillsbury, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, in the *Scientific Monthly*, June, 1943. "Mass beliefs are the most striking phenomena in modern civilization. . . . Hate was developed in the mass of opinion, against the established order. In Russia the theoretical object of the hatred was the industrial order. . . . In Italy the object of the revolt was the socialist worker domination of industry. . . . In Germany the object of hate was the Versailles treaty. . . . In each country, the movement gave power to a leader. In each instance the leader when in power forgot his beneficent intention and threw over all signs of a democratic control in politics. In varying degrees he took charge of the economic life of the community, expropriating many of the industries from former owners. . . . The methods by which a single man can dominate a nation offer a problem of the greatest interest. . . . Domination of a nation by a single individual, even if he at first has the best of intentions, ultimately leads to the destruction of freedom. . . . The influence of the written word in press and in books and in recent years the influence of the radio is equally important. The use of words in moving mass opinion is propaganda. . . . The basis for the control of a social group must begin by developing axioms of what is right and wrong. . . . When these principles or axioms are established by repetition in word and deed, they become the foundation for the work of the orator."

Pope Pius XII in his message entitled "The Sixth War Christmas", Dec 24, 1944, shows awareness and warns us that the people, "taught by bitter experience, are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of dictatorial power that cannot be censured or touched, and call for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens". He bewails that "Equality degenerates to a mechanical level, a colorless uniformity: the sense of true honor, of personal activity, of respect for tradition, of dignity—in a word all that gives life its worth—gradually fades away and disappears. And the only survivors are, on the one hand, the victims deluded by the specious mirage of democracy, naively taken for the genuine spirit of democracy with its liberty and equality; and on the other the more or less numerous exploiters who have known how to use the power of money and of organization, in order to secure a privileged position above the others, and have gained power."

(9) Japan gave us the first exhibition in America of the power of propaganda at Portsmouth when they put it over on Roosevelt I and the Russians. We were new to it then. Even at the time of World War I, Americans were not generally aware of how many millions were being spent to poison their minds.

It was some years after the War before German scholars began to study the methods by which the British had so successfully put it over. Sidney Fay, who had specialized in German history and was then at Smith College, was aware of the German revelations and under the encouragement of President Neilson published articles revealing that the sole guilt did not lie with Germany, and eventually in 1930 his two-volume "The Origins of the World War", which he found to be due to "secret alliances", "militarism", "nationalism", "economic imperialism", and "the newspaper press". In 1928 Harold D. Lasswell explained "Propaganda Technique in the World War".

World War II has seen great extension and refinement of all the arts of controlled communication. The "Improved Techniques" of this war are considered in "What Makes Lives", pp 151-64. But as propaganda is valueless when exposed, subsidized academic professors and historians have refused to see it. For example, at Harvard in the late thirties while undergraduates and the student magazines were railing against the propaganda for war, the scared faculty almost uniformly denied that there was any propaganda or any need for it. To bolster their position, many of them reversed themselves on their attitude of a few years before on World War I. Samuel Eliot Morison at Lawrenceville in May, 1942, told the students, "With a contemptible self-pity we declared we had been duped into the war by British propaganda and Wall Street slickers" ("Men of Tomorrow", 1942). Taking such a position served the purposes of the administration and brought advancement and preferment to those who could bring themselves to adopt it. For more on the attitude of the scared professors facing 'the big bad wolf of propaganda', see "War and Education", pp 353ff, and "What Makes Lives", pp 188-9.

(10) C. F. G. Masterman's widow, in her recent biography of her husband, emphasizes the secrecy with which his activities (Wellington House) were conducted. "So well was this secrecy achieved and maintained that of all the books on propaganda that I had read for the purpose of this memoir only Mr. Duane Squires in his Harvard Essay has more than a passing reference to Masterman." (Cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 43-4)

(11) The instruments, methods and technique of British propaganda in America both incident to the first World War and in more recent years are dealt with in "What Makes Lives", 1940, pp 141-64; "Getting U S Into War", 1941, pp 41-8, 85-6, 97-151, 227, 316; "War and Education", 1943, pp 351-3, 440.

(12) When the United States got into the war, we set up our own propaganda machine known as the Creel Bureau. How completely this deceived and fooled our own people during the war is brought out in "Words That Won The War", 1939. The authors, Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, dug into the dusty archives of the Bureau to disclose the inner workings and underhand methods that were secretly used. (24th ed, 1940, p 148) (Cf also "Getting U S Into War", 1941 p 162).

(13) "Propaganda Analysis", a publication particularly for high schools, was instituted by Clyde Miller of Teachers College to supply this deficiency. Of course it was suspended with the outbreak of the war. For methods of "Countering Propaganda" see pp 175-80 of "What Makes Lives".

(14) "The American Public Mind", 1930, by Peter Odegard, is a running commentary on the mentality of the American masses presented statistically in terms of measurement. The probability of any political action is measured by the author in dollars, pounds and inches. Here is a study of how the public mind is formed, what makes us "think" as we do. Sixty-five to eighty per cent of our voters vote

the same party ticket as their fathers; the district leader in any one of 150,000 precincts has only to secure sixty-five votes in the primaries to control; the weight of a politician increases with the importance of his office. Whether the northeastern states go Republican or Democratic depends on whether there is more or less than forty-three inches of rainfall that season. With \$2,000,000 Bruce Barton offers to "sell" the Kellogg Treaty to the American people. Family life is confined to a few rooms. Education is a gigantic public charity. School principals snoop into the private and personal affairs of a woman applicant so that she must confess to be a nincompoop or a hypocrite. The author doubts if education can really help men to think and apply their intelligence to social problems. (15th ed, 1931, pp 74-5)

(15) By 1940 there was an awakening to the fact that propaganda bureaus were being increased and going into action once more. In "What Makes Lives" some seventy pages were devoted to phases of this subject. A few paragraphs are quoted:

Elihu Root explained as early as 1922 that an autocrat could go to war for a sinister purpose, but not a people unless they were fooled. "While there is no human way to prevent a king from having a bad heart, there is a human way to prevent a people from having an erroneous opinion. That way is to furnish the whole people, as a part of their ordinary education, with correct information about their relations to other peoples . . . about what has happened and is happening in international affairs . . . so that the people themselves will have the means to test misinformation and appeals to prejudice and passion based upon error."

John Foster Dulles, senior member of America's largest law firm, counsel to the American Peace Commission at Versailles, member of the Reparations Commission, stated before the National Economic Club (*Consensus*, May, 1939), "If our policy were based upon a genuine understanding of the causes of the present crisis and was intelligently designed to achieve a world order whereby recurrent crises might hereafter be avoided", demand for action might be justified. "Unfortunately, this prerequisite to affirmative action seems . . . to be non-existent. . . . The goal of our policy seems to be to regain the power to make over again the same mistakes. . . . Our own ideas appear to have reverted to those of post-war France and England. . . . We talk only in terms of 'sanctity of treaties', 'law and order' and 'resisting aggression' ". We have become "the principal exponent of the status quo philosophy. . . . The emotions of our people are deliberately stimulated so that they may blindly follow in this way."

Dulles as foreign policy adviser to his protege, Thomas Dewey, in 1944 received much publicity (cf *Current Biography*, Aug., 1944, *Saturday Evening Post*, Sept. 9 and 16, 1944). His great book "War, Peace and Change", 1939, stands out as the best antidote to our present poisoning. He declared, "We need to develop in world affairs a feeling that change is not, per se, something abnormal and strange and to be avoided except as a matter of dire necessity. Rather we should look upon change . . . as normal." The pith of his thesis was that current wars are for the most part due to resistance to normal and inevitable change.

(16) "An insufficiently exercised brain . . . does not merely shrivel and become weak, but . . . under the conditioning of vicious propaganda and the stimuli of 'mob psychology' energizes its possessor to inhuman types of behavior of which lower animals are incapable." (Hooton, "Twilight of Man", p 294)

OUR MENTAL ATTITUDES

New attitudes and varying types of mind, which would have been suppressed as heretical in an earlier static society, make their appearance when changing conditions and improved communications make adjustments possible.

The culture of a people, as anthropologists see it, is the total of their behavior or reaction to their environment. It depends upon their beliefs, ideas. In any isolated group, codes of morality and behavior are fixed and unchanging. It is only when new influences are brought to bear, that new understandings come and varied attitudes of mind are permitted.

Nowhere has the human species been subject to so many new influences as in the great continental stretches of Eurasia. In western Europe twenty-five thousand years ago appeared the greatest mutation in the genus Homo. (1) From Cro-Magnon man we have inherited a brain as yet but little used, but which with changing influences has prevented any long continued static condition such as has prevailed in Australia for a hundred thousand years. Among these Eurasiatic and western peoples there has been more variation in type of mind and consequently more variation in resulting types of civilization than elsewhere on the earth. This resourceful adaptability is the heritage of which we are proudest.

THE CONSERVATIVE MIND

It is natural that there should appear also reversion to more ancient and static types of mind, conservative types to which all others seem erratic and dangerous. But conservatism gets us nowhere. We want more, more than we have had, and we have always been willing to risk to get it. While there is vitality in the race, the progressive and aggressive types of mind will predominate. History is filled with the stories of races in which the conservative type predominated, like the Tasmanians and Australians. They become extinct when brought in contact with the aggressive, acquisitive, progressive types. And intellectual advancement has always been due to the questing, sceptical mind.

With all these panaceas, with the complete blue prints to insure the future of humanity, offered by fanatical advocates, no wonder so many are palsied with panic and don't want to move. Why should one change anything without good reason? The conservative mind, lacking imagination, fails to feel the force of new ideas. Entrenched behind principles, deductions from the past, it waits for the impetus of responsible leadership. It tries to play safe. In the political field the conservative mind, when it has no platform, dwells on the candidate, and when it has no

candidate, on the platform, and when it has neither reverts to the constitution. It loves slogans and distorts them to its purposes.

Too often the honest conservative mind is imposed upon by the aggressive mind which must masquerade as conservative. Greedy, avaricious, intent on achieving unsocial ends, it cannot operate under its own slogans.

The conservatives, too, are likely to be handicapped by the acquisitive minds that flock under their standards. Many of them are timorous and anything but conservative. The story of one such is told in "Mellon's Millions". Russell Sage and Hetty Green were acquisitive but not aggressive nor conservative, though they consorted with the latter. Frederick Lewis Allen in his financial history of the country, "The Lords of Creation", gives us insight into minds of this type. Almost any of these might have been self respecting, useful citizens if they hadn't been tempted by the apple,—if so many luscious plums had not been left ungarded.

THE COMPROMISING MIND

When such heterogeneous minds are forced to consort to protect themselves and their interests against those whose social conscience and constructive minds demand a greater degree of social justice, they adopt incongruous slogans and standards like the Du Ponts' 'Liberty League'.

For tired business men Walter Lippmann in "Interpretations, 1933-1935", endeavors to interpret with some breadth and understanding international affairs and the New Deal. He stimulates mild cerebration on their part on subjects where they usually accept slogans or shibboleths. In his youth a brilliant radical, then successively editor of the *New Republic* and the *New York World* gradually he has been broken in, but is not yet a trained seal. As his audience widens, as an increasing number of business men come to hang upon his words, he is as much influenced by them as they by him and is increasingly becoming what we call conservative, that is, influenced by prejudices and satisfied with symbols in place of cerebration. Keeping in the middle of the road, he tells those on the 'right' what those on the 'left' want and why they won't get it, to the disgust of the 'left'; but he warns the 'right', against their mild protest, that they must yield something,—the perfect type of compromising mind.

THE OPEN MIND

All the trouble in the world has come from the open mind. The shut mind seems safer. If your mind is open, new ideas come to it which result in new slants. You cast off old bonds. Old mores are weakened.

Without the open mind there would be no trouble, no changing world. But if the world is changing, an open mind is your only salvation. If you have a shut mind you are left hopelessly behind. Of course, if you live in

a sheltered cove, away from the main currents, you may not know things are changing. The *Ornithorhynchus* probably doesn't know anything has happened in the last million years. And there are aristocrats like the *Lingula* on the sea floor still more behind the times. But the members of a species that has not passed its prime, of a group that has anything ahead, must keep their eyes peeled, their minds open.

The open mind not only seeks information but it never accepts anything as final. It continues to test and finds most false. Authority and tradition are found as interesting under scrutiny as moss or lichen and quite as complex in their origin and structure.

Such an open mind is that of Eric T. Bell. His "The Search for Truth", 1934, is an exciting story told with humor and wit. Thought for him is a tool for use, its work for mankind never done. By continuing to use it one discovers a humorous absurdity in most beliefs that have been devoutly held as true for thousands of years. The search for truth flowered early among the Egyptians and Greeks, was then moribund for long periods, "Bogged", "Paralyzed and Petrified". As these chapter titles indicate there is nothing academic or stereotyped about Bell's thought or expression. Humorous, even comic, is the way man as he portrays him in his search for truth, runs up blind alleys, buries his head in the sand. (2)

As a mathematician he is particularly interested in exposing the absurdity of 'mathematical truths' that have been proved or accepted as axioms for thousands of years. How he roasts Euclid, and the schools for still accepting and teaching outmoded mathematics, and for the absurdity of their claims that mathematics is valuable discipline. (3) He waxes enthusiastic over those axiom challengers and truth hunters, Lobatchewsky and Lucasiewicz. "The answer given by those two Poles has relegated Pilate's question to the category of meaningless noises." Evidently this man Bell has gone dotty or the Mathematical Association of America chose a fool for president,—or else there is something amiss in the schools and universities.

THE QUESTIONING MIND

The questioning mind, nosing around among fundamentals, revered traditions, and settled questions, is an uncomfortable thing to those who feel they are living in the best possible world. Once it is dead, it is easy to admire and revere the questioning mind,—when it, too, has become a tradition. Socrates stirred up an awful mess in Athens. He outraged respectable opinion and corrupted youth, getting them by the ears. (4) Vahlen made himself objectionable in his respectable academic groups, which felt it obligatory to maintain a socio-economic decorum that would not discourage contributions from 'those who had', however they may have

gotten it. So to him, too, was administered the cup of hemlock. Not fatal, it was repeated.

The economic social scheme of things with its resultants Veblen looked upon with the detachment and scientific curiosity of an anthropologist studying the customs of some cannibal tribe. With almost naïveté he found significance in the common-place which respectability demanded should be overlooked. His was not a seminal mind like Pareto's. He gave rise to no new ideas or system of thought. He was not a mere bubble pricker like Shaw. (5) Veblen's significance lies in his opening our eyes to what we had not seen. He uses ordinary words and phrases in a way to give them ironic significance, to cut deep into our former complacent stream of consciousness which we had thought was thought. Under his analysis "leisure class" underwent such a transformation as the war brought to "propaganda". Innocuous and admirable before, both words now carry a sinister connotation.

In "Thorstein Veblen and His America", 1935, Joseph Dorfman has given us a picture of the man against the background of the social and economic complex of the time, which seems stupid and chaotic as we look back upon it. He shows Veblen as a great influence in pointing out that our human ideas lag behind our economic possibilities, that men in an age of technology retain the medieval mind. Veblen's tortured and difficult style saved him from a bitterer persecution.

"What Veblen Taught", 1936, is a selection of some of his more significant writings, with an introductory biographical essay by Wesley C. Mitchell. Here is all of Veblen's ironic humor. What could be more devastating than "The pervading principle and abiding test of good breeding is the requirement of a substantial and patent waste of time"? Phrases at which we once gagged have become part of our everyday language. None before him had seen the significance of "conspicuous waste", "absentee ownership", "vested interests", "leisure class", "invidious distinction". (6)

THE SCEPTICAL MIND

So it is only by doubting the completeness of the truth one has at present that it is possible to arrive at new truths. Creative scepticism not only brings one to new discoveries, but intolerance withers in its presence. "Much of the misery that men inflict on one another is because of their feeling so certain they know things and that the other fellow does not. . . . Intolerance is man's worst inhumanity to man." In "Creative Sceptics: In Defense of the Liberal Temper", 1934, T. V. Smith in an easy conversational way blithely leads the reader on into all kinds of mental traps, which bring him to doubt the things he has been taught to accept and

revere. We follow the adventurous doubts of the great creative sceptics, —St. Anselm who through his very scepticism proved God to exist, Descartes, Spinoza, Hume, Schopenhauer, up to our fellow Americans, William Pepperell Montague and Mr. Justice Holmes who doubted his way through to democracy. Smith leaves us in embarrassment defending the rags and tatters of our beliefs we once thought royal raiment. This "liberal temper" is our direct inheritance from the Greek questing mind, which holds no tradition so sacred that it may not be questioned.

THE LIBERAL MIND

In times of prosperity and advance we gain confidence, we come to believe in progress, we are more tolerant and allow more freedom to the other fellow, we even stand for free speech and the liberal attitude. The liberal attitude of mind is the normal one for growing, progressing humans, but in times of panic, when violent change threatens because the smooth flow of things has been dammed by monopoly and privilege, the same mind loses confidence. It becomes intolerant and looks for panaceas and saviors. It is only the strong and true, the bold and great, the courageous, who at such a time can stand for slow change tested step by step.

John Dewey is such a one, and in his "Liberalism and Social Action", 1935, his concern is to vindicate the liberal principles of social action today. The ends of liberalism, equal security of all men in their lives, liberties, and happiness, are the same as they have always been, but the means of arriving there must be changed. Liberalism "must now become radical", Dewey says. "Earlier liberalism regarded the separate and competing economic action of individuals as the means to social well-being as the end. We must reverse the perspective and see that socialized economy is the means of free individual development as the end." He comes to the conclusion that actual liberty is to be achieved, not by laissez-faire, but only by a positive program of government action and social planning. Social progress is only possible by cooperative intelligence, followed up in action. The method of intelligence,—bringing together, confronting, and testing all possible alternatives, as in scientific procedure,—is the course that intelligent social action must follow.

Dewey's is the spirit of pioneering, of discovering, fronting,—pure hundred per cent Americanism. Applied to this wilderness of our social life, this desert of political economy, this jungle of monopolistic greed, this swamp of plutocratic corruption, it may transform it into an ordered, fertile, and blossoming landscape.

It seems unfortunate to label such a sane logical attitude, to put it among the 'isms'. It is so simple. The only way to go forward and avoid disaster is with your eyes open. But our eyes open only gradually. We

have been a long time getting them partly open, and we have a long way ahead before we can see everything clearly. It is no time for 'isms'.

THE SEMINAL MIND

Never again will the people of the world and their doings, historic and current, seem the same to one who has read and re-read Pareto. Knowledge of him has been confined until recently to a little cult who read his discursive treatise in the original Italian or the French translation. But his influence has made itself felt from two centers. At Harvard L. J. Henderson for years maintained a Pareto seminar and published a brief treatise. Two of his pupils, George C. Homans and Charles P. Curtis, Jr., in "An Introduction to Pareto: His Sociology", 1934, present a little superciliously to the ordinary intelligentsia what they are not supposed to understand. At Columbia Arthur Livingston, with the aid and cooperation of Andrew Bongiorno and James Harvey Rogers, worked for more than a decade on a complete translation of Pareto's "The Mind and Society", 1935, in four volumes, so fully documented and with erudite and discursive footnotes, as to make delightful browsing. One sees anew the familiar events of recent or ancient history, refocused with precision and interpreted by a seminal mind. A Gargantuan personality, a sardonic humor, a satiric satisfaction is apparent as Pareto reviews the antics of his fellow Europeans during the past two thousand years. An old billy goat of a man, he lived and played and fooled and made fun of all the great bluffs of history, and for amusement went about daily exploding the toy balloons that people had blown and cherished.

With all his Aristophanic laughter and contempt for fate and tragedy, with all his robustness in the face of the petty foibles of his fellow simians, with all his Rabelaisian humor at the sillinesses of men about him, he is occasionally moved to indignation, never more than at the absurdities and persecutions which come out of the sex religion which dominates the western mind and is at its worst among the Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, and their American offshoots. Pareto is worth reading merely for his burning, scathing diatribes against the absurd jealousies of men. Watch him strip the tawdry robes of morality from the nasty figures they conceal.

In answering the question "What is the best form of government?", he says: "We need not linger on the fiction of 'popular representation'—poppycock grinds no flour. Let us go on and see what substance underlies the various forms of power in the governing classes. In absolute governments a sovereign occupies the stage alone. In so called democratic governments it is the parliament. But behind the scenes in both cases there are always people who play a very important role in actual government.

King Demos, good soul, thinks he is following his own devices. In reality he is following the lead of his rulers."

One need not take too seriously or become too deeply involved in the elaborate classifications of behavior or the strange terminology that he uses. The great thing is that he has classified them and named them. The next man should do a better job. Some reviewers, lost in his abstract classifications and abstruse terminology, miss the sheer intellectual enjoyment of this great seminal mind. Others, humanitarian minded, cannot stand for his strictly scientific attitude.

In his endeavor to build a scientific sociology he studies the structure of our society which has resulted from the activities of humans in thought and action. All these fall into three classes. The purely rational or logical thought or role is limited to a very few men when they are engaged in scientific or technical activities. The activities of even scientists outside their laboratories are, like those of other humans, unscientific. Witness the philosophies of Jeans, Millikan, the esoteric longings of Lodge.

All other activities of men through historic time and today are irrational, 'non-logical' he calls them. These 'non-logical' activities which include so called thought and reasoning fall into two classes, (1) 'residues', the instincts and emotions that remain after the (2) 'derivations' are deducted. These 'derivations' are the rationalizations, the sentiments derived from instincts and emotions, which take the form of beliefs, explanations, dogmas, with which we attempt to justify our 'residues',—real 'reason'. Putting it more simply, we have irrational instincts and emotions as a result of which we formulate beliefs and dogmas. Reason is the process whereby we attempt to justify the truths we hold dear which are not true. Man is a reasoning animal who enjoys ratiocination, or chewing the rag, in an attempt to justify his beliefs. (7)

SYMBOLS AND SLOGANS

There were foreshadowings of such an understanding of man and society in the writings of others, more particularly in the much misunderstood Machiavelli, to whom Pareto pays high tribute. There had been a reaction against the eighteenth century 'age of reason' and the view that man's acts were rational. But it remained for Pareto to show that our lives, our beliefs, our institutions, political and religious, are a fantasy in which the parts we play so seriously are make-believe. Pareto's acute mind sees through the sham. His seminal thought has already influenced many and begotten a brood of young brain giants.

One of them, Thurman W. Arnold, in his "Symbols of Government", 1935, has produced a fundamental book exposing the insecure and unbiological foundations upon which our institutions rest. His understand-

ing of the behavior of human beings is as searching as that of Pareto. He looks upon his fellow creatures as masquerading, as playing a part, deceiving themselves. (8)

"Most of man's behavior is symbolic of the various characters which he assumes. This is true not only of his behavior as a warrior or a priest, but extends even to such practical concerns as eating and drinking, with their little rituals of highly decorated tables and service. The words, ceremonies, theories, and principles and other symbols which man uses make him believe in the reality of his dreams and thus give purpose to his life. . . . Ordinarily these ceremonies and theories are collected and studied, not as symbols but as the fundamental principles of the separate sciences of law, economics, political theory, ethics, and theology. In this book we propose to examine law and economics, not as collections of truths, but as symbolic thinking and conduct which condition the behavior of men in groups. . . . The history of these symbols of government is a succession of romantic but unnecessary sacrifices of human life or comfort in their honor. Sometimes men die for their ideals of things as they ought to be rather than tarnish those ideals by practical compromise with things as they are."

The science of government is in the same stage today as the science of medicine in the time of the Egyptians, he maintains. We still look to Washington's Farewell Address for "wisdom when cures for social ills are sought", but we do not rely on "the methods of Washington's physician". Our social institutions have not advanced, because the modern methods of science, of experimentation, could not be applied to things we held sacred and unchangeable. Expensive corporation lawyers warn us that government must not be experimented with, that the decrees and the ways of the past are sacred. "Legal and economic thinkers can therefore never discover new techniques in government, because they cannot look at the world as it is without a shudder. A physician who maintains an attitude of horror and disapproval every time he enters a sick room would soon be compelled to retreat to some quiet place where he could philosophize on illness in the abstract."

This denial of the fundamental biological right of every living thing to trial and error is useless. The suppression of our simian heritage, our normal desire to investigate, says Arnold, "stops experimentation. It succeeds in arresting discoveries. It successfully delayed the physical and medical sciences for hundreds of years. It is today equally successful in delaying the techniques of social organization." Had Louis XIV, to cure his boil, not patronized the despised barber surgeon, medicine might still be in the same state as government, our physical selves as badly off as our economic selves. Read the story as Arnold tells it. He proceeds to put government institutions on the dissecting table and to disclose their social

anatomy. As an operating surgeon he is as detached as Machiavelli.

In "Economics and the Law" he contrasts an amoral thing, economics, with a moral thing which came originally from God. Economics has developed since the merchant class demanded its place in the sun. "In the Middle Ages the temporal world needed no dialectic explanation." When God ruled all things there could be no economics. This was the economics of God. "The fundamental laws of economics were invented to prove that the greatest good to the world comes from the unimpeded competitive activities of enlightened greed. . . . That theory today supplements the law as one of our most important symbols of government."

Mr. Arnold assures us that his efforts will be ineffective, for "the keenest objective observations about government in the past have been spoken by satirists and humorists and instantly recognized by the mass of people who laughed with them. Certainly there are no new ideas about government in this book which were not familiar to Rabelais, or to Swift, or to the countless others that have startled the respectable people into sudden flashes of understanding of the kind of a world they were actually living in, only the ideas disappear as the laugh dies away." (9).

Words, words, hollow slogans, outworn shibboleths have been man's pitfalls, as Korzybski made clear in his "Science and Sanity". When government, social and economic systems rest upon such hollow, crumbling shells, when the food and well being of whole populations is dependent on them, disaster is imminent. (10)

WORDS AND THINGS

Word and thought, the name and the thing, language and brain have developed together in the later history of the simians, anthropologists and philologists unite in telling us. Similar coordination between hand and eye in the primitive, tree-living tarsier, the zoologists tell us, brought the brain along in its evolution, preparing the way for the simian. Words still have their influence on thought as they always have. (11)

"The Meaning of Meaning", by Charles Kay Ogden and Ivor Armstrong Richards, 1930, deals with "the study of the influence of language upon thought". Our common thoughts can be expressed by a vocabulary of eight hundred words, as Ogden has shown in his "Basic English". The meaning and theory of poetry has been the theme of Richards. The confusion of the ordinary good citizen amid his symbols extends even to the philosopher and the linguist in their attempts to express meanings through the mazes of language. The two authors have attempted to solve some of the difficulties of interpreting thought in terms of language symbols. To illustrate the importance of word symbols in the actions and history of mankind, they quote the famed amoeba fable:

" 'Realize thyself, Amoeba dear', said Will: and Amoeba realized herself, and there was no Small Change but many Checks on the Bank wherein the wild Time grew and grew and grew. And in the latter days Homo appeared. How, he knew not; and Homo called the change Progress, and the How he called God . . . for speech was ever a Comforter. And when Homo came to study the parts of speech, he wove himself a noose of Words. And he hearkened to himself, and bowed his head and made abstractions, hypostatizing and glorifying. Thus arose Church and State and Strife upon the Earth; for oftentimes Homo caused Hominem to die for Abstractions hypostatized and glorified: and the children did after the manner of their fathers, for so had they been taught. And last of all Homo began also to eat his words."

"In the beginning was the Word . . . and the Word was God." Once we bowed down to idols made of clay or mud. Now our idols are mere words, slogans, symbols. We are ruled by symbols, fasces, swastika, hammer and sickle, in their respective localities. There are older and more sacred symbols on which have long rested our systems of government, jurisprudence, economics. Religion and education have served largely to preserve the sanctity of these symbols. The significance of this in our social system we are only just beginning to understand through Pareto, Ogden, Arnold.

"The world is nothing but babling and words", wrote Montaigne centuries ago. "We are kept foure or five yeares learning to understand bare words, and to joine them into clauses, then as long in proportioning a great bodie extended into foure or five parts; and five more at least ere we can succintly know how to mingle, joine and interlace them handsomly into a subtil fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Let us leave it to those, whose profession is to doe nothing else." In his "South Wind" Norman Douglas wrote, "All mankind is at the mercy of a handful of neurotics. Neurotics and their catchwords. Catchwords like duty, charity, purity."

WILL THE UPPER CLASSES SURVIVE?

The leaders of our country, like those of England, have been trained on meaningless words. The product and patrons of our best schools were subjected to close scrutiny by Struthers Burt in his "Expedition Among the Upper Classes", *Scribners*, March, 1936. He found along the beautiful New England coast a race of aristocratic super-men, "a race that at any-time, if it will exhibit the brains and courage and patience that should be there, can assume, or rather regain, its leadership, lost for over a century, provided that leadership is honest, unselfish, and not in direct opposition to all intelligent modern thought." This race of super-men whose ancestors were our aristocrats, our intellectual and industrial leaders, have lost

their hope and faith. They came out of schools of words, not understanding. (12)

What we need on the part of our educators is understanding, not words, not knowledge, not scholarship, merely. Such understanding is what men have always longed for. In their endeavor to untangle the skein of existence they have created gods whom they hoped would be helpful. They have adhered to faiths that have failed them. They have constructed philosophies in whose mazes they have become lost.

Our teachers have been lost in a wilderness of words and symbols and our schools still deal with words, not understanding. They look backward not forward. With duty, drill, convention or conformity they kill capacity for initiative. They still pour forth their graduates frustrated, with little understanding of the world they live in, little faith, without real interests; their inheritance, the questing mind, dulled. Let us have more school heads, let us have more teachers who can say to their graduates: "Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life; neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies; but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern judgment; behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee a wise and understanding heart; so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall arise like unto thee!"

NOTES

(1) Cro-Magnon man not only had an above normal cranial capacity but he was something of a giant, well over six feet. The recent discovery of early men who were gigantic (cf p 350) would indicate that this greater size and strength, in the time of extinct animals, had survival value. But in Cro-Magnon man we have the first evidence of the great brain which was to make mere physique of lesser consequence. Earnest A. Hooton in his "Twilight of Man", 1939, rapidly reviewing "The Making and Mixing of Human Races", tells us, "The tall Cro-Magnons may have been the result of an early cross between a round-headed, short, and broad-faced race, and a long-headed race with a rather narrow face of medium length. The matter is controversial."

(2) "Mathematics is an image of the Eternal Truth" is the evident belief of scores of teachers "who teach the subject accordingly", deplored Bell in the *Mathematics Teacher*, Nov., 1940. Writing on "Buddha's Advice to Students and Teachers of Mathematics", he tells us, "No mischief is done so long as the pupils are told explicitly that they are accepting as true certain statements for which no evidence, or at best only a plausible argument, has been offered. The mischief begins when inexplicit assumptions are incorporated wholesale into the development of some topic which the pupils are led to believe is being developed from bedrock with all the hypotheses in plain view. . . .

"Centuries of believing everything it is told on mere authority have made the mass of mankind the helpless herd it is. Ever since the fifth century of our era, unquestioning belief has been counted a virtue by those in authority. Respect for our elders and self-elected betters, and reverence for their outmoded ways of think-

ing, have been drilled into us in the most impressionable years of our lives by one organized pressure after another, until only one individual in thousands is not too stunned by the impact of all this authority to think for himself when his formal education is finished. Doubt above a discreet whisper is discouraged, and the skeptical habit of mind that questions before believing, is kindly but firmly suppressed. . . . Some of those who did not believe in the eternal endurance of the status quo as the most desirable of all states of blessedness, died long ago, not a few of them quite unpleasantly. . . .

"The particular heresy which concerns us . . . is merely that belief is no longer in itself a virtue. As a simple corollary, 'the will to believe', in the phrase made famous by William James, is definitely dysgenic. If the human race is to survive, its young must be taught to doubt. . . . Buddha's parting injunction to his followers is said to have been this: 'Believe nothing on hearsay. Do not believe in traditions because they are old, or in anything on the mere authority of myself or any other teacher.'"

(3) "So long as he deduces no theorem that contradicts another, the industrious mathematician is satisfied with his labors and continues. His rewards are the truths he finds. And how does he know that his theorems are true? Simply because they are consistent with each other. It is purely a matter of definition; mathematical truth is consistency", writes Bell in "Everything Is Water: The Birth of Mathematics", *University of Kansas City Review*, Autumn, 1944. Past president of the Mathematical Association of America, for twelve years professor of mathematics at Caltech, author of innumerable scientific monographs and nineteen books, popular and unpopular, novels, poems,—Bell's "Men of Mathematics" was a best seller. His keen Scotch mind despite his English Public School training sees through the bunk to the pith of things, and seldom misses the humor in an incongruous situation.

(4) For a modern understanding of Socrates, schoolboy hero for generations, cf Alban D. Winspear's "Who Was Socrates?", 1939, Warner Fite's "The Platonic Legend", 1934, R. H. S. Crossman's "Plato To-Day", 1937.

(5) Not that we would deprecate the bubble-prickers, who as wise men in Shakespeare's plays wear the cap and bells, as they do even today. They are so wise they have to, to get by. With all the world blowing bubbles, some of which hold us fascinated and enthralled, we have few enough bubble-prickers. Hypnotized watching the iridescent bubbles, we are deprived of opportunity, of freedom to do, to enjoy, to make the most of our opportunities. Shaw, among other things, is a prophet and a seer,—witness these words quoted by Hesketh Pearson in his "Bernard Shaw", 1942. In 1916 he announced, "The war will last another thirty years. . . . To me war fever is like any other epidemic, and what the patients say or do in their delirium is no more to be counted against them than if they were all in bed with brain fever. . . . No single criminal can be as powerful for evil, or as unrestrained in its exercise, as an organized nation. . . . It legalises its crimes, and forges certificates of righteousness for them, besides torturing any one who dares expose their true character."

Shaw holds our attention by the risks he takes of saying things that no one else would have said, even to being at first hearing silly or asinine. His fine distinctions in words and phrases, in the phases of human conduct, are as delicately balanced as the movements of a tightrope walker. He holds you in fear, you gasp, you hold your breath. Then in relief you applaud, recognizing the skill that made it possible. His brain is too active for his wit to pass as humor of the sort of Mark Twain, who

brings together the incongruous to get the laugh. For Shaw everything is incongruous. With Shaw it is the sharp relief from suspense that brings the laugh. Wells, on the other hand, threading unfamiliar intellectual paths as an intellectual pariah among stupid men, must show his superiority, magnify his ego,—but he lets us, the more intelligent, have a chance at that too. And then we indulge in self-congratulatory laughter. He and we are laughing at other people who don't get the point, who are not as bright as we are.

(6) The mid-thirties, high tide in intellectual advance, marked the first full recognition of Veblen and his work. John Atkinson Hobson, England's great economist, ushered Veblen into Valhalla (cf p 374). Since then little of significance had been published on Veblen until R. L. Duffus in "The Innocents at Cedro: A Memoir of Thorstein Veblen and Some Others", 1944, told how as a student at Stanford he and his brother spent a year with Veblen in his Cedro cottage (cf "The Future of Education", pp 105-6). From Duffus we understand that Veblen, not completely adjusted to the culture about him, looking at it from a little off center, could bring to us a more penetrating interpretation than was possible for those who were conditioned to the culture. "His Norwegian background . . . which Veblen's parents clung to in their culturally isolated Norwegian community in Minnesota, accounted for much of Veblen's philosophical detachment from American life. He was like an enlightened savage in a civilized country, or an enlightened explorer in a savage country, viewing it critically, understanding it very well but not belonging to it."

Veblen "pointed out that the country had never been in a state of high productive prosperity except in war periods and in times when business men were engaged in intense speculative activities, expanding credit and liquid claims to wealth, and that such periods were mere preliminaries to liquidating collapses. . . . Capitalism, save for war and speculation, ran on a low level of production, not on the highest possible level. That finding was decidedly heterodox. . . . When Dr. Alan R. Sweezy, a young instructor in Harvard University, proposed to take up the study of finance capital in Veblen's manner, he found that the Department of Economics believed Veblen 'not worth studying', and in a short time this youthful preceptor of wayward inclination was dropped from the faculty by the authorities of the University. That may have been indicative—or merely an accident of academic readjustment." (Beard, "America in Midpassage", 1939, pp 837-9)

(7) Eight years later there seems little need to modify this estimate. Pareto, like so many others, devised a language of his own which has become the verbal insignia of a cult. But his terms need not trouble. They are immaterial to his great work. As Herbert J. Muller in "Science and Criticism", 1943, comments, "Fundamentally, indeed, the thought of Pareto is very simple; when translated into everyday language, it is neither horrendous nor novel. . . . His cardinal doctrine is that most human behavior is nonlogical (not necessarily illogical); in other words, he is investigating what men have always taken for granted as 'only human nature'. . . . Pareto's value lies chiefly in his destructive criticism: his remorseless analysis of other 'scientific' sociologies, his unerring detection of the faintest whiff of sentiment where only logic is supposed to be, his ruthless exposure of all the dubious assumptions and pretensions of social thinking. He is accordingly strong medicine."

(8) Arnold believes in curing abuses instead of destroying evil everywhere in the world all at once. He doesn't anticipate that we will grow messiahs like mushrooms in hothouses, or get all-wise planners out of college or Marxist writers. Gabriel in his "Course of American Democratic Thought" shows how much Arnold

owes to Sumner and Pareto. "The essence of modern science is determinism, and naturalism has not yet found a place for the doctrine of the free and creative individual in the philosophy of determinism. . . . Sumner pointed out aspects of the mythology of the American democratic faith. Arnold analyzed this mythology. He took up the democratic faith doctrine by doctrine. Being a lawyer he began with the concept of the fundamental law and its corollary, the idea of the certainty of the law. . . . Arnold affirmed in 1935 that jurisprudence is folklore, 'the shining but unfulfilled dream of a world governed by reason'. . . . Law, as folklore, serves the deep-seated needs of the 'masses who want to believe that government is moral, rational, and symmetrical'. Of course government is none of these; it is opportunistic, often non-rational, and almost always a-symmetrical. Government on the practical side advances by adaptation and adjustment. It gets things done. The function of folklore is to provide a body of fictions which enable men to escape from the disillusioning realities of life.' . . . Arnold was convinced that folklore would die soon after it was recognized as such. In place of the idea of the fundamental law, fixed and eternal, Arnold emphasized the importance of change in the world. . . . The most important point for the present purposes in the Arnold philosophy is his insistence that ideals are fantasies."

(9) Two years after the "Symbols" Arnold brought out his "Folklore of Capitalism", much livelier and easier to read. In the 1938 edition of the Handbook, dealing with "Financial Follies", we considered it under the heading "Folklore of Finance":

Our own folklore becomes a dead thing as soon as we are conscious of it. The folklore of the American people, the beliefs and practices that they devoutly hold have more to do with corporations, industry, and banks than with churches or even schools. It is of this and the practices of their high priests that Thurman Arnold tells us. His title is a little unfortunate. It may even suggest the red flag to some. The book deals with the folklore of the people about us, business man, banker, lawyer, thief. Most talk about 'capitalism' is foolish. Most of us are capitalists and our ancestors have been since they first possessed two stone axes. Capital is something accumulated to make use of at some future time. It is the hangover from past effort that enables one to get something more easily than if he started from scratch. How can anyone oppose capitalism? The grasshopper has no capital, but the lyre bird has, though it isn't worth much.

"The folklore of 1937", Arnold says, "was expressed principally by the literature of law and economics. . . . Of course this literature was not called folklore. No one thought of sound principles of law or economics as a religion. They were considered as inescapable truths, as natural laws, as principles of justice, and as the only method of an ordered society. This is a characteristic of all vital folklore or religion. . . ."

"One might think that anthropology might be a descriptive term for a study of modern religion and political forms. It will not serve, however, because the anthropologist stops at the solemn threshold of law and economics, convinced of his unworthiness to proceed. He says in excuse, 'I am no economist or lawyer.' The Supreme Court of the United States has for years offered a more fascinating study in primitive ritualism than anything that the Malaysian tribes had to offer. The American Law Institute, composed of a group of men sitting around and doing responsive readings of the law, financed by the Carnegie Foundation, has never been adequately described."

Those from whose eyes the scales have fallen hail this humorous, satirical, and

always good natured revelation of our follies, with joy and delight. The book is great fun for those who have a sense of humor and are not permanently warped. You learn what a boob you have been. Once having looked out through Arnold's eyeholes, life is larger, solemn things are funnier. He finds the behavior of his fellows absorbing and enlightening. He writes me, December 16, 1937:

"Whenever anyone claims that I am trying to destroy, I simply answer that I am describing, and whenever anyone accuses me of lack of enthusiasm for old institutions, I always insist that I am fond of them, and this is probably true. I like Yale with all its bourgeois characteristics. I like the jury trial in spite of the fact that it is not an investigation. I am probably one of the most thorough-going reactionaries in the United States. Unfortunately, no one seems to realize this."

Where this folklore is most alive and potent, Arnold's book has been received with perplexity, condemnation, or contempt. Henry Hazlitt, whose job is to 'soporify' conservative readers of the *New York Times* when a disturbing influence appears, pretends to be perplexed, and bewails that Arnold "ridicules the application of general principles on the ground that each event is unique" and that he treats law and economics as "part of the 'theology' of contemporary priests' ". He doesn't appreciate the 'satire'. He thinks Mr. Arnold 'rather pallid' and not 'fair'. But dissatisfied with his inability to make a case, he dismisses him as "merely what used to be called a sophist and is now better known as a smart aleck".

Mr. Hazlitt was as always on the lookout for another book to deprecate if it was critical of the existing order. C. E. Ayres of the University of North Carolina in his "Theory of Economic Progress", 1944, tells us capitalism is not the driving force by which we moderns get our living. It is an institutional residual of our ceremonial past, "an impediment to economic progress as ceremonial proprieties have always been". Capitalism he finds is "phony". Money does not breed, as Aristotle discovered. One gathers that the consumer, not the capitalist, is the driving force and that technological innovation brings about social change. It is evident that Ayres is the offspring by immaculate conception of the trinity, Veblen, Dewey, and Keynes. Hazlitt in the *Saturday Review* rushes to the attack. In a later number John Dewey joins issue, asserting that Mr. Hazlitt presents "a completely perverted idea of the book". To this Hazlitt replies that Ayres "seems to me so dark and confused" and as to "perversion . . . Mr. Ayres himself grossly perverts". You're another! Who is the perverter?

(10) Recent interest in semantics in all its varieties stems directly from the great work of Korzybski in 'General Semantics'. His work was first brought to popular attention by Stuart Chase in "The Tyranny of Words", 1938, and later by S. I. Hayakawa in "Language in Action", 1941, and Irving J. Lee in "Language Habits in Human Affairs", 1941. In the 22nd edition of the Handbook, 1938, pp 209-14, we presented a brief account of Korzybski, his work, and the tributes paid to him by great men:

The waste of our human energy in our symbolic use of words is made clear by Stuart Chase in "The Tyranny of Words". He read Ogden and Richards "Meaning of Meaning" and found there Malinowski's essay, the first attempt to deal with the study of the "influence of language on thought". He read P. W. Bridgman, E. T. Bell, Lancelot Hogben, Henshaw Ward, and went back to Jeremy Bentham, the grandfather of the study of "imposter-terms". He "read Thurman Arnold's 'The Symbols of Government' and looked at language from another unsettling but illuminating angle. For the individual, as I can testify, a brief grounding in semantics, besides making philosophy unreadable, makes unreadable most political

speeches, classical economic theory, after-dinner oratory, diplomatic notes, newspaper editorials, treatises on pedagogics and education, expert financial comment, dissertations on money and credit, accounts of debates, and Great Thoughts from Great Thinkers in general. You would be surprised at the amount of time this saves."

But he found his great inspiration in Korzybski, who in his book "Science and Sanity", 1933, "explored the possibility of formulating a genuine science of communication. . . . I looked for the first time into the awful depths of language itself; depths into which the grammarian and the lexicographer have seldom peered. . . . One wonders if modern methods of mass education promote as much knowledge in children's minds as they do confusion. . . . Fortunately there is nothing seriously the matter with our natural mental equipment. . . . People are not 'dumb' because they lack mental equipment; they are dumb because they lack an adequate method for the use of that equipment. Those intellectuals whose pastime is to sit on high fences and deplore the innate stupidity of the herd are on a very shaky fence."

(11) H. L. Mencken's gatherings on 'words' in his "New Dictionary of Quotations" reveal the wisdom of the ages: "Men believe that their reason governs words; but it is also true that words react on the understanding; and this it is that has rendered philosophy and the sciences sophistical and inactive" (Bacon); "With words we govern men" (Disraeli); "The world is satisfied with words; few care to dive beneath the surface" (Pascal).

(12) "Will the Upper Classes Vanish?" Struthers Burt asks in the *Forum*, December, 1937. Of course they will, they always have. They must constantly be replenished from below. In "Escape from America", 1936, he brings together trenchant essays, in which he deplores the refusal of the "released classes" to "adopt even a trace of the heroic role". America, realizing it has not kept faith with its pioneer idealistic ancestry, suffers from a consciousness of guilt. There is an eloquent plea for national patriotism, in his "Shadow of The Ass," *Forum*, Aug., 1936. "Not yet have Americans learned to think of their country in large and philosophic terms, and, therefore, not yet do they realize that, like all countries, she is a mixture of every known good and evil, beauty and ugliness, gentleness and crudity. Not yet have they been moved by any general eagerness really to know their land or think about it deeply. And, so, not yet have they achieved any composed and intelligent point of view about themselves."

Such an attitude of defeatism was characteristic of the best citizens of Massachusetts once before. The "History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay", 1937, is by Thomas Hutchinson, Tory Governor of Massachusetts, who was writing it when the roughnecks, smugglers and privateersmen from Marblehead came in, scattered his papers, almost killed him, confiscated his property and drove him out. His refinement put him out of touch with his time. After the Russian revolution in 1917 an American reporter asked the Czar's minister if he had anything to complain of. "I have no right to complain, because I am guilty of a great crime." "A strange confession", said the reporter. "Yes", replied the foreign minister, "I am guilty of the most awful crime—of not understanding the spirit of my age." That was Hutchinson's crime. That's the crime of the whole race Struthers Burt discovered in 1935, in his anthropological exploration of the New England coast. (21st ed, 1937, p 142)

THE PROMISE OF SCIENCE

The search for knowledge, the war against ignorance, though carried on by few with limited resources, brings increased awareness that man by following the scientific way of life may yet become master of his destiny.

Science has done so much to supply Mars with more powerful explosives and more noxious gases that there are those who doubt its human value and fear it may be the Frankenstein monster that will destroy us. But it was science, too, that revealed war as international paranoia and the louse as victor. A vast accumulation of knowledge is as yet unhumanized. Moreover, imagine what might be accomplished if our interest were really in discovering the truth. The promise of science, bringing freedom, health and wealth, would fill every man with excitement if it were known to him.

THE FRONTIERS OF KNOWLEDGE

In man's long history on earth—perhaps a million years—civilization, which we have now pushed back five thousand years, extends over one-half of one per cent of that time; science, if it begins with Roger Bacon, one twentieth of one per cent. But real progress in biological sciences has come in the last fifty years, one two hundredth of one per cent of man's time. The great majority of the human race a hundred thousand years ago were searching for truth, using the best methods of that time. A lesser number normally come into contact with actualities, obliged to test and search for the truth, as we become more civilized and institutionalized, burdened with traditions. There are perhaps two thousand researchers at work, that is about one ten millionth of one per cent of the population of the world searching for new knowledge by up to date methods.

The frontiers of knowledge, nevertheless, are constantly being pushed out into undiscovered realms. Most of us are normal enough in our curiosity to want to know about these explorations into the unknown. Some of us realize that we are back numbers if we don't know what has happened and is happening.

Gerald Heard in his "Science in the Making", 1935, endeavors to give us a bird's-eye view of the recent discoveries which it is the "duty of the layman to know in broad outline." On the physics front, using measuring rods a millionth of a millimeter we find, dividing the molecule and splitting the atom, "size turns into energy". Then we go out on the astronomical front, where the measuring rod is a million light years, and we find that space is full and its surface covered. There is no space. There

are no straight lines. On the biological front we find that life can grow at temperatures and under pressures formerly thought impossible. Where can life grow? "It must be advancing its frontiers, for no one can think that where and when life began it was able to disregard being frozen."

Out on "The Front of History" we are shown that with employment of new and scientific methods history can be made "so clear and ample that at last . . . we may get rid of the fairy tales based on ignorant vanity and prejudice which are such a danger today, and I see a picture of mankind which will make us realize our unity as a single human race, the unity of civilization and the necessity that we shall not make vain the great effort of the past by childish misrepresentations".

Curiosity, "the finest of the passions", should result in our developing new interests as science gives us more leisure. If man is not to fly into war and anarchy through sheer boredom, then he must find new interests by bringing into play the simian curiosity, which is our natural heritage but which all the institutions of civilization tend to stifle and deaden as we grow up. Our advance is due largely to man's curiosity which he never quite outgrows, his pure wonder at everything strange. "Man is only about to live fully as man when animal needs no longer drive him: he will only be completely humane when everything interests him for its own sake." But "our education has frowned upon idle curiosity, the power to be interested by anything and, no doubt, has done much to crush this general capacity, by discouraging the sensitive, until all knowledge seems drained of wonder, and by canalizing the energetic until they can only attend to what pays".

WHAT SCIENTISTS ARE DOING

There is so little understanding in the world and so much misunderstanding, because our knowledge is so limited and most of what we know is not true. But there is no suppressing this human curiosity to investigate the unknown and the supposedly unknowable. It is natural that we should be interested in what investigators are doing. Bernard Jaffe in "Outposts of Science", 1935, takes us on "A Journey to the Workshops of our Leading Men of Research". For four years he has been visiting on the "battlefronts of science in America". We share in the painstaking care of research with which the little bits of knowledge are gained and tested. We feel the thrill of discovery. At times we are overcome with toil and discouragement. (1)

The Golden Age of American science is just beginning, Jaffe believes. In applied science America has led the way, but has lagged behind the European countries in pure science, "the search for truth with no thought of practical application or pecuniary returns. . . . There was no time or

thought for pure theory when every value of science was expressed in terms of service and function."

Lacking the sociologist's point of view, Jaffe fails to observe that the "search for truth", the advance of science through research, is almost wholly dependent upon leisure and facilities which require income and stability. It lies within the power of the few who control to hasten or suppress the pursuit of science, or to direct it to practical or other channels. Such static and reactionary influences have wholly prevented investigation into the science of government. For a long time they interfered with free teaching or research in the social sciences.

DISCOVERIES AHEAD

It is true an increasing amount of scientific research is supported by the tax payers through government offices at Washington, state and local boards of health. In European countries science has long been fostered directly by governments. (2)

In Russia today science is making huge strides in many directions. Pavlov, a mere scientist, was made perhaps the most popular heroic figure after Stalin and Lenin. "Men and Mountains: Man's Victory Over Nature", 1935, written by M. Ilin, author of the earlier "New Russia's Primer" which encouraged young children in research, is a "prose-poem", to use Maxim Gorky's words, a picture of modern science in the Soviet Union. This is science made active. The various phases of nature—oceans, rivers, valleys, mountains, steppes—are studied scientifically, much as a General Staff might study the elements of a campaign, with the objective, however, of victory for both sides, man and nature. "Where the old order rules", writes Ilin in conclusion, "the world is all divided up into fragments. . . . The new order must assemble the world. It must rescue nature from its innumerable owners and make it the common property of all who work. It must gather people into one united army of work . . . unite all the different sciences into one science." (3)

Science has accumulated so much that we have not yet assimilated, its accomplishments in the past century have been so brilliant, that most of us stand in reverence and awe. Not so C. C. Furnas, author of "The Next Hundred Years: The Unfinished Business of Science", 1936. Instead of giving science a holiday so that sociology and government can catch up, he sees so many lines of discovery open immediately before us that he can not but point out the need and opportunity. "The taste of progress we have had is not satisfying, on the contrary, irritating." (4)

He points out the opportunity of eugenics. Eight per cent of our population are mentally unable to support themselves even in their prime. "Three per cent—about 4 million—of the Americans are feeble-minded."

We are on the threshold of great discoveries as to what is life. "There is not one shred of exact evidence that any form of life has any ingredient outside the realm of chemistry and physics." The chemistry of the hormones determines our personalities. "Less than 1/2000 of an ounce of thyroxine is all that stands between Einstein and imbecility." "A tiger's adrenal weighs about three times as much as his thyroid and the man's thyroid weighs about twice as much as his adrenal. That explains part of the difference between cats and men."

Insects are much more efficient machines for transforming energy than the higher animals. From cellulose, wood and leaves, they obtain food and derive their energy. A grasshopper can broad jump four thousand per cent better and a flea can high jump several thousand per cent better than the best trained athletes. They are better breeders. A house fly, under favorable conditions, would produce six trillion progeny in six months. Then they are better equipped for war against their enemies—man. House flies act as carriers for at least thirty diseases. Man is only just beginning to use the airplane to carry diseases to his enemy. It will probably take the next war and the next to demonstrate what he can really do, and then he will be able to learn from the house fly. The future of peoples and nations depends upon the efficient pursuit of experimental and technological discoveries and their application to the welfare of the greatest number, Furnas concludes. (5)

"A Biologist's View of the Future", 1935, which the author H. J. Muller entitles "Out of the Night", envisions enormous possibilities for Homo. The orthodox belief in the genetic validity of the social stratification he denies. "For the continuance of material, cultural and biological progress in the human race, a thorough-going economic and social change to a more truly cooperative basis of society, together with the regeneration in human motivation attendant upon this, is a prior necessity." Meantime he finds our ignorance appalling. He gives us the basis for a new religion, a belief in human destiny calling for sacrifices and bringing new joys. (6)

SABOTAGING SCIENTIFIC GAINS

Because they insist science is necessary for our very existence today and consequently should be controlled for our common welfare, not for private profit which calls for sabotage of our scientific gains, seven scientists united in a symposium, with a foreword by Frank Soddy, on "The Frustration of Science", 1935. J. G. Crowther complains that aviation is frustrated through its submission to war needs. J. D. Bernal concludes that "if science is to help humanity it must find a new master". (7)

In "Tools of Tomorrow", by Jonathan Norton Leonard, 1935, finds it

possible to predict new sources of power, new methods of communication and transportation, new ways of living, and a new industrial organization. Science is already far in advance of technology, and technology is far in advance of industry. There is a technical lag, an industrial lag, and behind all that a cultural lag.

Monopolistic sabotage of technical advances prevents our enjoying not only the fruits of science and technology already at hand but others that might be quickly realized. We might have better homes with television, automatic heating, and air conditioning, except for cost. Not only is our income wasted, but it is not what it should be because of artificial tariffs, quotas, monopolies; and all these things are supported and continued by the ignorance of our citizens, by their belief in things that are not true, by their reliance on symbols that are irrational.

Technology waits on industry. Industry awaits a market. The market awaits the improvement of our distribution and economic system. And this waits on politics, custom, fashion, which in turn are held in check by the limits of education, by the restrictive tendencies of the institutions which we call civilization. The application of new technology, delayed by the so-called depression, has resulted in many discoveries and advances being put up in moth balls awaiting better times.

EDUCATORS' INDIFFERENCE

Our school masters, trained in the classic curriculum without the scientific outlook, do not seem to appreciate that the new knowledge is of greater importance to the human race, to them and their pupils, than the old knowledge they have been doling out. They lump it under 'science' and think that it is something that will blow over.

It is natural enough that scholars and philosophers should be held higher in the public esteem than scientists. We have had them with us longer; we are more accustomed to them. Science we associate with sensational Sunday newspapers or with smelly laboratory courses. Scientists are absent-minded men intent on some bug of no human importance. Too reticent and modest, they have only lately stepped out more boldly.

The indifference of educators as to the place of science in modern life, their failure to bring the benefits of the new knowledge to their pupils, is assailed by Benjamin C. Gruenberg in "Science and the Public Mind", 1935. He urges education in science appreciation, the training of the public to take part in the knowledge upon which civilization rests, that they may acquire the vision and better modes of thought which are fundamental in science.

To make understandable to even the least-informed reader how the scientist regards the fundamental facts and laws of science, how he uses

them in formulating new theories, and how he puts them to practical use in everyday life, is the intention of Julian Huxley and E. M. da C. Andrade in "Simple Science", 1935. They hope to lead the reader to investigate more complicated accounts "with a sober appreciation based upon an understanding of the general problems, rather than in a spirit of uncomprehending wonder at strange things apparently divorced from all common sense".

It is time that biology received more attention from educators, Oscar Riddle tells us. Speaking as a zoologist before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he hopefully suggests "that our science will some day be discovered by the Section for Education".

THE BIOLOGICAL APPROACH

There are few human activities which have not been modified by the intellectual revolution that we owe to the biologist. With his simian curiosity he has inquired into how things came to be as they are. History, literature, religion, political systems have all yielded something to his method. Education, a social institution, has remained relatively immune. The school master still teaches the same subjects, still relies on Cicero, Euclid, quadratics, for the means of disciplining and training our future citizens. The story of a new find of fossil primitive man or of a higher ape is front page newspaper stuff. But these things haven't affected our school masters, who go on in the same traditional ruts, teaching the same old dead stuff, meaningless to man.

If education has to deal with young growing things, if we humans have come 'up from the ape', then no educational goals of the past can have much present value. They were set up to help the fallen attain heaven. Now with a wholly different understanding of what we are and whence we have come, it would seem that the course we are to take, the road we are to travel should be newly planned to reach the new objectives.

Educators when they get together, as we pointed out some years ago, talk trade, trivialities, methodology. Educational thought is still vapid. Most of the academic specialists on education don't know enough about the subject they are dealing with,—man and his behavior, the course he has come over during the past million years, the processes of growth in the young. They have got to get back to fundamentals in order to understand how man has come to be as he is if they are better to plan the course he is to take. (8)

There is much bandying of the phrase 'science of education', but you can't have a science without scientists. When our teachers of pedagogy adopt the scientific method, then there is a possibility of education becoming a science. At present it isn't even much of an art. It is chiefly hold-

ing a job, assigning lessons, and marking failures. But here is one great teacher of pedagogy with the biological view. William Heard Kilpatrick in "Remaking the Curriculum", 1936, says, "Until recently tradition, both lettered and unlettered . . . accepted the Platonic metaphysics and looked upon knowledge as existing somehow prior to man's knowing it. The school was accordingly an institution for handing down on authority what was thus known. . . . The newer psychology grows out of a better biology, the doctrine of evolution, and the fact of modern rapid change. It views life as a process of continual interaction between organism and its environment."

When the training of teachers is as scientific as the training of a stock man or a hog breeder in our modern agricultural colleges, then our children may have as scientific treatment as we now give our hogs and other livestock. When the history of education as taught in our universities covers not three thousand years, but three hundred thousand or three million, then our educators may be in a better position to plan for the future.

SCIENCE AND ART AS EXPERIENCE

Science is merely experience, sensing things, seeing things straight and recording and classifying tested knowledge. Science as well as art is an attempt to organize experience, Erwin Schrodinger makes clear in "Science and the Human Temperament", 1935. Science tells us what is observable, and because experience is never exhaustive, art or science can never be final.

It is not only in science that frontiers are being pushed forward. There are frontiers in art, too, new discoveries, new revelations ahead. The artist reveals to his fellows what he has experienced through the eye, through his feelings. Kipling brought that out clearly in his story of the Neolithic artist, Ung, who "pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone, out of the love that he bore them, sciving them clearly on bone". To all this his tribe was blind until he taught them to see.

Amid all the bunk and persiflage with which writers on art have surrounded the subject, two clear minds have brought to the surface two fundamental ideas. Art is experience of rhythm. The artist is he who has experienced more deeply than is vouchsafed to others, and who has found a means of conveying to others through rhythm of line, or mass, or word, or note some degree of realization and satisfaction that he himself has experienced through his senses.

John Dewey, in his "Art As Experience", 1934, emphasizes the simple thought that art is a part of life. It can only be apprehended through experience, through reaction of the emotions to something brought to them by the senses. This brain of ours is new, as yet but little used. Things of

the intellect are not all-satisfying. We still have longings, yearnings. The spirit of man reaching out vaguely into the unknown finds satisfactions in rhythms. For out of the sea all life came, and the flow of the tides is within us, the diurnal pulse of the sea. The moon gave us rhythm as the sun gave us life. Our feelings, our rhythms may be changed by endocrine imbalance, or artificially by the injection of certain chemicals, hormones.

Frank Jewett Mather, emeritus professor of art and archeology at Princeton, reinforces and broadens Dewey's message. Out of a long lifetime of thoughtful contemplation of beauty, great works of art, he writes creatively in a mellow, reminiscent mood "Concerning Beauty", 1935. Chatty and discursive at times, he presents concretely things of beauty which have given him a deep emotional experience. So art for him is experience as it is for Dewey. "Esthetics", he says, "is a subject that easily becomes at once gaunt and stuffy through elimination of what is too pedantically labelled as the non-esthetic". (9)

Art is experience. Science is truth. But Erwin Schrodinger shows us that science is experience. And Keats tells us that "beauty is truth, truth beauty". Truth adequately perceived and rhythmically interpreted is art, "all ye know on earth and all ye need to know". That isn't all rot, even if Keats did say it. It is ethics, esthetics, religion. There is nothing occult or esoteric about that kind of oneness.

ETHICS MAY BE SCIENCE

Ethics has to do with human behavior. It is a matter of human experience, and deductions we may gather therefrom, as to the way we should behave toward our fellows. We have talked a lot about ethics, but we have done little about it. We left ethics to the religionists, and now we find ourselves bogged down. Wandering in by-paths of vain imaginings, loaded down with 'residues' of instincts and 'derivations' by which we attempt to justify our beliefs, we have lost or forgotten the best of our heritage. Digging among the rubbish heaps of the past, we are coming to knowledge of the experience of man under many cultures which may help us to a new interpretation of our own and realization of the fetters that still burden us. Ethics, the codes which have resulted from experience with our fellows, may yet become a science and reveal to us the attitudes that we may more fruitfully adopt.

From Aristotle to Thorndike little has been done to promote the science of ethics. In his address as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Edward Lee Thorndike in dealing with "Science and Values" showed how scientific methods could be applied to ethics. "Scientific ethics", he said, "must rely largely on economics, political science, sociology, psychology, education and biology in studying the

values positive and negative of all sorts of activities." He forecasts how the application of scientific methods to planning for the future, determining what ought to be, will soon occupy the field that has been left to propagandists and reformers. "Is any group of thinkers qualified to study the wants of mankind, the consequences of acts and events, and the improvement of human valuations without reliance on the facts and methods of anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics, government and other sciences of man? Can science avoid the responsibility of trying what impartial curiosity and honest work can accomplish in this field of controversy and prejudice?" (*Science*, Jan. 3, 1936) (10)

The questioning, sceptical mind applied to our ethical system finds our chaotic world largely the result of our ethical heritage. L. P. Jacks, in "Ethical Factors of the Present Crisis", 1935, makes us feel individual responsibility for our moral inertia, due to "an unwarranted faith in the power of moral ideas to secure their own fulfillment". Moral ideas to be of value, he insists, must be transmitted into human conduct. But "we are largely ruled by cant, the worthless paper money of the moral world". "Ghosts of Yesterday: A Reappraisal of Moral Values and of Accepted Standards in This Changing World", 1935, by Ezra Brudno, a prosecuting attorney, fearlessly appraises the moral values and the ethical quality of the ideas and creeds that have dominated mankind for centuries. One of the ghosts which he banishes is our superstitious acceptance of the validity of public opinion. "Every time a long-lived public opinion dies, the human race takes a gigantic stride forward." (11)

THE GOOD LIFE

Perhaps it is now possible to establish goals for social effort that will be more than slogans, symbols, that may fall in with the methods of old Mother Nature and delight her by resulting in improvement of the species. That should point to "the way and the life", and that would be sound and scientific.

The good life perhaps expresses what we have all wanted since Plato and before, and democracy is supposed to be a means to it. In man's struggle spirally up through the dark, he has reached out toward glints of light ahead. Symbols and shibboleths have stood for hazy ideas and ideals. To find out what Americans really value, Edward L. Thorndike attempted a scientific investigation of the "fundamental and dependable satisfactions of life for man". His "Science and Values" reported on these researches. Analyzing the expenditures of the people of the United States in 1929, he found that of the 25 billion dollars spent for food and clothing, only 13 billions were for the necessities of hunger and protection. Over 3 billions went for sensory gratification,—taste, smell, and visual

pleasure,—3 billions more for social pleasure. One billion paid for approval of others. Nearly 600 millions bolstered self approval. Thorndike concluded that “we pay more to maintain self-respect and the good opinion of others and avoid scorn, derision and shame than to keep our bodies fed and free from the distress of hunger”.

In “The Goal of Social Effort,” *Educational Record*, April, 1936, putting himself in the position of a scientific trustee, Thorndike roughly draws up “A Proposed Bill of Specifications for a Good Life for the Human Species”. In making up these items, he keeps in mind the “original germinal nature of man”, making “the social order attractive and stimulating to the good . . . in men”. His specifications “include the satisfactions possible for men today without imperiling” others, “approximate to a reasonable harmony, or at least compromise, among conflicting wants”, are such as would be approved by the race during the next thousand years.

With these general provisions in mind, he lists twenty-six specific objectives, including maintenance of inner causes of joy of living, proper food, protection against disease, insurance against catastrophes, shelter, enjoyable bodily and mental activities, opportunities for human society, courtship, love, self-respect, friends and affection, opportunity to compete, to adventure, to fight, to discover, and enjoy the happiness of others. The slogans and symbols,—liberty, fraternity, equality,—he analyzes and finds that their “worthy satisfactions” are included under other groupings.

FOREVER UNSATISFIED, NEVER DISSATISFIED

No great outlay of capital or labor is needed. The simple life may still provide these durable satisfactions. “Enormous expenses are now incurred for Veblen’s vicarious consumption and conspicuous waste, from envy and deceit, and to hide weakness and demerit. In many cases the better man’s wants are, the less they cost.”

The bovine with its belly full chews the cud and is satisfied. The conservative acquisitive, once he gets his belly full, is satisfied to chew the rag, to hold forth on the status quo. But it is given to some, though they find lasting satisfactions in life, to remain forever unsatisfied, to seek better pastures ahead. Our greatest endowment is an innate restlessness that prevents our being satisfied with the present, that keeps us pressing ahead. That’s ‘the way’ we have climbed upward from the ape. We don’t care much about liberty. Most of us like to be bossed. But we must magnify our egos. We must maintain self-respect. Those who can help us to do this, we hail as great.

Not to be dissatisfied, frustrated, repressed, but to be forever unsatisfied, always with something ahead to work for, to fight for,—that’s the secret of life which solves all these longings and gropings.

NOTES

(1) Jaffe has continued to survey the work of scientists. In 1944 in "Men of Science in America" he presents life-stories of nearly a score. Forest Ray Moulton as editor reviews "The World and Man as Science Sees Them", 1937. Such is his job as editor of the *Scientific Monthly*, and ten years earlier he reviewed a similar parade of scientists in "The Nature of the World and Man".

George W. Gray in a slightly different way reviews the frontiers of science in magazine articles and frequent volumes. His "Advancing Front of Science", 1937, reports on his visits to the laboratories of the foremost workers from Pasadena to Moscow. He brings us news ranging from the galaxies to the details of the interior of the atom. Isaiah Bowman tells him, "We have come to believe that the affairs of man are not subject to a malign fatalism as he goes forward in his 'dark striving toward the good'. Science is in relentless pursuit of power to diminish the darkness of that striving and to 'shape reality from hope's vast dream'." Charles E. Merriam hopefully prophesies, "If the devices of social invention are able to keep pace with the scientific organization of nature, our new road may lead to a fairyland of achievement. The burdens of hunger, disease, toil, and fear may be lifted. The book of leisure may be opened, and the treasures of human appreciation and enjoyment made available to the mass of mankind."

More recently Harlow Shapley has brought together an anthology of essays on and excerpts from the works of great scientists in "A Treasury of Science", Harper, 1944, which draws upon the best that has been written.

"The Promise of Technology" is in the application "for useful and desirable purposes" of the physical and also the biological sciences, Frank B. Jewett emphasizes (*Science*, Jan. 7, 1944). "The Unsolved Problems of Science", 1935, will yield to the quest for knowledge along the line of research indicated by the author, A. W. Haslett, an Englishman.

(2) With the approach of World War II the scientists were mobilized with Vannevar Bush in charge, who said, "Active organized defense effort, involving thousands of scientists, has been going on intensively for 18 months. This effort will not be relaxed until the war is completely and decisively won." A "National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel" was established under President Carmichael of Tufts, which spent over \$100,000,000 during the year 1943. The colleges and universities were given research contracts amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. (Cf 26th ed, 1942, p 201; "War and Education", pp 35-6, 84-5)

The Kilgore Bill, still pending before Congress, provides for the permanent mobilization of all scientists under an administrator, appointed by the President, who shall "coordinate scientific facilities and personnel" and "make and amend appropriate rules and regulations which shall have the force of law". The Bill appropriates \$200,000,000 and provides maximum penalties of \$5000 and/or one year's imprisonment for infringements of regulations set up (Harlan T. Stetson, *Popular Astronomy*, Oct., 1943). The late President Jessup of the Carnegie Corporation warned, "If this should become the law of the land, the total picture of research in the universities would be so altered as to be unrecognizable. . . . The prime question is whether our intellectual future shall be immobilized at a planned efficiency, or free" (cf "The Future of Education", p 45). Vannevar Bush wrote Senator Kilgore that he considered it "ill-advised and dangerous" and declared "science flourishes to the greatest degree when it is most free" (*Science*, Dec. 31, 1943).

(3) In 1934 Great Britain spent one-tenth of 1 per cent, the Soviets eight-tenths

of 1 per cent on scientific research, which went in part for war purposes; in 1939 the United States spent six-tenths of 1 per cent, the greater part under private control, Bernal tells us in his "Social Function of Science". In "The Social Relations of Science" Crowther, dealing with the same subject, tells us, "With reference to the number of people under the rule of each, the Americans spend about twelve times as much as the British. The situation in France was even worse than in Britain" (cf "War and Education", pp 36, 244, 470)

"In the Soviet Union, where the social importance of science seems to be especially appreciated, it is reported that the funds made available for the development and prosecution of scientific studies is relatively greater than in any other country of the world", says Dr. Walter B. Cannon, and he quotes Pavlov, 1938, "Only science, exact science about human nature itself, and the most sincere approach to it by the aid of the omnipotent scientific method, will deliver man from the existing darkness, and will purge him from his shame in inter-human relations." Dr. Cannon is president of the American-Soviet Medical Society, which publishes the *American Review of Soviet Medicine*, edited by Dr. Henry E. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins. In "Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union", 1937, Sigerist reveals the success of state medicine in Russia, as does Michael L. Ravitch in "The Romance of Russian Medicine", 1937.

(4) "To find out why the grass is green" is "the most important research problem in the world today. . . . If we knew that secret we could build engines to transform enough radiation from the sun into heat or chemical energy or electricity to run our machinery", declares C. F. Kettering, General Motors millionaire-inventor (*Readers Digest*, Jan., 1938).

More recently Kettering, working at Miami to measure the sun's intensity, reminded us, "All our fuels are products of the sun. We dig coal and pump up petroleum and then use the energy given them by the sun. What we must do now is learn how to use today's sunshine rather than the sunshine of thousands of years ago. But we're so ignorant! . . . If we would only admit it instead of hiding our ignorance behind high sounding scientific terms, we'd go further. . . . We hate to admit we don't know it all, and we keep ourselves back by pretending to have knowledge we don't possess. . . . It is all ahead of us. At every period in time there is somebody to say, 'I don't see what there is new to be done'. Go out and look. If we can cast off the bugaboo of 'Your world is finished', and put in its place, 'The world is begun', we have a marvelous future ahead of us. . . . We ought to quit being afraid of the future. Change is the law of life. We should work *with* change instead of being forced into it. All our education teaches *finality*. Business clamors for *stability*. Our thinking is conventionalized." (22 ed, pp 215-16)

The Kettering Foundation at Antioch College, directed by Ondess L. Inman, is devoted to research in chlorophyll and photosynthesis. Other researches on "converting sunlight into power" are carried on at M. I. T. and Harvard under a Solar Energy Fund provided by Dr. Godfrey Lowell Cabot.

"Looking Forward Through the Eyes of Research: Nature vs. People" was the title of an address of Kettering in March, 1944, in which he pointed out that many "look into a crystal ball" to see the postwar world. But he doesn't believe "we will have a new world, a different 'world' nor that we will let all 'go to pot'". What we do will depend on "the rate at which human beings can change their point of view", but "no matter what kind of mess we are in, we have to start from 'wherever we happen to be'".

Harlow Shapley in the *American Scholar*, Winter 1944-45, presents "A Design

for Fighting" bigger and better wars continuously against selected enemies, but particularly against "The Tyranny of the Unknown". It is ignorance that keeps man fooled and ruled.

(5) In "Science for the Citizen", 1938, Lancelot Hogben showed how humanity and its affairs could be better served. In "The Social Function of Science", 1938, John Bernal makes it clear that the amount spent on gaining new knowledge is insignificant compared with what is spent on conserving what has been long accepted, as does J. G. Crowther in "The Social Relations of Science", 1941.

In "Science and Education", 1942, S. R. Humby and E. J. F. James declare, "If it is the function of education to make knowledge available for social ends, ours has been too slow to realise the significance of the new knowledge of the last two centuries. To a great extent the failure of our social adjustment arises in a divorce at the school level between this knowledge and the creation of a social conscience."

They quote Bernal,—“Those privileged members of the community who have been through a secondary or public school education may be expected to know something about the elementary physics and chemistry of a hundred years ago, but they probably know hardly more than a bright boy can pick up from an interest in wireless or scientific hobbies out of school hours. As for the learning of scientific method, the whole thing is palpably a farce. Actually, for the convenience of teachers and the requirements of the examination system it is necessary that the pupils not only do not learn the scientific methods, but learn precisely the reverse, that is, to believe, on the authority of their masters or text-books, exactly what they are told and to reproduce it when asked, whether it seems nonsense to them or not.”

So damaging to the human intellect and spirit has been this type of education that although science clearly shows us how we can use the resources of the earth to produce abundance for all, we have no interest in so doing. We fight to maintain our economy of scarcity, destroy what we have, and in the name of morality, religion, and civilization bring about the deprivation and starvation of millions,—all in the name of intelligence and righteousness.

(6) This Hermann Joseph Muller, geneticist, Ph. D., Columbia, 1916, professor of biology at the University of Texas, on leave from 1933 as senior geneticist to the Institution of Genetics, Moscow, is not to be confused with Herbert J. Muller, the literature professor at Purdue, whose "Science and Criticism", Yale, 1943, presents the human implications of modern science.

(7) "The Stifling of Research", considered by Bernal in his "Social Function of Science", pp 141-7, explains how scientific research is suppressed and tells of government investigations in England and America that brought out how monopolies buy up patents to prevent their use lest their investment be depreciated.

"The profit motive canalised scientific study into too narrow channels", Humby and James tell us in "Science and Education". "Researches carried out under these conditions were usually secret and unco-ordinated; the pursuit of scientific knowledge was thus impeded, and its pursuit rendered less efficient. . . . Its whole outlook became unbalanced. The physical sciences were, and are, subsidised comparatively heavily, whereas the biological, social and even medical sciences are starved. . . . A most striking way in which the economic organisation of society frustrates the free progress of science is in the 'freezing' (i.e. the buying up and suppressing) by large firms of patents which if exploited might well have results of great social value."

(8) "With our better universities and research institutes largely dedicated to truth, but with practically all of our other institutions neglecting, twisting,

curbing or suppressing basic biologic truth, there is little wonder that our people are uninformed or misinformed on man's own nature and man's place in nature. . . . Life-science can emphasize the newness of intimate knowledge of ourselves. Nearly all of the definite and worth-while that we know about our own bodies has been learned within the time of men now alive. Most that we know about the care of our bodies and nearly everything that we know about fighting disease successfully has been learned in that same time or in an even shorter period." (Oscar Riddle, *Science Education*, April, 1937)

(9) "Using chiefly Platonic and Indian sources, it is argued that while the modern term 'aesthetics' may apply to the essentially unintelligible art of the present day, it is not by any aesthetic or psychological analysis, but only by their 'rhetoric' that the arts of other times and other peoples can be understood. In the traditional rhetoric, art has to do primarily with knowledge, and only accidentally with feeling: *ars sine scientia nihil*."

"The true artist is not expressing himself, but making himself a willing instrument through which the truth is to be expressed. The beauty or perfection of a work of art is a matter of accuracy; art is imagery, and to be judged as art by the correctness of its iconography. Only that art which is both accurate and adapted to good use is suitable for free men." (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Parnassus*, March, 1941)

(10) "The ethics of science . . . teaches that . . . the progress of the human race through future ages be promoted by intelligence and good will", said Edwin Grant Conklin, philosophical biologist, in his address as retiring president of the A.A.A.S., Dec. 27, 1937 (*Science*, Dec. 31, 1937). "The faith, ideals and ethics of science . . . include . . . recognition of the fact that knowledge is relative, not absolute, and that only gradually do we arrive at truth concerning nature. . . . The ills of society, like the diseases of the body, have natural causes and they can be cured only by controlling those causes. . . ."

"In all normal human beings it is possible to cultivate habits of unselfishness rather than selfishness, of sympathy rather than enmity, of cooperation rather than antagonism. . . . Education, then, which looks to the highest development of the physical, intellectual and moral capacities of men is the chief hope of human progress. . . . Great progress can be made toward the 'good society' by the better development of the capacities we already possess. All the advances from savagery to the highest civilization have been made without any corresponding improvement in heredity." (22nd ed, 1938, pp 206-7)

"In ethics, which is in some respects the most important of all subjects of human inquiry, we have made no great progress beyond the Greeks of Aristotle's day. Even now the study of human conduct is but slowly emerging from its age-long status as an appendage of religion. Would it not bring fruitful results to study ethics in the same scientific spirit that already pervades such a field of research as physiology?" asked Eliot Blackwelder in his presidential address to the Geological Society of America, Dec. 26, 1930 (*Science*, April 18, 1941).

(11) In lighter vein are the brief sermons of George W. Coleman, founder of the Ford Hall Forum, in "This Business of Living", 1935, dealing with "Many Sides", "What Is Your Goal?", "Challenge to Youth", "Adding to Life", "What Price Success", "Don't Be One-Sided". Somewhat similar is Porter Sargent's "The New Immoralities: Clearing the Way for a New Ethics", 1935, dedicated to show its reader how he "becomes dishonest and a hypocrite that he may find a way out".

OUR CULTURE CHALLENGED

High tide in the turning of thought and science to human needs was reached at the convocations of scholars in 1936. Challenge to authority and demand for social change brought alarms and portents of retrogressive measures.

Culture consists of patterns of behavior through the whole range of physical, mental, emotional life. From these arise as by-products tools, decorations, art, and the like. Culture is the fixed and fossilized past. Science reveals a much longer and greater past. Science is merely knowledge systematically arranged. New to man, it deals with old things that existed before the consciousness of man. Older than man's culture, his ideas, his gods, it deals with what was formerly veiled from his view but which influenced him unknowingly.

SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Recognition of all this, and the demand that science serve social ends, came from the fusty old British Association for the Advancement of Science at their Blackpool meeting, which struck sparks that illuminated the medieval murk that hangs over the Isles, and called for a scientific "attack along the line from politics and education to genetics".

Speaking on "The Impact of Science Upon Society", Sir Josiah Stamp, perhaps with Kettering's epigram in mind, "Change is the only constant", said, "Our attitude of mind is still to regard change as the exceptional, and rest as the normal." If we worked for social ends, knowledge could be used and the long lag avoided. But the greed, stupidity, and myopia of business men, of politicians and governments prevent. Using knowledge toward social ends "obviously involves very considerable alterations in the structure and objectives of society. . . . (1)

"Centuries and centuries of tradition and experience have given us a tradition that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and transmit those conditions to the succeeding generation. As Whitehead says, 'We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false.' " (2)

"The Cultural and Social Values of Science" elicited a spirited discussion which amounted to an admirable survey. As reported in the *London Journal of Education*, "Sir Richard Gregory claimed for the highest achievements of science a kinship with the highest achievements of poetry and a liberating effect on the human mind that had changed the course of history. Sir Daniel Hall struck the same note when he urged

that the control of scientific achievement must not be allowed to pass into the hands of 'power-mongers.' "

"Science has changed the world while philosophers have been content to reflect upon it," declared Lancelot Hogben, Professor of Social Biology, University of London, in a corruscating address, in which he made it clear that education was not making use of science. "The true and lawful goal of science, said Bacon, is that human life be endowed with new powers and inventions. The place of science in the education of the citizen is to enlist him in the constructive task of using the new powers and inventions wisely." (3)

Some years ago John Dewey anticipated that "the great scientific revolution is yet to come and will ensue when men collectively organize their knowledge to make secure social values". "What H. G. Wells might name Committee of Foresight," J. G. Crowther in "Soviet Science", 1936, tells us has been realized in Russia, which is one vast institute of human relations. They have demonstrated that what Harvard's wise men thought might be the proper function of a university can be the function of government. Crowther's survey shows that in the U. S. S. R. research is organized, planned, and coordinated through a dozen committees on a scale nowhere else and never before attempted. The emphasis is always on the immediate application of scientific findings to the problem of raising the standard of living. (Cf pp 305,314)

Culture, the fossilized past, must yield to science, tested and organized knowledge. New knowledge, new technology, new ways of doing things, conflict with the old ways of doing or regarding things and their product, culture. But the old ways must inevitably be changed by the new, broader, ways of seeing and interpreting. This conflict was the subject, in the spring of 1937, of symposia at Bennington College, Vermont. The title, "Science and Culture", was chosen "to emphasize what we believe is a basic conflict in our modern civilization between a new world of science and technology, and older institutions and ways of behaving. It is a conflict within culture. It is our hope to present the factors in this conflict, rather than to suggest remedies. The adaptive institutions of our culture are undergoing profound, even violent, change. The contemporary world is haunted by a sense of impending doom."

THE HARVARD TRICENTENARY

In the contemporary fog of educational confusion the Harvard Tercentenary lit a beacon. Amid the conflict of political ideologies it set up a listening post in no-man's-land. Wise men from the East (which for Harvard still remains chiefly Western Europe), brought glad tidings. Of the sixty-seven speakers honored with degrees, humanists complained

there were too many scientists; scientists, too many medievalists. Nearly all came with the stamp of approval of some university, chiefly from the English speaking world. Sons of Harvard who had most to contribute were forgotten, while doddering old dodos were given place. But considering that the celebration ostensibly was planned by a chlorophyll chemist and directed by a Kreuger-credulous investment banker, the odor of the laboratory and Wall Street was not too evident. (4)

To President Conant was due that the Tercentenary was "more than a mere academic ceremonial," as he expressed it. In resentment at the old joke about the academic specialist "knowing more and more about less and less", he brought together specialists in conferences on related topics. (5)

The three chief symposia, disguised in more academic terms, dealt with the fundamental problems: What makes us do what we do? Should the individual yield to authority? How did we get our ideas and customs? The speakers, predominantly idealistic, within respectable western academic limits, reflected remarkably diverse schools of thought and activity. With tact and finesse of academic diction, which only a few of the bolder disregarded, the fundamentals of our educational, social, and economic systems were critically scrutinized, classified, cleaned and labeled for their historic and antiquarian value. Generally accepted notions were metaphorically spat upon.

The biggest men in the whole show were a Vermont Yankee, John Dewey, still with his country manners, his quiet drawl, but smoothly working, uninhibited mind, and Bronislaw Malinowski, brilliant, incisive in his mental processes. He had lived the life of a primitive man in the Trobriand Islands. Invited to drink a cocktail, from a dignified stance he reproached, "Sir, I am a Polish nobleman."

CONANT STEPS OUT

Inspired by Tercentenary fervor, President Conant in his closing address temporarily took his stand among the intellectual giants present in challenging our culture,—our system of education and government. (6)

"We must examine the immediate origins of our political, economic, and cultural life and then work backwards. . . . The origin of the constitution, the functioning of the three branches of the federal government, the forces of modern capitalism, must be dissected as fearlessly as the geologist examines the origin of rocks. . . . On this point there can be no compromise; we are either afraid of heresy or we are not. If we are afraid, there will be no adequate discussion of the genesis of our national life; the door will be shut to the development of a culture which will satisfy our needs." With constructive thought and scientific acumen he declared, "Those of us who have faith in human reason believe that in

the next hundred years we can build an educational basis for a unified, coherent culture suited to a democratic country in a scientific age." (7)

To the Associated Harvard Clubs, most moribundly conservative of the alumni, Conant, with something of the million year vision that had come to him in his laboratory study of the origins of chlorophyl and the beginnings of life, challenged, "Are you enthusiastic about what the human mind has accomplished in modern times or are you against it? Before you answer this question take a considered view of the last three centuries and then turn and face the future. Only when we contemplate what human effort has accomplished can we understand the significance of what may lie ahead."

FACTORS DETERMINING HUMAN BEHAVIOR

The eight papers supposedly on "the forces that condition or impel human conduct" were published February, 1937, as "Factors Determining Human Behavior". The contributors included a physiologist, a chemist, a logician, two psychologists, an anthropologist. It was the most inadequately treated of the three symposia. The understanding and control of human behavior in the individual and in social groups is perhaps the most urgent problem of modern civilization. Human behavior remains the greatest unknown factor, which may bring to naught the most logical political and economic planning. Man still remains the greatest mystery to man. Considering the magnitude of the subject and the availability of others who have taken the lead in the development of the theme, these papers present an inchoate and uncoordinated group of addresses. Here is no one to tell us of the development of mind in prehistoric man, of how from the use of the hand, tools, crafts, art, speech, brain developed, as might R. R. Schmidt. No one tells us of the beginnings of the science of behavior, which three sons of Harvard had most to do with,—Thorndike, Jennings, and Yerkes, the latter practically forced out of Harvard by Lowell.

"The Nervous System" was dealt with briefly and simply by Edgar Douglas Adrian, Trinity College, Cambridge, Nobel Prize winner. He brought out, not too effectively, one important fact,— "Our behavior will be most effective when there is enough emotional tension to arouse the activity of the forebrain but not enough to submerge it in a stereotyped response. We know well enough that our emotions can cloud our judgment and we know that some interest is necessary, that moral indignation supplies the driving force for great reforms but that rage does not help them." This means that there is a physiological basis for the doctrine of "interest" in education, long decried by the conservative school masters who believe in discipline and doing hard and disagreeable things.

The brain works better when the glands of the body are properly stimulated, for the glands determine the fluids with which the brain cells are bathed, and those cells function best in the right combination of fluids. Let the old disciplinarians who still proclaim the value of hard and disagreeable tasks study this. (8)

CULTURE DETERMINES BEHAVIOR

Malinowski, pioneer in social anthropology, closed the symposium with a brilliant paper showing that "Culture, in fact, is nothing but the organized behavior of man. . . . Culture is a determinant of human behavior, and culture as a dynamic reality is also subject to determinism. . . . That which establishes man's final superiority over the animals, his power of symbolic and constructive thought, imposes on him also great burdens. It reveals to him the fundamental uncertainty and limitation of his own existence. In order to think clearly man has to look back and remember; he has to look forward and foresee; and that means he is subject to fear as well as to hope. Man, of all the animals, can not live in the present; he can not lead a hand-to-mouth existence from moment to moment. This must finally bring him to ponder on topics where emotions blend with cold reason and where the answer is dictated by emotions, though it is largely framed by reason. . . . The greatest need today is to establish a balance between the stupendous power of natural science and its applications, and the self-inflicted backwardness of social science and the consequent impotence of social engineering . . . we have failed to develop the really scientific spirit in humanism."

Continuing, Malinowski taught truths about communism which, had he been a teacher in the capital of our great nation, would have precluded his drawing his salary and led to his dismissal. "The scientific theory of culture has . . . brought to light some really vital truths . . . communism alone is never to be found in any culture, however primitive or complex. . . . On the other hand, pure individualism does not exist anywhere either. . . . Communism as public control of private property has always existed. . . . Communism as absence of individual property does not exist under primitive conditions."

"There is", said Malinowski in his address to the Phi Beta Kappa, "a powerful propaganda at work which attempts to foist on us the conviction that war is an expression of the struggle for existence; that it is due to man's innate and inevitable pugnacity or aggressiveness; that war as a selective agency has been, is, and will remain unavoidable as well as beneficent. Is this true? Give me the old warfare and I shall become as enthusiastic about war as any member of the most military propaganda organization. . . . Quite compatible with the principle of the survival of

the fittest" was the old type of warfare. But modern war is the "imbecilic expression of the domination of the machine over man. . . . You can praise the virtues of modern warfare only if you blind yourself to its realities. . . war has become . . . a destructive anachronism, useless as a tool, unpracticable as a measure of international policy, an unmitigated waste of all that is best in our civilization."

AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The men brought together, all from universities of Western European origin, to discuss the subject of authority represented wide differences in view. The title suggests the two poles round which the speakers ranged themselves. "Authority and the Individual", the second volume of the Tercentenary series, has to do with the action upon the individual of social institutions. There must always be authority, there always will be. In any well planned expedition there must be a base to which to retire. But no expedition will get far in discovering new lands if all the members stay about the base. There must be some who will defy authority.

After one has read all these papers and thought deeply, there remains only this,—some under the shadow of authority would oppose all change or movement, others spurred by individual impulse would explore, experiment, take initiative in spite of authority. Between the timid and the bold, between those of different brain patterns and varying endocrine reactions, there must always be difference of opinion. Some say "Let's go", some say "Let's stay". Some must stay and some must go. But how far shall the stayers restrain the goers?

Wesley Clair Mitchell, speaking on "Intelligence and Guidance of Economic Evolution", recognized that practically all "economic truths" of a generation ago are now proved untrue, that there is no modern society nor could there be without collective planning or control of individual enterprise. Malinowski had previously found out that there is no primitive society without community enterprise.

Douglas Berry Copland, one of the Australian economists whose planning helped to bring Australia out of the 1929 depression, speaking to the title "The State and the Entrepreneur", modestly said, "I am merely drawing attention to the trend of industrial revolution. . . . To a visitor from a country which had long ago gone far in this direction, the controversies over state control in the United States appear a little unreal. They show that unfettered capitalism will die hard in the United States, as it did elsewhere. I believe that it must die if the United States is to build up an industrial and economic well-being."

"The Historical Pattern of Social Change" was the subject of Robert

Morrison MacIver of Columbia. "Technological innovators, from Roger Bacon to—shall we say?—Henry Ford, have done more, unwittingly more, than any other men to dissolve the sanctity of tradition and to transform the nature of authority. New schools and sects usually attack the established order from premises that belong within it. But new technology, by changing the basis of life, prepares for a change in the very basis of thought. It is thus of particular potency in undermining the established notions of authority held by the masses of men."

RESISTANCE TO SOCIAL CHANGE

John Dewey, speaking on "Authority and Resistance to Social Change", said, "For ages untold, the human disposition has been to attribute divine origin and sanction to whatever claimed for itself the authority of long tradition and custom." To Aristotle we owe the theory that "social authority exists by nature". "To the old divine right of kings" the economist, industrialist and financier are "the new pretenders". Oppression and failure to adapt to social change has led to the present "confusion, conflict, and uncertainty". Denying that individual initiative seeking private profit has brought all beneficial changes, he asserts, "To speak baldly, it is a plain falsehood that the advances which the defenders of the existing regime point to as justification for its continuance are due to mere individualistic initiative and enterprise." They "have sequestered and appropriated the fruits of collective co-operative intelligence. This they have done alone. But without the aid of organized intelligence they would have been impotent."

Involved in academic language are Dewey's scientifically determined truths which if known and assimilated by a hundred thousand of our more intelligent citizens, or even by Harvard graduates alone, would indubitably affect current events, political decisions, and aggrandize our people, our American culture. But stupidity and fear still dominate even in academic circles. Veblen was obliged to conceal his meanings in abstruse language and still suffered heavy penalties. Today only a few are independent and brave enough to speak out, even in academic terms, to the intellectually elite, as do Robinson and Beard and Dewey,—to voice fearlessly their dissent from the accepted.

Under the title "The Place and Functions of Authority" four papers were presented dealing with four different types of notions, symbols, fetishes, that have controlled human action,—the American Constitution, centralization of government, the Greek spirit, and nationalism. "The Constitution as Instrument and as Symbol" is the subject to which Professor Edward S. Corwin of Princeton has devoted his life. "The Constitution has passed through the following phases,— from (1) an instrument of

national government, a source of national power, to (2) an object of popular worship, finally valued chiefly for the obstacles it interposed to the national power, to (3) a protection of certain minority interests seeking escape from national power,—or, in other words, from constitutional instrument to constitutional fetish to constitutional tabu, to constitutional instrument again, albeit the negative instrument of certain special interests, not the positive instrument of a government of the people."

DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

"Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought, and Art" was the comprehensive and somewhat evasive title under which were presented papers having to do with the formerly hotly contested problem of diffusion. Diffusionists have long held that an idea or an invention is the rarest work of man, and that a method of chipping stone, a custom of skin scarification, or an art form once discovered or developed is likely to be carried to other regions. The anti-diffusionists, where they found an art form or peculiar custom, very simply supposed that it originated on the spot, independently, in as many places as it might be found. That was easier than endeavoring to trace it. Ardent upholders of the diffusion theory, like G. Elliot Smith of London, were not present.

"To the historian the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro has opened up a world no less new than that uncovered by Columbus to medieval Europe." This most significant statement was announced by Professor Vere Gordon Childe, archeologist, of the University of Edinburgh, speaking on "A Prehistorian's Interpretation of Diffusion". "In general terms archæology demonstrates intercourse between the great riverine centers of population in the period preludeing that great acceleration of progress that I termed the Urban Revolution, a long and complex process just like the Industrial Revolution, to which it may legitimately be compared. Surely, that intercourse was a factor in promoting the revolution itself. The pooling of ideas for which such communications gave opportunity was perhaps the decisive moment in fomenting the growth of precocious cultures, in the transvaluation of human life."

All this had been stated by Dr. Childe previously in his "The Most Ancient East" and in "New Light on the Most Ancient East". In his "Man Makes Himself", 1936, he goes more into detail on this Urban Revolution, the last of a series of prehistoric revolutions whereby man remade himself. In the Neolithic Revolution, say 10,000 B.C. man changed himself from a food gatherer to a cultivator, to the domesticator of animals, the user of milk. Then man invented the wheel, the boat, in a Second Revolution, 6000-3000 B.C. In the Urban Revolution, 4000 B.C., self-sufficing villages, nourished by industry and trade and organized for defense, became city

states, gave rise to surveying. All this brought about a revolution in human knowledge with the development of mathematics, astronomy, and other science. So the diggers in the filth heaps of the past have discovered a new world for us, a very old world, in which through ten thousand years man remade himself and the world he lived in, as he must always do until decline sets in.

MEETING NEW CHALLENGES

As the Tercentenary conferences approached their final week it became increasingly apparent to all concerned that here had been brought together, despite defects and omissions, perhaps the greatest conference of scholars of modern times, an international court of wisdom. There was agreement that in this turbulent time it was needful that the world pool its knowledge, so that the future paths of peoples and nations be illuminated. After conferring with President Conant, the National Association of Science Writers, whose members had so ably reported the Tercentenary addresses, asked four of the speakers for statements on the possibilities of organizing a tribunal of learning.

The outstanding reply came from Malinowski, "I am convinced that a Supreme Court of organized knowledge is not only possible, not merely necessary, but . . . I would go as far as to suggest that the best minds in the scientific world should often indulge in the really scientific game of intellectual foresight. . . . The students of human society should put before themselves the question—Can they not foretell and foresee a cultural crisis arising?"

All mankind should be united in search for truth, in struggle for mastery of natural forces. All the learning and knowledge, the collective wisdom of the world, should be made available for the benefit of mankind. It may well be that the proper function of a university is to foster such a permanent body, so as to exert "a profound influence on the nations of the earth". (9)

THE IGNORANCE OF THE EDUCATED

The French Revolution might have been avoided, could Louis XIV have had the knowledge made available by Diderot and the Encyclopedists. These 18th century bolsheviks, against opposition, organized the knowledge of their time, as had Aristotle single handed two millenia before. They are sometimes accused of having started things. The violence of the starting was due to the ignorance that preceded. When the dam broke, minds were suddenly illuminated. Then followed the French Revolution. So did Shelley and Keats, the Romantic movement, and other events.

We all know today that the last war was not so disastrous as the Peace

of Versailles. "I suppose Mr. Maynard Keynes was one of the first to open our eyes to this worldwide intellectual insufficiency" remarks H. G. Wells in *Harpers*, April, 1937. "What his book, 'The Economic Consequences of Peace' practically said to the world was this,—These people don't know anything about the business they have in hand. Nobody knows very much, but the important thing to realize is that they do not even know what is to be known. They arrange so and so, and so and so must ensue, and they cannot or will not see that so and so must ensue. They are so unaccustomed to competent thought, so ignorant that there is knowledge and of what knowledge is, that they do not understand that it matters." The destructive ignorance of the cultured and educated, university trained statesmen and leaders in education is what appals Keynes and Wells and may well appal all. (10)

We have had two presidents of good-will, Wells reminds us, who sought to use the best the universities had to offer in working out their problems. Wilson took to the Peace Conference the best brain trust he could assemble from the universities. But for the most part they failed him, and we know now how great was the failure. "They had unco-ordinated bits of quite good knowledge, some about this period and some about that, but they had no common understanding whatever. And then appeared the new President, Franklin Roosevelt. He really did make an appeal for such knowledge and understanding as existed to come to his aid. There were the universities, great schools, galaxies of authorities, learned men, experts, teachers gowned, adorned, and splendid . . . this higher brain, this cerebrum, this gray matter of America was so entirely unco-ordinated that it had nothing really comprehensive, searching, thought-out, and trustworthy for him to go upon. . . . He was a politician—of exceptional good-will. . . . He showed himself extremely open and receptive for the organized information and guidance. . . that wasn't there. And it isn't there now."

MAKING KNOWLEDGE AVAILABLE

At seventy Wells rejoined the enlivened British Association and, always up to new tricks, planned an "Encyclopedia of Modern Thought," which he hoped "would play a similar role to that of the great encyclopedias of a century and more ago in pulling the contemporary mind together". First outlined in his "Anatomy of Frustration", Wells idea of a "World Encyclopedia" was elaborated in an address before the Royal Institution,— "The modern world encyclopedia should consist of selections, extracts and quotations very carefully assembled with the approval of outstanding authorities in each subject. . . . It would be alive, growing and changing continually under revision, extension and replacement. . . . Every univer-

sity and research institution should be feeding it. . . . It would be the mental background of every intelligent man in the world."

Modestly "with a real feeling of temerity of 'alma-matricidal impiety,'" Wells admits his is "really a scheme . . . for the re-organization and re-orientation of education". It is one man's feeble attempt to break the proud arrogance of those who maintain, uphold and perpetuate human stupidity. The British Association came to the same point of view. Reviewing their session, the *London Journal of Education* was led to remark editorially—"It is all the more necessary that we should overhaul our ideas of education. The mass of the people are an easy prey to propaganda through press, cinema, and broadcasting. . . . Man's inhumanity to man has made countless thousands mourn, and it is the task of education to root out that inhumanity and replace it by knowledge and understanding."

NOTES

(1) It was a time when the world was waiting for the sunrise. Even the modern Babylon, New York, in planning a world's fair adopted for its theme "Building the World of Tomorrow," and the former Tammany mouthpiece, Grover Whalen, declared, "It will indicate the road to a better world. . . . With the tools of today we can build a better tomorrow." It looks as though the reserves of the conservative and reactionary forces have become the shock troops for the advance. They all cry, "Forward or we perish!" (21st ed, 1937, p 57)

(2) Stamp was one of the great leaders of liberal thought who seemed rather less significant under the title Lord Stamp adopted when he was advanced to the peerage. One of the earliest victims of the air blitz which destroyed his suburban house and took his life, his was a great loss to England when honest men of liberal mind were rare. His "Science of Social Adjustment" made a basic approach to current problems (cf p 438).

(3) This meeting of the British Association marked the culmination of the progress in forward looking intellectual opinion which had been advancing for some years. But in the Educational Science Section Sir Richard Livingstone in his presidential address on "The Future in Education", suavely pointed to the road back through scholasticism to Rome and Plato (cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 129-32). At the American Association for the Advancement of Science that same year Oscar Riddle suggested that "the incurable optimists among us will perhaps cling to a hope that our science will some day be discovered by the Section for Education" (*Science*, Jan. 17, 1936).

From this time on funds from foundations and other great financial sources seem to have been made available for the promotion of the claims of the traditionalists for preeminence of the classics both in England and America. The tide was running fast,— it must be turned. From the centers of Tory or financial power regressive influences were set in motion. Those who had much to protect were scared at the growing might of rival powers, at the general intellectual awakening, at the demands of labor for social reform and closer approximation to equality in the distribution of wealth, at the progressive tendencies manifested in our colleges and universities. (Cf "The Future of Education", Sargent, 1944, pp 129-56; "What Makes Lives", pp 151-64; "Getting U S Into War", pp 41-8)

(4) The Tercentenary was not without its medievalists and authoritarians, but their message was so drab that what stood out, made the headlines, attracted attention, and stimulated the younger blood was the inspiring vision of Conant and the stimulating words of great scholars like the late anthropologist Malinowski. In selecting the speakers members of the faculty were consulted, though their wishes were often over-ridden. The young president was evidently strongly influenced by the prejudices of President-Emeritus Lowell. An influential member of the faculty, who knows, writing about the symposium on Human Behavior, to which chiefly minor men were invited, writes, "I read with much interest your characterization of the Tercentenary . . . The Committee did not pick the best men to deal with the subject, but such men (among those chosen to receive degrees) as *might* make pertinent remarks. Ergo, the result."

(5) The celebration was electric with surprises both of suppression and inspiration, as reported in my contemporary account: As in the days of Emerson and Wendell Phillips, the radical element was kept under. Suppressed was the Tercentenary booklet prepared by liberal and literary minded graduates of distinction, including Heywood Broun, Stuart Chase, Malcolm Cowley, John Dos Passos, Lewis S. Gannett, Granville Hicks, Quincy Howe. They called for a study "in a scientific attitude" of the action of President Lowell as head of Governor Fuller's commission. They urged "the alumni of Harvard to go to the record . . . and discover what happened to the mental processes of their alma mater's president", and so gain "an awareness of the incredible and destructive twists of men's minds—even the mind of a president of Harvard . . . for in that case were involved all the conflicts—economic, social, nationalistic, racial—which now rage with fearful consequences throughout the world." At the Harvard Business School, William L. Clayton challenged the whole legal system. "The private ownership of property is a permissive, not an inherent right. The right to bequeath property at death is of the same nature, but hangs by a more slender thread." (21st ed, 1937, pp 57, 59)

(6) Conant's election to the presidency was a surprise, the result of compromise. Lowell had been keeping his chair warm for Murdock. Conant, a promising young chemist, had married a daughter of Richards, Harvard's great chemist and Nobel Prize winner. Pulled out of his laboratory into the full light of publicity of the approaching Tercentenary, he spoke out boldly in his great Amherst speech, but after the Tercentenary never again.

At Amherst in 1935 Conant had declared, "We must have our share of thoughtful rebels on our faculties" and our students must be exposed to "the clash of opinion. Only from continued debate can new vistas be opened. . . . The different camps must be represented by vigorous champions—champions preoccupied not with maintaining the cause of their own particular orthodoxy but with developing new values and new ideas from the heat of battle. . . . From such clashes fly the sparks that ignite the enthusiasm in the students which drives them seriously to examine the questions raised." There are few sparks so flying in Cambridge today, and little enthusiasm ignited. Instead we have those safe generalities which sound so profound but mean nothing.

The virile young president who spoke out at the Harvard Tercentenary with the bold naivete of the scientist has since heard from influential alumni in the financial centers. An investment of 150 millions must be safeguarded, and donations to the amount of millions must come in each year. Now caution characterizes his presidential pronouncements. Cambridge comes "naturally into its state of mis-

trust and fear. . . . Harvard will engage in vast and pretentious researches, make valuable contributions in such socially neutral fields as astronomy, chemistry, archaeology, and cancer, and occasionally yield minor concessions to the newer democratic spirit. But it is no more to be expected that Harvard will kick free of her restraints and lead off boldly in behalf of any economic democracy that would elevate large numbers of submerged individual men to opportunities of growth than that Duke University will launch a crusade against the use of tobacco." Rollo Brown, "who lives next door to Harvard", so writes in *Harpers*, July, 1938. (23rd ed, 1939, pp 104-6)

(7) "Many must remember the sigh that rolled over the Tercentenary theatre when President Conant, with a slightly raised voice, declared that scholarship must probe the innards of the economic structure as well as the innards of the atom. That sigh represented much more than frightened selfishness", wrote undergraduate James Laughlin IV in the *Harvard Advocate*, December, 1937, in "Premature Intellectual Senility: Curse of Harvard".

Some years later a realistic understanding of the conditions he must face had changed the President's attitude. "Explaining why truth must be kept from youth, in the suave words of Dr. James B. Conant", the *American Guardian*, Nov. 1, 1940, quoted from a recent speech of his: "Sufficient indoctrination of 'awareness of the defects of the existing social order' will certainly sap the courage of many people, sap it to a point where willingness to fight becomes conspicuous by its absence."

(8) For Adrian's continuing researches, which led him to be "hopeful that some day an electrical listening post will be able to report what, if anything, a brain is thinking", cf "The Future of Education", pp 91-2.

(9) Aside from the obvious intellectual domination of other universities by the oldest and greatest, and through them of the secondary schools, due to the inspiration of giants like Eliot, Shaler, James, and a score of others,—Harvard had not taken an over-influential part in the nation's affairs since it opposed Cleveland's opposition to British aggression in Venezuela, since its part in the suppression of the South for the benefit of New England financiers in the Civil War, since its contempt for the abolitionists and such recalcitrants as Emerson and Thoreau. The new scientist president of open mind and liberal views at the Tercentenary set forth a plan whereby Harvard might lead the world in building "a culture suited to a democratic country in a scientific age".

The whole atmosphere at Harvard has since changed. Through one particularly forceful member of the Corporation a suppressing influence was manifested which stemmed from the trustee class of New England and the great financial forces centering in lower New York. Fear pervaded the faculty and conformity resulted to insure security. As alumni took the lead in pressing for conscription, Harvard became the spearhead for war, other universities, colleges and educational institutions following its example.

To understand what was influencing leaders in education it seemed necessary to keep track of the changes at Harvard. But why pick on Harvard? In the 1938 edition, pp 106-8, I explained that it is the oldest, greatest, most liberal and alive of all universities and so "best worthy of study, critical observation and comment" and likely to be most influential. In the 1937 edition I explained: "As a somewhat detached observer of the educational scene and an annual reporter on trends in education, it is my job to review a wide range of what has been uttered, printed, and published. Under the titles, 'Keeping Teachers Timid', 'The Academic

Mind', and 'The Control of Education', I reported in unacademic language on academic trends." In successive years, therefore, from the 1937 to the 1940 editions special attention was given the changes at Harvard and in separate articles published in undergraduate and other periodicals; "Keeping Teachers Timid", *School and Society*, Aug., 1937; "Frustrated Social Theorists", *Social Frontier*, Nov., 1937; "What's the Matter with Hutchins", *Clearing House*, March, 1938; "The Great American Folk Festival", *Clearing House*, Sept., 1938; "The Sterility of Scholarship", *American Teacher*, March, 1939; "Our Academic Ritual", *Harvard Advocate*, May, 1939; "The Scholar: A Second Hand Dealer", *College Years*, June, 1939; "Beware of British Propaganda", *Harvard Progressive*, Nov., 1939; "British Propaganda in the United States", *Common Sense*, Nov., 1939; "What's Ahead in Higher Education", *Journal of Higher Education*, June, 1941.

Reprints with letters were mailed to several score of the more liberal and alive members of the faculty as well as to the President, members of the Corporation, and some of the more forward looking members of the Board of Overseers. As the turmoil and discontent among the faculty increased, I continued to maintain an extended correspondence with members of the faculty and committees. Quotations from such letters were printed in the 1938 edition, pp 61-70. To a number of influential alumni I sent a confidential memo headed "Fear!—Who Runs Harvard?" attracting attention to under cover events, and in return received helpful suggestions and advice, which encouraged me to continue.

Later as I got out Bulletins on the distortion and suppression of current news events and their effect on the nation, these were sent to a large number of the faculty and to undergraduate editors. Some did not deign to reply. Others already showed fear and subservience, which they concealed by snobbishness. Others were cordially interested. Many sent remittances to insure continuance of the Bulletins. The first contribution, ten dollars, came from a nationally and internationally known faculty member.

During that period correspondence was carried on with the editors of Harvard and other college undergraduate periodicals and with undergraduate members of liberal and progressive clubs in New England colleges. Groups came frequently to my house for conferences, and forty or more individually or in smaller groups came to dinner. These men, who clearly saw how the war was being forced upon them, are now in uniform all over the world.

This protracted study of the influences exerted on one university led to comparison with others. Deductions and interpretations were published in the introduction of the 24th edition, 1940, separately printed as "What Makes Lives", pp 181-214, under the titles "Universities Promote War", "How Universities Are Controlled", "How Foundations Influence", "How the Executive Functions", "Controlling Mental Content"; also in "War and Education", 1943, in the section "Control of Education", pp 361-410.

(10) Both Wells and Keynes would have had something to say at the Tercentenary had they been invited. Doubtless they were suggested but turned down. Brainiest of those who met at Versailles, Keynes in his "Economic Consequences of the Peace" wrote of the statesmen there: "The future life of Europe was not their concern; its means of livelihood was not their anxiety. Their preoccupations, good and bad alike, related to frontiers and nationalities, to the balance of power, to imperial aggrandizements, to the future enfeeblement of a strong and dangerous enemy, and to the shifting by the victors of their unbearable financial burdens onto the shoulders of the defeated."

THE PROPER STUDY

Knowledge of man as an organism and his relation to the world about him, through patient and brilliant investigators, had made prodigious advance, which the universities, hampered by ecclesiastical origin, were slow to foster.

Sages and philosophers for thousands of years have been advising man to know himself. The Greeks echoed the wisdom of the East. Buddha's job was to point the way, the way of life. The medievalists split hairs and spun theories not only about the number of angels that could dance upon the point of a needle, but as to the nature of man. But accurate observation and systematized arrangement of that knowledge, the science of man, is very recent. Today we know something of the story of man, of how he fits into the organic series, of his place in nature. There are still long gaps, but we have an enormous amount of recently accumulated knowledge that is unassimilated, not used in guiding the destiny of man, in educating the young, or in charting the course of statesmanship. (1)

THE FIRST MILLION YEARS

At Les Eyzies in the Dordogne one may see evidences of the life of man over a period of a million years. In the shelters grooved out of the limestone cliffs, in the water worn caves, there is abundant evidence of the marvelous art of man of twenty-five thousand years ago. (2)

"In the short span of twenty-five years the story of human existence has been stretched from the 5,000 years or so covered by written documents to a million years or more . . . when man first differentiated himself once and for all from the rest of animal creation," said N. C. Nelson, of the American Museum of Natural History, December, 1936.

A hundred years ago Bishop Usher knew that man was created on Friday, October 28, 4004 years before Christ's birth. No one challenged. Seventy-five years ago the most ancient things we knew about we had learned from the Old Testament, Homer, Herodotus, Aristotle. There are statesmen, college presidents, misleaders of thought today, who mistakenly consider themselves conservative rather than ignorant, who know nothing of things more ancient. But the ever adaptable Roman Catholic Church has for years had its own anthropological society, investigating the antiquity of man, and the Catholic Boston College has inaugurated an anthropological museum. And blue blooded Charles Meigs Biddle Cadwalader, in his March, 1937, celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, called together an international congress and symposium on early man. Present were custodians

or representatives of some of mankind's oldest families. Van Koenigswald of Java spoke for *Pithecanthropus Erectus* so well that he was financed to go forth and dig up some more relatives. The Catholic Father Chardin represented the Chinese progenitor, *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*. Dr. Robert Broom touted for *Australopithecus transvaalensis* Broom. Three hundred anthropologists spent four days chattering about these old men of antiquity. But as Hooton remarked, "there are not enough fossil men to go round among the physical anthropologists", who "leave no bone unturned" that will enable them to claim priority. (3)

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

T. K. Penniman, Secretary to the Committee for Anthropology in the University of Oxford, took a year in which to survey the development in the past hundred years of the science that covers the story of man for the past million years. In "A Hundred Years of Anthropology", 1936, he tells us, "The Science of Man implies a synthesis of all the disciplines that throw light on him and his creations." "Physical Anthropology" deals with the physical characteristics of races and extinct species. "Cultural Anthropology" includes archeology, which deals with material cultures or the arts and industries that have been developed in the adjustment of groups to their environment. "Social Anthropology" treats of that phase of cultures which deals with social organizations and institutions, customs, ideas, religious beliefs and practices, psychology and linguistics. "Ethnology", which seems to be passing out, is still applied at Oxford to a comparative study of physical and cultural anthropology.

The publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species" in 1859, Thomas Huxley said, "had the effect of the flash of light, which to a man who has lost himself on a dark night, suddenly reveals a road which, whether it takes him straight home or not, certainly goes his way. That which we were looking for, and could not find was an hypothesis respecting the origin of known organic forms which assumed the operation of no causes but such as could be proved to be actually at work." The great founders of the science, Bastian, Tylor, Frazer, like Darwin owe little to the universities but contributed much. Frazer, it is true, was a classical scholar. Tylor was a brass founder's apprentice later invited to Oxford. (4)

Our recent greatly increased knowledge of fossil man has brought to light many species of *Homo*. We have a rich heritage from other species than our own, the discovery of the uses of fire, the beginnings of religion, and the invention of tools. Such knowledge has given us an increased interest in our surviving relatives. Yerkes, Kohler and others have turned our attention to the intimate study of the great apes. From such studies as Zuckerman's in his "Social Life of the Monkeys and Apes" we know

now that some of our human institutions and many of our mores are almost identical with those of the Hamadryas baboons which he so exhaustively studied. They manifest the same emotions of anger, fear and wonder. Family life, prostitution, most sexual and erotic practices are equally characteristic of these baboons and our own species.

SOCIETIES AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

With appreciation that he is writing in the midst of his own culture and that his study applies to the people about him as well as to those in the remote places of the earth, a scientist who reveals his human quality gives us "The Study of Man", 1936. The author, Ralph Linton, carried on his investigations in New Mexico, Guatemala, the Marquesas, Tuamotus and Tahiti, and Madagascar. This admirable synthesis includes much that is original, interpreting the problems "arising from the nature of the phenomena with which the anthropologist has to deal".

The author's interest is chiefly in social cultural anthropology. We come to see man in his varieties of social development and understand the interaction of all the cultural factors on the individual. As these are largely psychological, the book takes a distinctly psychological turn. It is the approach that seems to offer most, the one followed by Sapir of Yale and the subject of his forthcoming book. (6)

The local group, the tribe, the state offer enormous field to the anthropologist, but little explored as yet, little studied. Linton roams over this field with a penetrating eye and concludes: "In spite of some 6,000 years of experimentation, the problems of organizing and governing states have never been perfectly solved. The modern world, with the whole experience of history to draw upon, still attacks these problems in many different ways and with indifferent success. One thing seems certain. The most successful states are those in which the attitudes of the individual toward the state most nearly approximate the attitudes of the uncivilized individual toward his tribe. . . .

"Societies are groups of individuals who live and work together, their coöperative existence being made possible by mutual adaptations in the various members' attitudes and behavior. Social systems consist of the mutually adjusted ideal patterns according to which the attitudes and behavior of a society's members are organized. A society is an organization of individuals; a social system is an organization of ideas. . . . Societies vary greatly in the degree to which their patterns are conscious and verbalized. . . . Not only does the average individual fail to apprehend the patterns which govern the life of his society as a system, but he is rarely if ever familiar with all the patterns themselves. . . . It will be clear from the foregoing that culture is essentially a socio-psychological phenomenon.

It is carried in the minds of individuals and can find expression only through the medium of individuals. . . .

"One school of anthropologists have devoted much time and erudition to proving that uncivilized peoples do not think logically. This is essentially correct, the only error being that neither do civilized ones. . . . We have been trained to the belief that logical consistency is desirable, but in most cases the only effect of this is to make the individual angry rather than mildly surprised when the inconsistencies of his own beliefs are pointed out to him. After all, this capacity for inconsistency has its uses. It is the thing which makes it possible for men to achieve integrated personalities and at the same time survive in an unstable and constantly changing environment."

Dr. Linton's broad and catholic presentation gives us a wide perspective with which to view the human race, human nature, the behavior of our fellow simians, and particularly their preachments about "fundamental rightness" and "unchangeable human nature". We may be led to smile at the seriousness with which a tribe, Christian, American, takes its inconsistencies, its codes, and the determination with which it resists change.

PSYCHIC NEEDS

The social needs of human beings arise from their gregariousness, but psychic needs, difficult to define, are real nevertheless. "One of the most important functions of any culture," Linton declares, "is to keep a majority of the people who share it happy and contented. . . . If society is to survive, culture must not only provide techniques for training and repressing the individual, it must also provide him with compensations and outlets. . . . Socially desirable behavior must be rewarded, if only by the respect and approbation of other members of the society. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* expresses the social point of view. The individual who has to do the dying may acquiesce in its propriety, but it can hardly seem sweet to him. The act must be sweetened by the admiration of his fellows, the favors of women, expectation of enduring fame or a fine funeral, or anticipation of a glorious reward in the next world." Mohammed did a better job on that than we can.

"All societies are quite unconscious of the general influences which their culture exerts upon their members. They are somewhat more conscious of the specific influences . . . which derive from the society's more or less conscious attempts to train the individual to occupy a particular place in its system. . . . Our own naive belief in universal education as a panacea is a case in point. However, this conscious training receives its high rating mainly because it is the only aspect of cultural conditioning of which the society is conscious.

"The end which the anthropologist has set for himself," Linton concludes, "is, briefly, the understanding of the nature of man and the forces which are operative in society. With this understanding will come the possibility of control, and mankind will be able for the first time in its million years to shape its future deliberately and intelligently."

ETHNIC MEMORY

Man's psychic needs have been as omnipresent and real as his need for food. He has conceived his soul as something unchanging, immortal, immaterial, and so spiritual. This something that man has sensed, that led to mysticism,—his conception of Fate, immortality, has eluded the scientist, the archeologist. It was supposedly of another world. From the study of old bones, old stone implements, the charcoal of old fires, drawings on cave walls, from this long time study of man we have been able to reconstruct the life he led. But who would have guessed that we might have found among these artifacts the fossil soul of man and the beginnings of mind?

For the first time a scientific paleo-ethnologist investigates and writes of the soul of primitive man. "The Dawn of the Human Mind, A Study of Palaeolithic Man", 1936, by R. R. Schmidt, is a pioneer work in scientific psychology. He shows how the changing environment of the interglacial periods in Western Europe brought changes in man's activities and habits, and how out of this developed speech, art, music, how in conjunction with the use of the hand in grasping, there developed primitive tools, community life and, through interaction, brain, ideas and speech. (7)

The author has lived through the ages with primitive man and is bold enough to put down his new concepts in language made up of German compound words. The translator R. A. S. MacAlister, Professor of Archeology at Dublin, tells us how difficult it was to translate these compound words. The German title, "Der Geist der Vorzeit", he has successfully conveyed. 'Geist' he translates 'mind' and 'Seele' 'soul', which always in English has the theological taint that the German word does not carry. 'Artgedachtnis' he translates 'innate memory', which might better be 'ethnic memory'. This racial memory has long been recognized by the Germans more than by any other people, perhaps because in the heart of Europe their ethnic memory is so rich. "Our life is nothing more than relics of the perceptions of our earliest ancestors",—such a flash-back, illuminating the dark places in man's racial memory, could only come from Nietzsche. The inexorable, ever-recurring 'specific melody' of humanity, 'Artemelodie', was a favorite theme of his. Something of this Carus and Goethe had before recognized, the 'Gattungsgedachtnis'.

Inherited memory, and the phrase is too definite, is different from con-

scious individual memory. It is what remains of our ancestors' experience through past millenia since man developed a brain sufficiently complex to give rise to consciousness. It brings up from the depths of the subconscious at times a combination of glandular reactions which results in fundamental feelings like the responses of our distant progenitors to their drear life in the dim past.

THE FORMATION OF THE SOUL

"The Formation of the Soul" takes more than two-thirds of the book. Here is presented scientific evidence of the origin of religion and of our concepts of the soul. In infants and primitives the senses develop before the brain centers are fully differentiated, before the nerve tracts are completely medullated. There is therefore a failure in sharpness of impression, failure to distinguish clearly, as in adult and advanced life, between the actual and the imagined. This eidetic vision sees in a fire more than glowing coals,—leaping figures, grotesque faces. The primitive and child mind, proto-logical, conceives of magical means and beings, fails to distinguish between the imaginative, the dream, and the actual. All are on one plane. Scientific investigation of all this will clear vaguenesses surrounding instinct, impulse, and soul.

Poets have sensed something of this eidetic vision with which the ethnic memory is brought into consciousness. Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality" are intimations of this ethnic memory,—"The Child among his new-born blisses . . . still is Nature's Priest and by the vision splendid is on his way attended. . . . At length the Man perceives it die away, and fade into the light of common day." Sophocles heard in the murmur of the Aegean something that brought "the eternal note of sadness in".

"Thus in the Folk there live on old and new, magic and religion, conceptions proto-logical and logical, the irrational and the rational, ever displaying new facets . . . the strata of primitive experience . . . increasingly overlaid by later phases of psychical attainment. But in the Unconscious Mind they still retain their potentiality. . . . This innate memory, the recollection of the phylogenetic history of our species, is more deeply rooted than any historical tradition. . . . Only those aspects of human thought which are most deeply rooted in the life of nature are alike in character, and mutually comparable. . . . When the thinkers point us back to primeval aspects of the soul, to basic experiences of a vital essence, they thereby guide us into the depths of our own being, and to a sense of the unity of all people, in their nature and in their species."

But the mind leads us on to discover new things about ourselves, new experiences and new concepts. Thus has come about the concept of "the mind as the adversary of the soul". This concept of the soul as Schmidt

uses it, of the common experience of man which all existing men have inherited, carries out that old concept adopted by the theologians that all humans living are souls, carriers, participants in the soul of the race, in the common heritage. The proto-logical, magical experience of primitive man, the prehistoric myths, the gods of Greeks and Teutons, the mysticism of medieval time, are all part of our inheritance. So we have through the research of Schmidt the key, the beginning of understanding of something of the soul of man, racial memory, ethnic quality, which resides in the subconscious, is unconscious, which comes out in folk music, in myth, superstition, revelation. What we call the soul is in a way a survival of what is instinctive. In the ant the soul is supreme. There is no conflict between mind and soul there.

THE BEGINNING OF MIND

"Every human life repeats, in its psychical and mental development, the conceptual forms of the stages of human evolution", Schmidt goes on. "Personal psychical progress follows the same course as that of our primeval ancestry. . . . Modern scientific research into the biology of civilization and of the soul recognizes in the creative mind of prehistoric times the psychical preparation for our own life. . . . Only Prehistoric Science, in combination with Ethnology and Sociology, can reveal the psychic and mental conformations of prehistoric times, and thus reach the incipient germ of psychical life, in which lies hidden the very beginning of thought and of belief. . . .

"To the child, the metamorphoses which take place in fairy-tales and in dreams are absolutely real. . . . The magical practices of the child are in many respects the same as in the life of primitive man, in spite of the differences in environmental conditions. We adults mistake what is really a link in the evolution of the human species for a mere play of childish fancy. . . . The vegetal existence of the earliest years of life, which conducts the child from a germinative unconsciousness to a consciousness of existence, very closely resembles the pre-magical condition of primeval man." In disordered intellects there may be a relapse into the primitive vegetal state. In the unconscious "the archaic part of the human personality is displayed. . . . In the history of mankind, chains of thought endure, deathless and superior to tradition." The psychology of peoples may be understood from the cultures their mental activities have developed, their reactions to their environment. Mind is a part of behavior, the reactions due to this complex thing we call brain.

Mind and soul reacting to a changing environment result in new combinations which we call art when they are conveyed to others through the dance, rhythmic tones, line, space, mass. "The first gropings of man to-

wards technical representations began in the early Aurignacian", Schmidt tells us. "With the hand began the actions and deeds of magic. The picture of the human hand appears on the walls of the oldest cult-sites, before the animal and human likenesses develop. Assuredly the observation that a human hand, covered with paint or with soot, left its marks upon a rock-wall which it touched, pointed to the way in which his inner conceptions might be represented.

THE ORIGIN OF ART

"The figure of the hand pointed out to man the road to delineation. The road to a pictorial representation of the magical desires was open. By experimenting, by trifling, the artist's hand gained confidence in the use of drawing materials. It began by scratching lines, serpentine or spiral, with the fingers alone—at most three—upon the soft background. Circles and curves interpenetrated aimlessly until the childish combinations of lines acquired greater significance. Here and there they approximated to animal outlines: the lines of the back were recognized, and the figure received one or two supporting legs. A resemblance to living nature began to dawn. . . .

"The soul of the new, higher art belonged to the Cro-Magnon race, which became increasingly mixed with the Brunn race. . . . The art of the Ice Age is the expression of the Soul of Primitive Imagery, which develops apart from all esthetic intention. . . . Out of the picture grew the conventional sign, which was limited to the actively potent essentials. The visible had become the inward concept. . . . The Soul of Primitive Imagery has become Symbolic Thought. That is the road to mental maturity along which all of us must pass.

"In this archaic formation of the soul, in this foundation of a structure built through thousands of years, permanent psychical principles were formed which yet remain, as a human psychical inheritance." Children in their drawing and mimicry repeat this ancient story. "But most children are far from any intention to represent visible reality, or altogether magical pictures—although the child is busily engaged with the magic of pictures which he sees The more the child recognizes the difference between reality and appearance in his surroundings, the more does the eidetic skill in art disappear. The urge to represent the visible literally disappears as the logical concept increases. . . .

"The Dance precedes every other art. The primitive mimetic dance, which brings both body and soul into play, is the first, and universal portrayer of life, and is a faithful imitator of nature. The methods of hunting in the Ice Age already developed an accurate imitation of the wild, in animal disguises." The hunter wears a skin to disguise himself to steal

upon his prey. Then he comes home and, still wearing the disguise, he expresses his exultation.

"The most distant prehistoric ages are living in the unconscious life of the soul—in the Innate Memory. Thus we can never forget that we are Children of the Ice. Between 'Once upon a time' and 'Now' there stretches the living organism of uniting links—the chain of the generations. All the past is directed to the future: the life of the most distant ages reveals its meaning in the life of these present times. The Primeval Mind lives on in us all."

THE HUMAN MACHINE

How the living man functions is the problem of the physiologist. We still live in a salt sea as did the earlier forms of life. We are an aggregation of cells, highly specialized, enclosed within an integument, each cell bathing in saline, nutritive fluids. Secretions from endocrine glands in infinitesimal amounts added to this periodically, affecting muscle, brain, sex, control our reactions and are the basis of our emotional life.

The attitude, the thought, the feeling of the individual is modified by these secretions. The over or under activity of a gland may make him a giant, a dwarf, a moron or a genius. "Less than 1/2000 of an ounce of thyroxine is all that stands between Einstein and imbecility" (cf p 306). The hardening of the arteries, shutting off the supply of blood to the brain, reduces mentality. The drying up of the glands may change a judge, liberal in the prime of life, to a sour reactionary.

How "The Human Machine", 1937, came into existence and operates today has never been more clearly put forth in one single volume than by Dr. John Yerbury Dent, of untrammelled, uninhibited mind and comprehensive grasp of wide knowledge. From his practice of medicine, a man who knows the East as well as the West, he brings much to illuminate his explanation of what he chooses to call 'the human machine', the behavior of man, his reactions and inhibitions.

"Human beings find difficulty where lower animals find none" in arriving at adulthood because of tabus and cultural artificialities which often result in maladjustments. "Instead of childhood being as it should be, a preparation for adulthood, it is almost always in the Atlantic civilizations a period of preventive detention under more or less monastic conditions of sexual segregation . . . often continued long enough to form habits which prevent the completion of sexual development and a satisfactory adjustment of man to woman." The sudden transitions in adjustment in the development of our young from "school to university", from "virginity to marriage", often produce maladjustments.

Another "main fault in our present method of developing a civilized

citizen is the number of blind alleys into which he is led. He is given all sorts of gods to worship at different ages. Besides the supernatural ones, he has the mother, the school-teacher, the school companion, the school, the school colours, the captain of the eleven, the college, the university, the town, the country, the king, all of which are made to hold his allegiance for a time and then be displaced, in each case against a certain amount of resistance. . . .

"We have been trained by the other members of our herd to behave traditionally and to make compromises with others' behaviour. Nearly all our knowledge of the world has been received, not through direct experience, but through the mediation of words. We react much more to the symbol than to the thing itself, and our most important environment consists therefore of our fellow men and what we learn from them. . . .

"We act only to adjust ourselves to our environment, and rest only when that adjustment is made. As soon as we become incapable of this adjustment we die. When we stop learning, we become old and set and we are better dead."

CHANGING MAN

We hear a lot about the 'remaking' of man. That's a hangover from the idea that he was created and since he ate 'of the apple', must be saved. Actually man is the most variable of all animal species, the most adaptable to changing environment. There has been a lot of change in the last half million years. His fossil bones show changes in posture and cranial capacity. The tools he has left over a million years show great changes in technique in chipping stone and smelting metals.

Most of us have no time sense. We still think of Aristotle and Herodotus as ancient. Why, they were less than three minutes ago if we think of the whole period of man as one day. In his "The Mind in the Making", 1922, James Harvey Robinson was the first to popularize an adequate time scale. Reducing the history of mankind to the basis of a single lifetime of fifty years, he pointed out that we had been living under the blessings of Christianity for only two months and had had the printing press for only a fortnight.

With a twelve hour clock for the last 240 thousand years of man's life, in "The Human Comedy" Robinson tells us "Each hour on our clock will then represent twenty thousand years, each minute three hundred and thirty-three and a third years. For over eleven and a half hours nothing was recorded. We know of no persons or events; we only infer that man was living on the earth, for we find his stone tools, bits of his pottery, and some of his pictures of mammoths and bison. Not until twenty minutes before twelve do the earliest vestiges of Egyptian and Babylonian civiliza-

tion begin to appear. The Greek literature, philosophy, and science of which we have been accustomed to speak as 'ancient,' are not seven minutes old. At one minute before twelve Francis Bacon wrote his "Advancement of Learning", and not a half-minute has elapsed since man first began to make the steam engine do his work for him. There is, I think, nothing delusive about this reduced scale of things. It is much easier for us to handle. . . . Those whom we call the ancients—Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hipparchus, Lucretius—are really our contemporaries. However remote they may have seemed on Archbishop Usher's plan of the past, they now belong to our own age."

Childe, putting it another way, reminds us that it is thirty-four years to the Boer War, thirty-four decades to Queen Elizabeth, thirty-four centuries to prehistoric times in Britain. The geologists need even longer yardsticks. They tell us that life has existed 1250 million years. It is only a small part of that time that man has been around.

At least five species of *Homo*, however, had passed and left no descendants before the appearance of our own species which without too much modesty we have named 'sapiens.' (9) Convinced of man's stupidity, there is a school of historians and philosophers led by Spengler who think that man's time is nearly passed, that he will destroy himself. Well, we have been destroying ourselves for a long time and perhaps we are not so stupid as we were a few thousand years ago.

"Not a midwife but an undertaker" is the way paleontologist H. L. Hawkins of England introduced himself at the September, 1936 meeting of the British Association. "Man's overspecialization of his brain is dooming him to extinction. . . . Considered as a highly specialized animal, belonging to a highly specialized class, man is doomed. As a longtime insurance risk his evolutionary chances are not nearly as good as those of the lowly amoeba or the malaria germ." The seven hundred thousand species of animals on the earth today are only a small part of the number the paleontologist knows. Millions of species before man appeared had undergone their cycle of change and passed, leaving a few fossil records, the only immortality vouchsafed them.

USING OUR BRAINS

With a million years behind us and a million years to go there is much that we can do in that little time. For 25 thousand years we have had some 40 million cells in our brains,—born with that number. 30 trillion combinations are possible through the nerve fibril synapses. This apparatus is an inheritance and we haven't learned to use it yet. The great part of our brain cells lie latent through life. Only rarely the original individual finds some way of utilizing portions not utilized before. (10)

Julian Huxley before the British Association, September, 1936 said, "There are many ways of improving brains." Extrasensory activities "might be developed until they were as commonly distributed as, say, musical or mathematical gifts are today. If for all the main attributes of mind the average of a population could be raised to the level now attained by the best endowed ten-thousandth or even thousandth, that alone would be of far-reaching evolutionary significance."

Perhaps we can make civilization succeed. Carrel has said, "Civilization has not succeeded, so far, in creating an environment suitable to mental activities. The low intellectual and spiritual value of most human beings is due largely to deficiencies of their psychological atmosphere."

Julian Huxley, in the Galton Lecture of the British Eugenics Society, Feb. 17, 1936, said, "We may accept as given our present type of social environment, and adjust our eugenic program to it", but "assuming that we have some measure of control over the social environment, we shall adjust the genetic program to that program of environmental change which represents . . . a happy mean between the ideal and the immediately practical. It is not only permissible but highly desirable to look far ahead. Otherwise we are in danger of mistaking for our eugenic ideal a mere glorification of our prejudices and our subjective wish-fulfillments", of engaging not in eugenics, but in "left-wing politics", or "right-wing politics", or "nationalist and imperialist politics. In civilized human communities of our present type, the elimination of defect by natural selection is largely rendered inoperative by medicine, charity, and the social services; while, as we have seen, there is no selection encouraging favorable variations. . . . Humanity will gradually destroy itself from within, will decay in its very core and essence, if this relentless process is not checked."

HUMANITARIAN HANDICAPS

"We must either do some biological housecleaning or delude ourselves with the futile hope that a government of the unfit, for the unfit and by the unfit will not perish from the earth." This is the bold pronouncement of Dr. Hooton. I think that a biological purge is the essential prerequisite for a social and spiritual salvation. Let us temper mercy with justice and dispense charity with intelligence. We must stop trying to cure malignant biological growths with patent sociological nostrums. The emergency demands a surgical operation. Medical science must cease to regard its function as primarily curative and preventive. It must rid itself of the obsession that its primary responsibility is to the individual rather than to society. It must allocate to itself the function of discovering how the human animal may be improved as a biological organism."

Once we were all equal at the polls. That completely fooled us. The

modern idea is expressed by Edwin G. Conklin, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, addressing the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Sigma Xi,—“In a democratic society all men are not and never will be equal in power, wealth or social value, but they do have equal rights to life, liberty and opportunity.”

That, too, is sentimentality, humanitarianism. It is based on false assumptions that are not biologically sound. It is foolish to talk about such rights in the presence of a dear old lady who has suffered for years from an incurable cancer, whose suffering is becoming intensified, for whom there is no hope but pain. We deny her full consciousness and prevent her complete living by giving her sedatives, opiates. We haven't the courage to do more because we don't think clearly. The child born with incurable deformities, mental and physical, which will make him useless, a burden, a source of pain and sorrow, has he these rights? Have we the right to compel such to continue to suffer? Most of our ideas are unbiological, unsound.

And how about breeding for individuals who are sure to produce an inferior or diseased progeny? Are we giving equal rights to the others who are whole and sound and must support the progeny of the defectives? Our humanitarianism needs a thorough curretting. We should think more of the rights of those who are to come after us. Have they the right to a clean world to live in?

IMPROVING THE BREED

There is a great noise about eugenics, and some enthusiasts would sterilize many of us. Some of the geniuses that have made real contributions we should have missed if their parents or grandparents had been sterilized. It isn't so important that we do something as that we wake up and realize what we are doing. Perhaps some of these books will help.

Ellsworth Huntington's "Tomorrow's Children: The Goal of Eugenics", 1936, is packed with persuasive social idealism. In the form of question and answer he covers broad ground. The goal he sets is more children from desirable families, fewer from the undesirable ones. He gives conclusions from research, and presents the horrors of our reproductive system. Not everything depends upon heredity, he recognizes. "A man who makes a clever gangster when brought up in the slums of New York might have become a great scientist if he had been trained from earliest infancy in the home of a man of science." And the familiar example of the minister's son is nothing against this, for it is the psychic atmosphere that is more important often than the physical.

This world of old Mother Nature's isn't what is used to be. Man has his finger in every pie. There is little animal breeding going on today, little

evolution that he is not meddling into. From oysters to nuts he determines which are to breed and the forms that are to be produced. Even a dog doesn't have its day now except at the command of fickle fashion.

Man, no longer the football of fate, makes his own environment. He determines its direction and change. He has power, but he doesn't understand. He is capable but not responsible. He is a blundering idiot. A mere physical anthropologist, Prof. Hooton recently had the temerity to ask Kansas City Harvard alumni, "What shall we do to be saved?" Speaking to the topic, "Man as the Director of Human Evolution", he said, "In man evolution has become auto-directive". Science must assume "the function of discovering how the human animal may be improved as a biological organism".

We can't change human nature quickly, but we can change our behavior. We can change our fashions, our ways of wearing our clothes, of using our fork, of spending Sunday mornings. We can change our culture, and fashions continually change. Usually someone starts the new way of doing things. The dictators have accomplished profound change.

THE HUMAN COMEDY

It was a gloomy world in which our ancestors lived. Since the fall they had been born in original sin. But foreboding fear was older than that. Greek life was dominated by awesome Fate. How Aristophanes had to clown it to bring a ray of light, how broad his jokes to bring a little laughter. Modern biologists with simian curiosity have turned ancient beliefs upside down. Now that we know our bodies carry a hundred and seven atrophied or useless organs, we can no longer think of man as created in God's image without sacrilege. Now that we see him stumbling and spiralling upward from the brutish Neanderthal we find, instead of tragedy and hopeless Fate, comic optimism in his blundering stupidities.

"This was a man", one whom "nature might stand up and say" had done more to dispel the gloom, to disclose the comic, to give us faith in our future. James Harvey Robinson, scholar, scientist, took nothing at second hand which labor and time would reveal. Not content to describe things as they are, he wanted to know how they got that way. History for him was a part of a life process, something that had been going on, coming out of the past and reaching out into the future, and he wanted to know the steps,—not why, but how. His simple creed was that the way to salvation was enlightenment as to the path over which we had come. (11)

The mellowest, ripest product of his genius, "The Human Comedy", 1937, was published posthumously, edited by his pupil Harry Elmer Barnes. During the last years of his life Robinson was an invalid, but brilliant lightning flashes of wit lit up his wisdom. All the world's a stage,

and we the actors. Once we thought it a mystery play. Now we begin to see it is a great human comedy, greater than Aristophanes could have conceived. Dante saw it directed by heavenly powers. Meredith caught something new in his essay "On the Idea of Comedy and of the Uses of the Comic Spirit". "The Tragic Comedians" was a title that appealed to him. Balzac's "Comédie Humaine" was of sordid and shorter vision. "With Robinson", Barnes tells us, "the human comedy meant the drama of man as devised and directed by mankind itself".

Man has now arrived at a stage in his civilization where all the utopias that have been dreamed may be achieved and surpassed. But as Robinson says, "It is evident enough that our thinking and feelings do not change so readily as our circumstances, and cannot as yet keep pace with our knowledge at its present rate of increase. . . . Knowledge comes, but Wisdom tarries." Most of us plod along with the ideas and convictions, customs and traditions and ways of looking at things that were acquired at mother's knee and teacher's desk, a burden of antiquated historical baggage that prevents us from ever investigating and sorting out from among what we consider fundamental verities the things of real value.

MIND AND BODY

"Formerly it was customary to make the sharpest possible distinction between mind and body. . . . Once heat and cold were entities" like mind, Robinson reminds. "Our digestion is good or bad" as our mind is good or bad. Either may equally affect our behavior. But we don't think of our digestion as something apart from the body. "Man's mental processes are . . . not a 'mysterious something' implanted in every human being, but a slowly developed awareness of things and the capacity to make more and more discoveries and see how they can be used to better human conditions. . . . The old ignorant talk about the body indulged in by those who pride themselves on their spirituality seems downright blasphemy. . . . But it is cheaper and easier to dismiss biologists as 'materialists' than to be God's playfellow." (12)

"A very charming book appeared a few years ago, called 'The Mirror of Witches', which shows how the people of New England brought up their children to attribute their pains and discomforts to bad persons who made 'poppets', and by sticking pins in them afflicted those they disliked. . . . But we are still in the same plight. We have been taught and continue to believe many things that would not bear reinspection. . . . The child's parents begin to tell him the things which they themselves learned as children. He is defenseless against the prejudices of his elders whether they be Hopi Indians or live on Park Avenue." The hope of the world is those that have escaped the bending and the moulding process, the few

recalcitrants. "All advancement in intelligence and insight depends upon our ability to call in question and reconsider what we have hitherto taken for granted."

How Robinson twits the academic historian and classicist. "As Lord Bacon reminds us, the Greeks had no antiquity of knowledge and no knowledge of antiquity. A modern classicist would have been a forlorn outlander in ancient Athens, with no books in a forgotten tongue, no obsolete inflexions to impose upon reluctant youth."

Old Mother Nature, who is always young, has long had her little jokes. How she must smile at the human comedy, at our claim to superiority over her other creatures. When we thought ourselves the children of God, we were naturally sad and pessimistic. Knowing our failings, why not? Now that it is newspaper knowledge that our ancestors were ape men, we can see that things are coming on. We can be optimists and have faith that we may go a little further. We can see the comedy. The wise old apes of serious mien who sit upon the bench and in the seats of the mighty become as comic as the repressive king monkey in the zoo. When enough of us see it this way they will become equally harmless. Meantime there is increasing laughter where once was gloom.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CLINIC

Harvard's irrepressible, omnipresent anthropologist, Earnest Hooton, has long advocated "an institute of clinical anthropology or, if you like, an institute of anthropological medicine, a foundation for the study of well beings. . . . One might define such an institute as an organization devoted to the purpose of finding out what man is like biologically when he does not need a doctor, in order further to ascertain what he should be like after the doctor has finished with him. . . . The purposes of such an institute for research in applied human biology might be enumerated as follows,—to establish ranges, norms and variabilities in the fields of human morphology, physiology, psychology and neurology,—to investigate age changes in man from his conception to his dissolution,—to determine racial susceptibilities and immunities,—to test the assumption of parallelism between human physiology and that of the higher mammals,—to investigate human heredity and to apply the results of such research to medical practice,—to lay the foundations for a rational science of eugenics. . . . It is a very myopic medical science which works backward from the morgue, rather than forward from the cradle." (*Science*, March 20, 1937) (13)

Alexis Carrel the next year, in March, 1937, made a similar demand. "In order to co-ordinate and apply the data already gathered by biological and social sciences, there is need of a new institution, a center of synthetic

thought, which could be called institute of man, or institute of civilization. . . . Such an institution should recognize as essential the following principles,—No one who is expert in only a single field, such as economics, sociology, pedagogy, hygiene, philosophy, medicine, psychology, biological-chemistry, religion, etc., is fitted to apply his specialized knowledge to any problem concerning the human person in his entirety. . . . There is some chance for us to escape this fate of all ancient civilizations. We have at our disposal for the first time in the history of mankind the power of science. . . . Man differs profoundly from the abstractions created by economists, social workers, psychologists, physiologists, educators, historians, and other specialists. He is a concrete object, which must be apprehended directly and not viewed through philosophical or scientific systems."

Almost a decade earlier, in 1929, Yale had established an Institute of Human Relations "to concentrate on the welfare of the total human individual in his social setting, utilizing any and all types of research that will contribute to that purpose. . . . It has grown out of the desire to coordinate more closely the work in arts and science concerned with human behavior." In 1936 President Angell stated that "it now comprises the largest single research group in Yale University . . . for scientific attack upon the fundamental problems of human society". Most notable has been the work of Gesell in informing us on the behavior of the human infant, and of Yerkes on the behavior of the anthropoid ape.

Addressing a gathering of representatives of research foundations, Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, self-styled 'philanthropoid' of the Carnegie Corporation called for cooperation in the popular diffusion of scientific knowledge. Science, he said, is generally a neglected subject. The American adult should have the "right not merely to worship but to learn". College doors must be opened, laboratories and study collections made available, and traveling scientific units provided to serve areas lacking fixed facilities. Among the intellectual assets of the nation he included the two and a half million living graduates of colleges and universities.

"A new chapter in the history of science and of man is beginning as all the sciences are brought into coordinated attack on the vital problems of his future," it was pointed out in an address at Cornell in June, 1936, by Dr. Max Mason, predecessor of Hutchins at Chicago. "The boundaries between some of the disciplines are being broken down, and at last men are training themselves for work at problems rather than for membership in departments, while cooperation between specialists of different fields is constantly increasing." (14)

Speaking before the American Medical Association, Dr. Mason again emphasized that the scientific study of man marks a turning point in hu-

man history. "Our need," he said, "is now adaptation to our self-made social environment. We must consciously control our mental and physical growth." Alexander Pope is best known for "the proper study of mankind is man". And old Socrates had a hunch. "Know thyself".

NOTES

(1) Man, the enigma to Sophocles, the source of wonder to Shakespeare, the subject of Pope's wise but abstract admonition, has become under the patient scrutiny of the scientific method increasingly understandable,—this despite those who indolently and unanalytically maintain that human nature never changes or that man cannot study himself. It is a mode of approach, a human attitude, a way of behavior that enables patient science to disclose how man came to be as he is, to understand what makes him do as he does, to improve the techniques by which his behavior may be controlled for malevolent and destructive purposes, perhaps some day for constructive and benevolent.

The evolution of human nature is followed through millions of years by Jennings in his "The Biological Bases of Human Nature". A deeper understanding is arrived at by Sherrington in "Man on his Nature", and new light is thrown on aspects of man's possibilities in Carrel's "Man the Unknown". These modern views are popularized in Needham's "About Ourselves", and Erich Kahler reviews man's historical career in a new way in "Man the Measure: A New Approach to History". The whole modern psychological attitude toward man's behavior is admirably summed up in Thorndike's "Man and His Works", while that grand old nestor of biology, Conklin in his eighty-second year, in his "Man: Real and Ideal" gives us his observations and reflections on man's nature, development, and destiny, the result of his own biological research and profound knowledge of the contributions that have been made by a thousand scientists in the past few decades.

(2) From my journal written on the spot, July 5, 1932, I quote: Under one of the projecting limestone cliffs we visited the famous spot which first added 100,000 years to our knowledge of man's history. In 1865 a French archeologist found in a shop in Paris a conglomerate mass containing flints and bones of extinct animals. On inquiry he learned that it had come from the valley of the Vézère. At Le Moustier he first discovered the remains of what has become known as Mousterian man, his implements in association with the bones of such extinct animals as the lion, hyena, mammoth, and wooly rhinoceros. Though that was eighty years ago, a portion of the deposit which he excavated still stands, showing us some twenty feet of stratified accumulation made during the 100,000 years or so that man lived under this sheltering cliff. Here one could trace the development in that time in the progress of making implements. It is a tremendously impressive spot. The way down the Vézère from this point is replete with sites of historic finds. La Madeleine, which gave its name to Magdalenian man and his period, is on a narrow cliff-like peninsula formed by a loop of the river. It was here that the high art of gravure and sculpture of early man was first discovered. At St. Christophe the limestone cliff rising two hundred feet overhangs the river bed, forming an ideal shelter acres in extent. And here have been uncovered traces of man's life from the early stone ages continuously down through the Gallo-Roman to medieval times. The site where Cro-Magnon lived, found in building the railroad, is now occupied by a hotel.

At Laugerie Basse there is a great flat terrace under a limestone cliff which rises

150 feet above it and projects out 80 or 100 feet. This terrace and grooved cornice has been smoothly sculptured by the advancing and retreating ice sheet which came down here four times. Fortunately for us a part of the limestone cornice at this spot fell, perhaps due to an earthquake, in Neolithic times six thousand years ago, and these huge blocks have preserved perfectly what was under it. These carefully removed, we can reconstruct the life of the men who lived here. The terrace and cliff walls face the sun and catch its warmth. So equable is the temperature and moisture the year round that the maidenhair grows not only from the side of the cliff but from the roof above. And begonias, hot house plants with us, so delicate that they could be torn by a light wind, are here perfect. From a crevice in the rock gushes a little stream. The view from this terrace of the green hills and the valley below is lovely. It must have been even more so when the glacier was directly in front at a little lower level. Here was a perfect dwelling,—fresh air, sunlight, running water, ice supply constantly renewed, and game all about. On this great terrace there was room not only for the old patriarch but for any number of families of his sons and sons-in-law. Here they lived and spent their leisure engraving on bone, pictures of the animals on which they depended for food and which they knew so intimately,—bison, wild horses, reindeer. Here are the tools,—harpoons and spears for catching fish,—delicately fashioned of bone or antler. And there were humorists among them, too. One of them did the head of a hyena with a long distorted neck. One can hear the hyena laugh and the artist laugh at him.

The beauty of this dwelling, the music of the fresh running water, the beauty of the plant growth about and above, the fresh air with no disturbing drafts, the warmth of the sun conserved by the great rock cliff; the meat roasting on the embers and the great marrow bones in the hot ashes later to be cracked,—what a life for us degenerate descendants to contemplate! Man was then lord of creation. What a training school in which to develop agility, quickness of movement, nimbleness of thought, inventiveness, strength of sinew, when you sent your sons out to master by wit and art the mammoth or the great aurochs and to bring home their flesh for the feasting. After one has visited Laugerie Basse, never again will he picture the life of the cave man, so called, as gloomy or degraded.

These limestone cliffs are honeycombed with water channels long since left dry. We penetrated one of these more or less horizontally in the cliff side for a thousand feet, and for hundreds of feet on either side the nomadic hunters or their artist fellows had depicted as they saw them, the animals they knew. Astonishing it was to me, hundreds of feet from the daylight in this green land of France, to come upon a lioness just raising her head from drinking at a pool to look upon the advancing hunter. As the outlines graven in the stone gradually impress themselves upon one's retina one's breath comes hard. One feels that peculiar catch that comes only in the presence of what we call a great work of art. Nothing equal to it has been done since, and that was at least 25,000 years ago.

(3) Dr. Van Koenigswald, of the Geological Survey of Netherlands Indies, has continued his discoveries with astonishing results. Though shut off by the Japanese occupation, information has come through, presented by Franz Weidenreich in *Science*, June 16, 1944. Three distinct species of early man from Java have now been identified by fragments of more than half a dozen individuals. One of these, *Meganthropus*, was a giant. Moreover, Dr. Van Koenigswald has discovered another giant early man, which he has named *Gigantanthropus*, and several other species of early man in the "yellow deposits" in South China caves which belong geologically to about the same period as the Java discoveries. These re-

mainly were associated with extinct animals of the Lower and Middle Pleistocene. The enormous size of the molars, the heaviness of the jaw, which is characteristic of Neanderthal man as well, and the fact that Cro-Magnon man was of unusual stature, all suggest the hypothesis that "gigantism and massiveness" were "indispensable features of the earliest mankind". These qualities doubtless had survival value among the extinct ferocious animals on which they lived, superseded however by the appearance of the Cro-Magnon brain.

(4) Archeology has been advanced by grocers and druggists clerks and apprentices. The classicists were so engaged in comparing texts that they had no time for observation and did not deign to soil their hands. It was a German grocer's clerk, who had been enthused by his reading of Homer, without instruction, who formed the fixed determination of finding the site of Troy, then considered mythical. Schliemann came to America, made money and, having accumulated a fortune, in 1872 investigated the site of Troy. Respectable academic classicists looked upon him as a charlatan. Breasted was not an orthodox classical scholar and historian. He came out of the cornfields of Illinois, was a druggist's clerk, and his yearning to preach the Gospel led him to the study of Hebrew and on to other Oriental languages and so on to become a great Egyptologist, as his son tells us in his biography, "Pioneer to the Past", 1943.

(5) Linton in *Science*, March 18, 1943, reviewing "The Present Status of Anthropology", looks forward to the day when "this science of culture" which is now called cultural anthropology will "finally fuse and disappear into a large science of human behavior. This will be the authentic Anthropology, the study of man. . . . Anthropology as it exists today is not a well-rounded, systematically organized science but a series of discrete and limited fields of investigation. . . . In the study of physical man it found itself confronted by the vested interests of physiology . . . genetics. . . in the study of individual behavior. . . psychology. . . in the study of group behavior. . . history, sociology and economics. . . . Cultural anthropology falls into two great divisions, archeology. . . and ethnology. . . . Lack of cooperation between the two has done much to retard the development of both. . . . Physical anthropology must lean heavily on the results and techniques of related sciences. . . thanks to such cross-fertilization. . . taking on a new lease of life."

(6) In the summer of 1937 Sapir gave a course in the Harvard Summer School which my son attended and with which he was deeply impressed. Sapir came over to dinner, we had a long, intimate discussion, chiefly about the significance of his thought, its stimulating effect, and the desirability of getting his ideas into another book. His one great book, "Language", is a classic. Accused of being lazy, he readily admitted it, and I urged early production of the anticipated book. Unfortunately it was never produced for, shortly after, proposed for the Yale Faculty Club, he was blackballed because he was a Jew. The humiliation doubtless contributed to his premature death. A man of modesty and scientific fervor, he was extremely sensitive and never recovered from this blow. His forthcoming book the world has lost. His son writes me, May 21, 1944. "He left many scientific notes in the field of comparative and primitive linguistics, a few unpublished ethnological notes, which have been farmed out to those students of his actively working in these respective fields". A committee of his former students have brought together some of his more important papers, "which would best represent his views and contributions and still be of scientific value. . . . The proposed volume was submitted to a number of publishers, who although expressing great interest, were unable to see their way clear to publishing such a volume." In view at least

of the tremendous progress made by the Army of late in the teaching of languages due directly to the linguistic and ethnological investigations of Sapir and his master Franz Boas, it would seem 'morally incumbent' upon Yale to see that the volume is published. (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 59-60)

(7) The translation of this book, published by Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., in 1936, so interested me in the author that I endeavored to get in touch with him through his German publishers, Verlag Scherl of Berlin, urging an American edition. They replied regretfully that "not less than 22 U.S.A. publishers have refused". I wrote Schmidt at the address given for him, but never received a reply. His work has not received the attention it deserves, perhaps because his great book was published at a time when everything German was being suppressed or distorted by the English speaking world, and his views were not acceptable to the Nazis, who perhaps did away with him. This anthropologist is not even mentioned in Penniman's summary, though two other Schmidts, Emil and Father W., are referred to.

(8) Since Robinson a score of others have presented other time scales. A symposium on "The Time Scale" was presented in the *Scientific Monthly*, Aug., 1932, with contributions from Percy Bridgman on "The Concept of Time"; Earnest Hooton, who cites the twelve hour day for the three billion years for the earth allowed by the "radio-active scale of time" which "allots to man the last 21 3/5 seconds of this twelve-hour period". The rate at which "uranium by the loss of helium passes into lead" is the geological time measure today (Lewis Westgate, *Scientific Monthly*, Aug., 1943). "By comparing the amounts of uranium and uranium-derived lead in certain granites we can find the age of the granites."

Langley the astronomer made vivid the time scale in terms of the short-lived Ephemeridae,—“To those of these insects who are born in the early morning the sunrise is the time of youth. They die of old age while the sun beams are yet gathering force, and only their descendants live on to midday; while it is another race which sees the sun decline, from that which saw it rise. Imagine the sun about to set, and the whole nation of mites gathered under the shadow of some mushroom (to them ancient as the sun itself) to hear what their wisest philosopher has to say of the gloomy prospect. He first told them that, incredible as it might seem, there was not only a time in the world's youth when the mushroom itself was young, but the sun in those early ages was in the eastern, not in the western sky. Since then, he explained, the eyes of scientific ephemera had followed it and established by induction from vast experience the great 'Law of Nature', that the sun moved only westward; and he showed that since it was now nearing the western horizon, science herself pointed to the conclusion that it was about to disappear forever, together with the great race of ephemera for whom it was created.” (Quoted by Stebbins in "The Constant Stars", *American Scholar*, Summer, 1943)

(9) By 1944 at least nineteen species of *Homo* had been named and identified from fragments. Not all will stand; some may belong to other genuses; some may eventually be grouped as one species. But today we are imperfectly aware, from preliminary and desultory exploration and fragmentary evidence, of scores of species of apelike men and manlike apes who lived and passed in the fifty or a hundred million years preceding our era. If the paleontological record were complete we would see innumerable other transition forms, some of them mutations.

(10) The use of the cortex makes possible survival. If survival is insured, why use it? Those who live a parasitic life in a static society don't. William James pointed out that all of us have latent possibilities which emergency or exigency may bring out. That is, we are capable of more than we had supposed. Most inven-

tions are stimulated by need. The scientists who have devised ways of using radar to detect the approaching submarine, because of a need felt somewhere, were taken from their routine quiet laboratory existence, given opportunity, incentive, and reward to work intensively. It was the need on the part of someone else who gave incentive to another that brought into unusual use the cortex of the latter. But we are learning too that much of this cortex of ours has long been in use, unknown to us (cf p 350).

(11) Robinson might have been a good orthodox purveyor of lecture notes on history, staying in his water tight compartment and producing works that no one would read, which he would abstract before annual meetings of learned societies or publish in learned journals that are filed on library shelves. He did that and more, and later with Charles Beard he produced a series of textbooks that revolutionized the teaching of human history. With this independence he stood out against the bullying of Butler, who was toadying to his banker Columbia trustees interested in the war, and after Cattell and Dana were kicked out, Robinson and Beard walked out.

(12) The body-mind dichotomy "has no place in science in 1943", says Dr. Stanley Cobb of the Harvard Medical School in his "Borderlands of Psychiatry", 1943. "I solve the 'mind-body' problem. . . by stating that there is no such problem. The dichotomy is an artefact." (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 93-8)

(13) "The somewhat amorphous discipline which goes under the name of 'sociology' could profit enormously from the development of a considerable body of psychologically and biologically trained field observers who would undertake to extend the work so magnificently begun by Carpenter and one or two other men upon the infrahuman primates. One really cannot begin the study of mathematics with calculus, and that is what sociologists have attempted to do. The social anthropologist has at least got back to algebra in beginning with savages, but the arithmetic is to be learned most securely in the infrahuman primates." (Hooton, "Man's Poor Relations", 1942, p 333)

(14) Mason continued, "Recent years have seen an ever-increasing application to the basic problem of human life, of all the methods, detailed techniques and vast stores of the exact knowledge of science. . . Only today is man overcoming his fear of finding the truth about himself, only today is he gaining faith in the applicability of the scientific spirit and method to the great problem, the problem of the distortions and difficulties that cripple the human intellect and the human spirit, retard the progress of the race in social organization and control, handicap man in his human contacts and in his individual performance. . . Throughout the centuries man has pursued his quest for understanding and control. His efforts until the new learning were, except for short brilliant periods, crude and naive. . . So eager was his desire for causes that a few coincidences determined unjustifiable beliefs which lived for centuries and renewed his store of superstitions. . . Man fought for emancipation from the chains of his own making, after the centuries during which he had remained bound to the Aristotelian milestones of his former progress."

CONFUSION AND CHAOS

Impending change, out of which a new order was emerging, brought fear, impeding adjustment and retarding educational advance. Confused leaders advocated retreat. Information was suppressed, intelligence stupefied.

Never before was there so great opportunity for initiative, fresh thinking, bold action in every phase of human endeavor. Criticism of education, of what it is and has been, comes from every source. Educational leadership, foresight and vision are needed as never before. Everywhere there is confusion. The old leaders fail. They lose courage and counsel retreat. In distress and fear people who would otherwise be independent cry out for leadership. They are willing to sacrifice their liberties to be saved. If there is no democratic leadership, dictators come forward.

TODAY'S POSSIBILITIES

The possibilities are so great, the job so big, that we may think it will take giants, but the drop of water wears away the mountain, and this great continent has been developed, exploited, ruined, by little men, not supermen. "Our educational system has been too virile in production of men immunized from a sense of feeling of social responsibility, trained in the art of plunder in gentlemanly ways, imbued with the false ideal that the American way means exploitation", declared W. O. Douglas before the New York Stock Exchange Institute in the autumn of 1936.

To one who has watched the flower of our youth come out of our universities these past forty years, the great tragedy has been the prostitution of the best minds and personalities to corporate greed or anti-social exploitation. It was the apple that led to the fall of man. With fewer opportunities for plunder, less stimulus to greed and more to pride in accomplishment for human welfare, the best men, once drawn into exploitation, may find zest in private initiative.

Up to the time of our economic collapse, education was well in hand. The control of the higher institutions of learning was in the hands of bankers and financiers and their power was such that none could gainsay. The public utilities bribed text book makers, college professors, school masters, and flooded the schools with their propaganda.

Since then educators have come to the front, challenging all to which they had been obliged to bend the knee. A new spirit and demand for intellectual freedom is stirring. The American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies in its sixteen volume report declared that our education serves privileged interests and defined education as "a form

of action on the part of some particular social group".

The threat of political control haunts President Hopkins of Dartmouth, cf *Boston Herald*, Jan. 28, '37. He says, "One of the functions of education is to equip individuals to see the moral defects of existing social arrangements and to take an active concern in bettering conditions. Our schools have failed notably and lamentably in that regard." Few schools or colleges are accomplishing what President Hopkins regards as desirable. But across the threshold of some of the great schools have recently stepped young men of promise whose reserve power, yet unknown, stimulates the imagination.

RETREAT OR ADVANCE

It is not only in the schools and colleges that things are on the move, that we have broken the shackles that held us to the past. In the reorganization going on all about us there is inevitable confusion. Some discern trends. Some are advancing toward goals. Others, bewildered, do what it wise for them, retreat to what seems to them security. There are always those who want to push ahead, to be first to scale the highest peak, to traverse the impossible desert or the impenetrable wilderness. That is the spirit that has made known to us the face of the earth and the fulness thereof. Some would abandon useless baggage brought from way back, and with greater agility achieve vantage points which they see ahead. Others, too weary to look ahead, regard their heavy burden as a sacred trust and to save it would turn back. (1)

Perhaps the most vigorous and vital of our educational leaders, President Hutchins of Chicago, has sounded the loudest alarm. In addresses, articles, and books during the year he has voiced his feeling on "The Confusion in Higher Education", *Harpers*, Oct., '36. Alarmed, he accents the "disunity, discord, disorder. . . . The most striking fact about higher learning in America is the confusion that besets it." (2)

For Hutchins "the truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same." Medieval churchmen would have agreed. So Hutchins, unready to help his students to face the present world, would regiment them in the curriculum of scholasticism. Complaining that the "student population is miscellaneous and variegated", he would reduce them to conformity and uniformity. Mussolini and Hitler could have told him how to do it. Here is a good man, spent, scared, ready to retreat, looking for authoritarian sanction. He brings support to the fascists, comfort to the Church, always ready to receive into its bosom those who would retreat from the confusion of the world. (3)

President Butler of Columbia, idealist at times, finds it satisfying but miraculous that the "highwater mark of religious thought and feeling, of

philosophic insight and interpretation was attained when men had not so much as an inkling of that elementary knowledge of the material universe which is now possessed by every intelligent child". That would seem to sanction the philosophic interpretation of the world we live in by those who know least about it. A Tibetan anchorite would meet President Butler's qualifications. "Any medieval monk would have agreed heartily with Dr. Butler", is the comment in "The Human Comedy" of James Harvey Robinson whom Butler forced out of Columbia. "It has always been easier to accept old notions than to gain new ones."

SMUTS SEES LIGHT

The confusion of a busy shipyard in war time, the tremendous activity of an ant's nest torn open,—individuals running hither and yon, apparently at cross purposes, arranging, transporting,—such activity produces an impression of chaos to one who does not understand what is going on. The old time educator in a modern self-activity school finds only confusion. Beneath the external order of the old time school the modern educator sees confusion and frustration within the skulls of the children.

Jules Romains, surveying the chaos that was France before World War I, writes in his "Men of Good Will", "I hope, nevertheless, that we shall arrive somewhere. . . . I am not addicted to the dilletantism of chaos. . . . But it is out of this aimless dispersion, out of all these zigzagging efforts, out of all this disorderly growth, that the ideal of an epoch ends by disentangling itself." (4)

Jan Christian Smuts, whom Robert Morrison MacIver at the Harvard Tercentenary called "the one philosophically-minded statesman of the Great War", at his installation as Chancellor of the University of Cape-town, Mar. 2, 1937, said, "Amid the evils of the world today where the tendency is to follow slogans, to run after catchwords, to worship ideologies or exalt party politics, the sovereign remedy is . . . the spirit of science which exalts fact above sectional loyalties and ideologies." (5)

This despised Boer, held as loathsome a generation ago in English propaganda, who has since become the brainiest adviser of the British Empire, goes on to say, "Whatever may be the outcome of the rival Fascist and Communist systems . . . I would ask you to believe that their hostility to the principle of racial, religious and political toleration must surely be a passing phase, a symptom of the confusion and unrest of the times. . . .

"There is no doubt that Mankind is once more on the move. The very foundations have been shaken and loosened, and things are again fluid. The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of Mankind is once more on the march. . . . The human spirit, having once broken its shackles, will never again submit to them for good. Evolution never reverts to dis-

carded forms or organs. And the light that has dawned on our human horizon can never permanently set again."

ARISTOTLE CONFUSED

This confusion as to what education is all about is no new thing. Aristotle himself didn't know what it was, couldn't arrive at anything definite. He was uncertain whether it should be directed to the culture of the intellect or to the development of character. In his "Politics" he reports that there is "no agreement as to what the young should learn, either with a view to the production of goodness or the best life". Looking about at education as it was, he found it in confusion. There was "no certainty whether education should be a training in what is merely useful as a means of livelihood or in what tends to promote goodness or in disciplinary studies".

Aristotle's progenitors, who were to become Greeks, had some centuries before come down from the Danube, raiding with fire and sword the rich cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and Crete. Out of the confusion following the destruction of the older civilization came the ferment of ideas, the disordered glory that was Greece, and later the law and organization, the ordered grandeur that was Rome. It was Aristotle's job to synthesize and put in order all knowledge,—and he had more complete command of the knowledge of a time than anyone who ever lived. In a series of texts covering the whole field from natural history to ethics, he left a monument to order and system which stood till Bacon's time. But education was too much for him. He left it in confusion, still growing.

Hutchins would have his students know the fabulous tales of Herodotus,—why not Apuleius?—study Aristotle, who thought all civilization must rest on slavery, and the brain was an organ to cool the blood. For Hutchins believes "the wildness, the hysteria, the confusion of the modern world result largely from the loss of what has been done and thought by earlier ages". (6)

John Dewey, amid this same "confusion, disorder, and conflict", finds that what is lacking is "freed intelligence with understanding and informed conviction to guide it". Hutchins, confused, would retreat to the medieval or the Greek world, whose order he understands. (7) Dewey with clear vision and faith in the future, courageously proclaims, "We must prepare our children not for the world of the past, or our world, but for the world ahead—their world."

The confusion that prevails in education is further illustrated by the great variety of definitions that have been proposed, depending on the time, place, background and outlook of those who make them. These display attitudes reactionary, conservative, realistic, or idealistic. (8)

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

Realistically, human education is the process that, consciously or unconsciously, we put children through, and of course our ideal is to make them as much like us as we can. As we have made gods in our own image, so we endeavor to make the next generation on the same pattern. Nothing delights a vigorous parent more than to hear his son alluded to as a chip off the old block. Such strong men stand like lighthouses, egocentrically giving out light from within. Light from without does not deign to come to them. Most of us look at education idealistically. But we are realistic when it comes to dealing with the youngster. All of us are quite capable of prescribing what the next generation shall do and think. (9)

There are varieties of education. We hear about a 'liberal education' so there must be illiberal education. The 'education of a gentleman' does not always produce the desired results. 'Practical education' we hear a lot about. The results of the 'impractical' are more apparent. What in England they call 'board school education' is just the 'common school' variety here. Perhaps we assume the pupils are bored. The more expensive uncommon school we call the finishing school because of what it does to father.

"What adults tell, reveal or betray to the next generation is what we mean by education." With a wry smile sapient H. G. Wells in his "Anatomy of Frustration" puts it thus simply. And this stands the biologic test. We can reveal or betray without the use of language. The mother bear educating her cubs, the bird mother teaching her fledglings to fly, betrays and reveals without the use of language. A large part of our human education is as fundamental as that. By imitation, from the way others do it, we learn to talk. So the child learns to use a spoon in this country, chop sticks in China.

EDUCATION IS ADJUSTMENT

To the school master education is fitting the child to the class and advancing him through the grooves and ruts of the course, planing off his edges, rounding the corners, and turning out a perfected product, as pills are turned out of mills. That is adjustment of a kind. School masters have infected parents with objection to transferring children from one school to another. It means readjustment, a change in the behavior pattern. That isn't the way old Mother Nature has worked. The behaviorist, studying her methods, finds that education is the process of discovering new ways of adjustment to a changing environment. When the environment is unchanging, the organism becomes a living fossil. (10)

The story of adjustment is as old as life. Every organic creature that

Mother Nature has created has had to adjust itself to its environment. That is what makes life interesting.

The simplest adjustment is merely tropism, a turning from or toward the thing that is inimical or beneficial, like the heliotropic plant tip which turns to the sunlight or the root tip which turns from the sunlight. H. S. Jennings has devoted almost a lifetime to the study of the paramecium, a unicellular, slipper-like animal. Its positive and negative responses to physical or chemical stimuli, sunlight, food and poisons, have enabled Jennings to write on the behavior and psychology of the paramecium.

Much of human behavior is as fundamental as that of the unicellular animals and plants. Much in the development of a child's interests or dislikes determines his course of life and is as simple in its beginnings as the turning of the plant toward or away from the sun. The organism, plant, paramecium, or uninhibited child, will turn toward that which encourages growth and away from that which is harmful. One kind of growing thing will turn to the light, another to the dark. Similarly to one child one thing will appeal, to another something quite different. The purpose of education in the past has been to thwart and prevent these natural turnings. This frustrates the child and produces the kind of psychotics that prevail in our civilization. The maladjustments so prevalent among us today are the results of our formal artificial education in the home and in the school. The same results have been attained experimentally working with animals, resulting in all the appearances of psychoses. Animals in a state of nature generally make gradual adjustments to changing environment, though it is true that the old and senile leader of the herd may suffer frustrations and go berserk. (11)

LEARNING BY EXPERIENCE

"Fools learn in the school of experience; I prefer to learn in some other", remarked Bismarck. He had the brain. The less brain, the more pain. Sorrow and pain of individual experience, the primitive way of learning among the lowly, is still craved by the young. They are gluttons for punishment.

The behaviorists thirty years ago or more, experimenting with the earthworm, learned that the earthworm had for thirty million years and more been learning by experiment, by trial and error. They learned, too, that the earthworm could be educated just as humans still can be by this primitive method. Nor are we humans superior, as we have so long boasted, in this way of learning. White rats and Wisconsin University sophomores were tested and compared by Dr. Ralph Linton in their ability to learn mazes. In "The Study of Man" Linton tells us, "The results revealed no important differences in the learning processes of the two groups, while

in speed of learning the rats had somewhat the best of it". Wheeler has shown that even ants can be trained in the laboratory to run mazes and form simple habits. (12)

"It used to be believed", Linton goes on, "that animal behavior was controlled by instinct, human behavior by a mysterious and purely human quality called thought. No psychologist holds this view to-day. What we call thought is really an integral part of behavior, for there can be no mental activity without muscular activity of some sort."

GREGARIOUS LEARNING

We herd young people together during the learning process, knowing they will learn from one another as sheep do. This imitative type of learning is higher and of later development than learning from experience. It belongs particularly to the gregarious animals, those who live in groups, where they must necessarily give attention to what others of the group are doing. All gregarious animals do as others do. They follow the leader. They have their mob hysteria, stampedes. A freshman in college knows that he must watch out of the corner of his eye and keep step with his fellows or he becomes a freak, an outcast.

Imitation of others, following the fashion, keeping up with Joneses, we have fallaciously considered as simian. Even since we have come in recent decades to know the apes and monkeys better, we have continued to malign them by attributing some of our primitive frailties, which come from more remote ancestors in the organic scale, to the simians. We humans, always more snobbish with our relatives, harder on our country cousins than on strangers, have looked upon other primates with some superciliousness, even contempt.

"If there are differences in the learning processes of men and animals", Dr. Linton concludes, "these differences are quantitative rather than qualitative. . . . It has been held that the superior performance of men in solving new problems is due to their having imagination and reason, qualities which animals lack. Recent experiments make this appear improbable. Imagination is the ability to picture in the mind situations which are not present. Reason is the ability to solve problems without going through a physical process of trial and error. Reason would be impossible without imagination, for in reasoning the situation has to be comprehended and the results of certain actions have to be foreseen. The trials are made and the errors eliminated in the mind." There are those who believe that such mental picturing and eliminating goes on within the brain of predatory animals. If the lion lies in wait for the game to pass where no game passes, he goes hungry. It is the better guessers that survive, those that have imagination and reason correctly.

THE SIMIAN WAY

Before man, before the simian, there had been learning by experience for hundreds of millions of years, by imitation for at least a hundred million years, by reasoning and imagination for at least millions of years. The simian inherited all these three methods of learning and passed them on to man, but the simian developed something new,—invention.

R. R. Schmidt in "The Dawn of the Human Mind" tells us "Only the anthropoid apes can, on their own initiative, fashion compound tools—as, for example, the joining together of two bamboo rods, in order to reach a desired fruit" (cf p 335). Kohler found that his chimpanzees could invent and devise new ways of attaining food that was out of reach. They worked out the puzzle in their own brains. Wolfe's Yale chimpanzees learned to save chips of the right color to insert in slot machines which would deliver food. Imagination, reasoning, and invention were shown by them. "It is difficult", comments Linton, "to see how the mental processes underlying such behavior differ from those of a man who makes a discovery and realizes its possible application."

Monkeys can invent, and they can communicate, but they can not communicate the nature of their invention. They can communicate their emotional states, fear, hunger, anger, pain. They can attract attention, stimulate interest, create desire which will lead to action. These are the four cardinal virtues of the good advertising man.

Man inherited from the unicellular animals and the worms the capacity to learn by experience, from the gregarious animals the ability to learn by observation, imitation, by watching how others did it, from the active, predatory animals imagination and reasoning, from the simian the power to invent new modes of action to accomplish ends. What was left for man?

If Kohler's apes had been human, one might have told the other, "Pile the boxes so as to reach the banana". That was reserved for man. Communication through noises doubtless arose as idle chatter, such as we hear in the monkey cages and at women's clubs. The female of the species, sitting in the mouth of her cave and awaiting her cave man with the food won by his bravery, craft, and initiative, chattered and gossiped. Simian gossip is sometimes frowned upon, but while the men were in action the women talked and made us human. We might have all been simians today except for the females' gossip. (13)

"When human beings meet they are expected to make noises of some kind, and the fewer ideas conveyed the better", Robinson says in "The Human Comedy". "Of course words are employed too to convey ideas and information, but very commonly they are gestures made with the vocal

organs rather than the hands or shoulders. . . . One of the most fundamental characteristics of mankind is his talking. . . . Man's whole progress has come with making distinctions and salting them down with names, and this helped him to get more understanding and also to raise his untutored children to the degree of understanding prevailing in the tribe."

Homo stands apart from his fellows in that he has developed a method of teaching others how to do, not by imitation or example, but by use of absent treatment,—words, fossilized thought. To tell, to preach, to teach is characteristically human.

Lest this bring comfort and satisfaction to the school marm behind her desk or the college lecturer on his podium, let us recall how short a time we have been human, the hundreds of millions of years of learning that led up to Homo. Let's get back to fundamentals, to the primitive methods of learning that have been tested and proved.

LIVE AND LEARN

"I try to get students to understand the present economic situation. . . . I believe that schools should make people intelligent." It is William Heard Kilpatrick speaking, whose proposed shelving by Dean Russell of Teachers College ten thousand pupils in thirty-nine states protested. "I wish our people, young or old, to realize that if they learn anything they must live that very thing. They will learn it in the degree that they live it. They cannot learn it unless they do live it. They must learn it 'all over', through thinking, feeling and bodily response. In the old formal school children 'learned' things in order to repeat them, to be examined on them. Those things never really became part of their being. That is why they forgot most of them as soon as they left school." "I am part of all I have met", wrote Tennyson, and Emerson put it, "Only so much do I know as I have lived".

Edwin Grant Conklin of Princeton, always an educator as well as a biologist and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in addressing the Science Teachers Association, somewhat modestly pointed to education's responsibility in regard to scientific discovery. "All education is a phase of development, and all conscious education is an attempt to draw out or develop certain inherited capacities. . . . Heredity fixes the capacities of every creature whether plant, or animal or man; environment, which includes training or use, brings these capacities to full development. . . . The inherited capacities of every human being are vastly greater than those that come to development. By our environment and training as well as by our heredity we are what we are. The teacher therefore is a worker in the field of experimental development."

PREVENTING ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment is painful. We like to avoid it, to be comfortable. We rest best among familiar things. The boy returns to his old school; the dog to its vomit. It is no wonder that most of us are inclined to look backward. We have come over a long trail. We carry deep-sunk ethnic memories, nostalgic, bitter-sweet. When the jungle ahead seems particularly impenetrable it is natural enough that the more timid, who can't see ahead, should set up a cry, "back to the certitudes of the past". So education has nearly always been given the backward look. (14)

The curriculum has been made to deal with the past. History stopped with the memory of man. 'Current Events' is a recent innovation which must be treated gingerly. This is all natural enough. We have always wanted our children to be as we were, to think as we did. We want our prejudices perpetuated, our practices carried on, our traditions glorified and we have built and guarded education to do this. Even after all the curriculum revision, after the influence of the 'Progressives' has made us all progressive, still our curriculum deals almost wholly with the past.

The "prestige accorded to dead languages" reduces the time and energy "available for studies" of some value. "The antiquity of these studies makes them 'safe'", for they can not "feed a spirit of criticism and discontent with the respected institutions of to-day", so that there will be no wish "to secure a more equitable sharing". These points are brought out by J. A. Hobson, British economist and sociologist, in his book "Veblen", from which we further quote.

"In American schools the same result is attained by the concentration of attention upon the founding of the Colonies, the War of Independence, and a worshipful study of the Constitution and the political and economic expansion of the country up to the Civil War. Intellectual and moral controversies which might underlie these political and military struggles are not deemed fit for the young scholar, whose mind should be fed with a diet of established facts which shall constitute a stock of knowledge. Controversy would only confuse his mind and perhaps stir a spirit of sceptical inquiry which might be turned upon current issues. . . .

"Where the elements of civics, politics and economics are introduced into some bolder schools, care must be taken to keep them inoffensive by confining them to descriptive information, or, if any controversial issue is introduced, to a balanced statement of the pros and cons. While it is admitted by most thoughtful teachers that a living interest in history and in social institutions would be best evoked by an intelligible account of current happenings and the present-day working of these institutions . . . this rational process is banned by its very merit of rationality . . . chiefly

because reasoning on controversial topics would cause misunderstanding among parents and school trustees and interfere with the peaceful career of the teacher. . . . As Veblen shows, such suppression is no easy task, for as all history shows, ideas endowed with vitality have an inconvenient way of reappearing in virtue of the element of truth they may contain."

HOW IT'S DONE

"Veblen's most distinctive intellectual work was the application of the psychology of the struggle by which the vested interests defend themselves against the threatened attacks of the underclasses to the various institutions that can be mobilized for defensive purposes. He gives great prominence to education in this struggle,"—which means, education, the corruption of the minds of the young, is the first line of defense of vested interests, whether American bankers, Hitler, or Stalin.

What Hobson and Veblen are both endeavoring to make clear, as true in both America and England but more particularly America, is that more money is spent on education because the stakes to be protected are higher than in other countries. While our educational system claims to be training minds, it is actually dulling, stupefying them. This accomplishes the purpose of maintaining the status quo and protecting existing privilege.

"Human thought", says Robert Briffault in "Reasons for Anger", 1936, "is artificially crippled. . . . That it should function normally would constitute a menace to the existing institutions, humorously styled civilization, and would strike panic into their shareholders. Hence provision must be made to render intelligence innocuous and ineffective. . . . The propagandas of politicians, the professors, the pulpit, and the press . . . rely for their success . . . upon appealing, not to facts, experience, or logic, but to the authority of established traditions" which "derive their sanctity from the fact that every established institution supplies persons associated with it with bread and butter and a little over".

In his "Adventures of Ideas" Alfred North Whitehead explained, "We now discern a certain simple-mindedness in the way our predecessors adjusted themselves to inherited institutions. To a far greater extent the adjustment was a matter of course. . . . Probably the Egyptians did not know that they were governed despotically, or that the priests limited the royal power, because they had no alternative as a contrast either in fact or in imagination."

"This reliance on authority is a fundamental primitive trait", comments Robinson in "The Human Comedy". "We have inherited it not only from our medieval forefathers, but, like them and through them, from long generations of prehistoric men. We all have a natural tendency to rely upon established beliefs and fixed institutions. This is an expression

of our spontaneous confidence in everything that comes to us in an unquestioned form. As children we are subject to authority and cannot escape the control of existing opinion. We unconsciously absorb our ideas and views from the group in which we happen to live."

INTELLECTUAL POISONS

The most effective teaching is preventing adjustment to things as they are. It comes from those who have most to gain by its effectiveness. Those who have great stakes at issue, nationalistic governments, dictators, great utility and holding corporations, monopolies, and reactionary groups, filled with great fears at the loss of great privileges, can afford to, must of necessity,—build great propaganda bureaus to hold the mob in loyalty or check.

The shrewd have always put it over on the stupid. They poison their intellects that they may control. But as the mob becomes increasingly aware and intelligent, the methods of propaganda must necessarily become more subtle. Without their knowing, propaganda must supply the people with mental and emotional attitudes that will prevent interference with the purposes of those who have plans, designs, schemes to put into effect. And so the mob is incited to anger against 'reds', and filled with fears lest the government enter their home and regiment their children, and horrified lest a profane hand touch the Ark of the Covenant.

Propaganda, the conscious desire and effort to promote ideas which are favorable to those promoting them, today enters every phase of our life. The arithmetic lesson in the elementary school builds the background for the perpetuation of the profit system. "If you buy for ten roubles and sell for twenty, what do you get?" Ten roubles profit is the answer in one country, three months in jail in another. Educators are just beginning to awake to the mind-poisoning that is going on. "The study of the nature of propaganda in the curriculums of the elementary school, high school, and college" is advocated by Charles W. Taussig of the National Youth Administration.

A school master of unusual vision, Alan R. Blackmer, editorializes in the *Phillips Bulletin*, October, 1936, "Today, as a consequence of the development of all modern methods of communication, the rise of modern journalism, and the perfection of the science of propaganda and advertising, men are submitted to a daily bombardment of quackery of all descriptions. Hypnotized by spell binders, inflamed by slogans and catch words whose meanings or implications they have neither the time nor the ability to examine, they are the puppets of organized propaganda. Even those who are trained to think do not know where to turn for the truth. Education is developing defenses against propaganda. Can it supply them?"

PERPETUATING HUMAN STUPIDITY

All is not well with us. The diagnoses differ. Some would have it that we have taken too many modern nostrums, others that we are suffering from long standing chronic social and organic diseases. If the latter is true, our educational leaders have been so myopic and strabismic we have only begun to learn of it.

"It has taken us perhaps a half million years to inch along as far as we have gone", Robinson reminds us in "The Human Comedy". "Ancient ways of thought and action become terrible nuisances long before they can be discarded." Intelligence coming in contact with these 'terrible nuisances' one would think would sweep away or override such fossil thoughts and modes of action.

But "it comes into collision with stupidity, a stupidity so colossal, so mountainous, so tough, that sensitive and intelligent people are filled with a sense of despair," writes Robert Briffault, historian, surgeon, anthropologist. It gives him, and others too, "Reasons for Anger", 1936. Stupidity "is not a constituent of human nature, except in so far as it is the product of the antique human nature which operated in the dim anthropological periods when venerable institutions became established. It is the product of those institutions . . . for the most part . . . handed down from a time when savages were imperfectly intelligent. . . . One of the most stupid principles, and certainly the most pernicious, of our current tradition is the doctrine that all beliefs that are held sincerely are equally entitled to respect. Nine-tenths of the atrocities which convert the human world from a glorious achievement into a ghastly horror are the result of sincere beliefs of good men and women. (15)

"Those sincere beliefs have plunged the world into misery and deluged it with blood. I have no respect for them. The principle is, of course, merely a device for the protection of traditional stupidity. . . . I am shamelessly intolerant of typhoid, tuberculosis, war, social injustice, superstition. I am likewise liable to become impatient when, in regard to any of these evils, I am asked: 'What do you propose to put in its stead?' . . . That a man is a consumptive, a millionaire, or a Methodist is not his fault. It is the fault of primitive insanitary conditions, bodily and mental." (16)

"The safety of the incomes which established institutions supply, requires, demands, that the world should be kept safe for stupidity", Briffault continues. "The tireless, lavish, and gigantic expenditure of effort to that end is too patent to be dwelt upon. The organized machinery of education,—the Public Schools which are the pride of England, the model educational institutions which are the pride of the United States—labors in that sacred cause. . . .

"Scholastic education alone is not sufficient to ensure traditional stupidity. Every available and devisable means, the press, the pulpit, the platform, must be mobilized against the menace of intelligence. No channel through which thought can flow, and intelligence can leak in, may be left unguarded. . . . To keep down intelligence is no easy enterprise. There is no task more titanic. The price of stupidity is ceaseless vigilance." The evidence is all about us. Some of the contemptuous reviewers of Briffault show how their minds were bent. They prove Briffault's thesis. Their education achieved its purpose. Light can not enter the closed mind.

Joseph K. Hart, professor of educational sociology at Teachers College, in his "The War Against Ignorance" tells us the result of our education "is the development of a socially naive and submissive person who believes everything his party, clique or class tells him, votes the 'straight' ticket, and after leaving school never looks at a 'serious' book as long as he lives". (17)

Anthropologists, looking at other cultures, readily see how these cultures are crippling, deadening. We are just beginning to understand that our institutions, our beliefs, our culture may be crippling, that they keep us from seeing things in their true relations and so perpetuate human stupidity. Our culture is challenged.

Such trenchant and critical views of advanced thinkers would have been thrust aside as the fulminations of radical irresponsibles, had not the same ideas been taken up and reiterated by the representatives of the most conservative institutions, Harvard at its Tercentenary and the British Association at its Blackpool meeting.

NOTES

(1) In their youth these reverts may have adventured and fared on in a world of change and new ideas,—tried the new and then, in fear and waning vitality turned back to seek security. They long for the solace of the old beliefs and rituals. They are loud for the old moralities. Some, weary of the world, instead of running away turn in upon themselves and become introspectionists, metaphysicians or inverters. The possible number of combinations of neuro-fibrils in the cerebral cortex, has been calculated by neurologists to be something like thirty-three trillion. A metaphysician shut up inside his own skull can have a lot of fun playing the combinations. For more involved and meaningless experiments, look at the ammonites, fossil mollusks, once the flower of creation, now represented by that degenerate survivor, the chambered nautilus. For millions of years from the Silurian to the Cretaceous, Mother Nature played with the septum which divides the shell into chambers. From a simple plane this was convoluted, pocketed, each diverticulum extended into intricate dendritic proliferations, multiplying the surface of the septum hundreds of times and varying the design of the sutures in thousands of ways. Don't be surprised then, that old Mother Nature takes a few cosmic moments to play with the infinite combinations possible in the synapses of the metaphysician's

cortex. And don't blame the metaphysician any more than you would the ammonite.

Looking back over the road we have come these millions of years, we find that more species and groups have turned back than have gone ahead. Of these fearful, forgotten, extinct creatures, who lost the impetus to go forward, all we know today is through their fossil remains in the geological strata.

The above is from the chapter "Eddies and Back Currents" in the introduction to the 1938 edition, separately published as "Human Affairs", in which we dealt with "Reverts", "Inverts", "Perfectionists", "Arrested Developments", "Apostates", "Atavists", and other types of scared retreatists.

(2) Dynamic President Hutchins is intent on making universities real "centers of creative thought". To the students of Chicago, before he assumed the presidency, he said, "My view of university training is to unsettle the minds of young men, to widen their horizons, to inflame their intellects". His Storrs Lectures at Yale, two of which appeared in *Harpers*, were published as "The Higher Learning in America", 1936. Impressed with the confusion of the universities, Hutchins with earnest endeavor and conviction attempted to point the way out. He prescribed a uniform course of study which approaches the medieval trivium and includes study of the great classics from Aristotle to Newton.

His proposal led to vigorous protests. Glenn Frank wrote, "Mr. Hutchins' projected university would be, in actual effect, a flight from reality." Kilpatrick said, "Philosophically Dr. Hutchins stands near to Hitler. When you have a professed absolute, then you have to have some authority to give it content." Whitehead called it "Midsummer madness". John Dewey and Hutchins have fought it back and forth. Dewey's final word,—"I must ask his forgiveness if I took his book too seriously." Approval came from P. W. Browne of the Catholic University of America, who in the *Catholic Educational Review* noted that Hutchins quoted Cardinal Newman after he had gone back to the Church, and endorsed Hutchins' statement that if we knew the thought of the great thinkers of Greece and Rome and of the Middle Ages, "our people would not fall so easily a prey to the latest nostrums in economics, politics, and education".

(3) "It was inevitable that Dr. Hutchins must some day go further. He has now done so. He has passed beyond the limit of metaphysics which he had previously espoused as the unifying discipline of academic culture and has come out in the clear light of religious faith", rejoiced the editors of the *Christian Century*, Nov. 17, 1943, upon Hutchins' address at the inauguration ceremony of the new Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago. "It is evident that President Hutchins had something more in mind than merely to welcome into the university's institutional structure a professional faculty which would attract only those who intended to enter the Christian ministry. He could hardly have spoken as he did if he had not envisaged a time when the general student body would be attracted to theology as an essential part of a liberal education." Said Hutchins: "We mark tonight the beginning of a great movement in education, the significance of which far transcends our own time. . . . The special intellectual subject matter of the theological school is theology", the subject matter of which is distinguished from academic matters by the fact that "theological knowledge is rooted in revelation. . . . Theology goes beyond all the other disciplines . . . because God reveals what the wisest man does not know and can never learn."

(4) Jules Romains, writing in deliberation from his chateau in the Loire his great epic "Men of Good Will", revealed himself as a great artist. Now a fugitive in New York, he looks dazedly back on the past seven years and writes for the

Saturday Evening Post, Sept. 21 ff, 1940, on the "Seven Mysteries of Europe". The mysteries are simple tragedies of greed, corruption, confusion, vacillation and incompetence. (Cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 470, 546)

(5) The years brought adjustment and change to Smuts, as revealed in his remarkable speech of Nov. 25, 1943. At that time he had become the Empire's leading defender, the first non-Britisher in history to preside over the British war cabinet, in Churchill's absence. As reported in *Time*, Dec. 13, after being withheld, he said, "We are fighting for freedom, of course we are. Our opponents fight for . . . the Führer principle. With them the objective has also become a catchword, a cliché. . . . Idealism is not enough. . . . Peace not backed by power remains a dream." Commented the *New Statesman*, Dec. 11, "Power, without social purpose, is a nightmare".

(6) There was a 'loss', yes, but not what Hutchins thinks. The intolerant attitude following the time of Plato, the suppression of investigation that had flourished among the Ionians, and the continuing enlargement on Plato's theory of the 'noble lie' for the populace, by the Romans and since,—all this is brought out by Benjamin Farrington in "Science and Politics in the Ancient World", 1939. The loss on the part of the Christian Church was in following the doctrine of St. Augustine rather than that of Origen, as explained by Fred Gladstone Bratton in "The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit", 1944. (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 115, 185-6)

(7) President Hutchins is an admirable administrator, but his brilliant and agile mind keeps him in the headlines and his faculty stirred up. With his novel suggestions of a two-year college course leading to the degree, uniform salaries for faculty, all outside income to be turned into the university, Hutchins continues to stir up the educational world, let in a little light, while creating confusion and joining the neo-Thomists in turning back to the past.

In the winter of 1943-44, Hutchins made two proposals as to the way the university might be run: (1) "Throw me out. . . . Let the university be run like a town meeting" by the faculty. (2) "Make me educational dictator" but "as power often corrupts, set up ways of firing me if I go bad" (*Chicago Tribune*, April 30, 1944). The faculty set about evolving a plan somewhere between the two. Hutchins announced, "The purpose of the University is nothing less than to procure a moral, intellectual and spiritual revolution throughout the world. . . . [It is] the crusade to which we are called." A startled faculty, after long deliberation and protest, came back, "The [University's] function [is] advancing knowledge by freely determined research and teaching. We cannot see how the University could become an effective instrument . . . of the revolutionary crusade."

"What's the Matter with Hutchins?" by Porter Sargent, *Clearing House*, March, 1938, pp 392-6, explained how the brilliant 'boy wonder' who had made Chicago a live university, had been influenced by 'the three fates', Richard McKeon, Columbia Spinozist and medievalist, Scott Buchanan, philosopher and mathematician, now dean of St. John's, and Mortimer Adler, neo-Thomist metaphysician. This with slight modification appeared simultaneously in the introduction to the 1938 edition of the Handbook, separately published as "Human Affairs", which dwelt upon Hutchins' appeal for 'unity' and 'authoritarian sanction'. For Hutchins' participation in the reactionary broadcasts under the camouflage of "Education for Freedom", for his recent lectures published under the same title, reiterating his dogma that every man should have the same education, cf "The Future of Education", pp 154, 156-7.

(8) Once I collected definitions of education by great writers and others. It makes a thick folder. Defining education is a favorite pastime with educational writers and speakers. Tolstoy asked "What is Art?" and then he answered, telling what he thought art should be. But his book did not touch the heart of the thing. Nor have most of the definitions of education. "The word 'education' ", remarks Louis Foley, "seems to be pronounced or written with a sort of reverence, as if it expressed something sacred. . . . Nowadays in professional discussions of educational matters it sometimes seems as if certain words were being used like the magical formulae of ancient incantations. There seems to be a kind of mystical belief that results will be cabalistically produced by the mere repetition of these glowing terms" (*School and Society*, Aug. 23, 1941).

(9) Idealistically, Commissioner of Education Studebaker paints a picture of education which never yet on land or sea has been realized. It is nice to have such pictures, if it doesn't deaden us to realities. "It is not our right as teachers to impose our personal beliefs, prejudices, biases, and philosophies. . . . We must fulfill the great positive obligation of leading youth, and adults, too, in full, free, unrestricted investigation of the world, in which we live and its many varied and conflicting ideas. We must be impartial and expert guides of learners in their ceaseless quest for knowledge and understanding. Nothing short of that can be honored with the term 'education'."

Realistically, Isaiah Bowman in "Design for Scholarship", *School and Society*, Mar. 21, '36, says, "A man should review the experiences of the race in its slow upward climb through organization to the control of the forces that generate within men and in turn mould society. This is the heart of our conviction about a liberal education."

(10) "Dwarfing and Stunting", "Freedom to Grow" were two topics treated at some length in the previous edition, 1938, pp 45-7: We autocratic parents and pedagogs should be humble in the presence of the child who knows how to grow without our help while we know so little about how it is accomplished. We might well have respect for what we don't understand and hesitate to mar or mutilate it. It is so easy to injure a growing thing and so difficult to help it. But we still go on putting children through the same ritual just as an old doddering Asiatic monk might go on muttering his prayers to his mud god after it had been overturned and destroyed by a devastating horde.

(11) Henry C. Morrison, endeavoring to throw some light on what he calls the "meaningless" term, education, in his "Curriculum of the Common School", 1940, recognizes the "adjustment" as well as the "eruditional" theory of education. "Education is an organic or natural process, common in the broadest sense to pretty much the whole animal kingdom. . . . Learning how to get on in the world is adjustment." (Cf "War and Education", pp 16, 18)

(12) Dr. Judah Marmor, addressing the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis, Boston, May 19, 1942, startled them by citing experimental studies which demonstrated that insects, in which we supposed the behavior to be almost solely instinctive, the result of inherited nerve and reaction patterns, are actually superior in learning ability to all other invertebrates with the possible exception of mollusks. Ants can readily be taught to learn maze habits. "Baby ants of three mortally hostile species were put into a glass case with the pupae of six other hostile species. Unlike their belligerent elders, the babies nursed the pupae, and when these hatched the colony lived on in peace" (*Newsweek*, June 1, 1942).

(13) E. L. Thorndike in his William James Lectures, 1942, "Man and His

Works", devotes a chapter to "The Psychology of Language" and another to its origin, in which he gives a "glance at three time-honored and then dishonored theories, now known by these opprobrious names: ding-dong theory, bow-wow theory, and pooh-pooh theory". Thorndike in turn believes that language is "derived from babble by luck". In any case, he asserts, "the human animal's miscellaneous play with his vocal apparatus, and the associations he makes of these with things and events independently of, and especially contrary to, his linguistic environment, deserve much more attention from psychology and linguistic science than they have hitherto received".

(14) What a comfortable world the Victorian schoolmaster lived in. Knowledge was full and complete, the world had blossomed, civilization had reached its apex. Finally it had accepted the results of Victorian science. And here he was the flower of it all, dispensing ripe, tested wisdom, reveling in the adventure of Odysseus and others who took risks in past time. One could not but expect these grand old classicists (as they called themselves, though others called them fuddy-duddies) to prove irascible, to show anger, when doubt was cast upon the value of their discipline, the training they had given their pupils. Usually by then it was too late for readjustment.

(15) But, says Briffault, "it is not against the fallibility of reason that modern intelligence dashes itself in despair. It is against the stupidity of the Middle Ages, of the savage ages, of the long ages of fumbling infancy when man misused his feeble faculties. It is not primitive stupidity which baffles modern intelligence, but traditional stupidity. It is a stupidity deliberately, laboriously, vigilantly cultivated by the established institutions of medievalism, barbarism, and savagery, whose survival in a world of multiplied intelligence requires that stupidity,—a stupidity which is an artificial product . . . no more inevitable than is the deformation practiced by certain savages on the skulls of infants, by the Chinese on women's feet."

(16) "We make a virtue of tolerance only when we do not as yet know how to deal with an issue in a rational way. . . . We cannot afford to let people adhere to biblical treatment when their children contract smallpox, because we know the right thing to do. Tolerance is therefore a makeshift." (Lancelot Hogben, "Retreat from Reason")

"Tolerance in any society very largely depends upon the degree of security felt by those who govern it. They are willing to discuss when they have the sense that the basis of institutions is not in dispute. . . . We want liberty; but we do not want the achievement of liberty to threaten a way of life in which we eagerly believe." (Harold Laski, "Dare We Look Ahead?")

"Though a modern democracy tolerates . . . a certain amount of difference of opinion . . . it will seldom tolerate extreme views on . . . labor, sex, and taxation." (Henry W. Simon, "Preface to Teaching")

(17) "There is a cycle in education which might be benign but is still vicious. Bad teachers teach students badly so that they in turn become bad teachers. Ignorance, like syphilis, would be eliminated if we could only make it spare one generation. What a stride forward humanity would take if just one crop of youngsters was put through the hands of really good teachers!" (Ralph Gerard, "The Role of Pure Science". *Science*. Oct. 21. 1938)

CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Restriction of freedom in education, avoidance of the controversial, suppression of dangerous thought, brought subservience in the universities, impotence among educational leaders, and confusion to our citizenry.

It was to avoid propaganda, religious and local, and so make good citizens for a democracy, that the tax payer was induced to pay teachers. But pressure groups are always endeavoring to inject propaganda into the schools. Formerly the church or state, with its own good in mind, controlled education to its own ends. The idea that education has for its chief purpose the improvement of the individual and the race by providing a favorable environment for growth is a very modern one.

Mussolini and Stalin, in seizing control of education, merely followed in the footsteps of Loyola and Calvin, in order to insure that loyal Fascists or Communists be made, just as have devout Catholics or Protestants. We Americans still think of education as democratically controlled. To that end we maintain local school boards who generally know little about education but are too often alert to opportunity for graft in connection with appointments and supplies.

HOW FREE?

Education is always controlled. By whom and to what end is increasingly a subject of general interest. The "Control of Higher Education in America," by E. J. McGrath in the *Educational Record*, presents a statistical study of the personnel of boards of trustees. In fifteen private institutions the percentage of business men and bankers increased from twenty-seven to fifty-two in the seventy years from 1860 to 1930. If lawyers are added the increase is from forty-eight to seventy-four per cent. (1)

In "Fear—The Master Enemy", *School and Society*, Jan. 9, 1937, Dr. A. O. Bowden tells us, "Fear, having been induced in the controllers of capital and industry, is through them created in those seeking political or social preferment. From these . . . fear . . . is communicated. . . . Insidious pressure and intimidation control the teaching profession."

"Middletown In Transition", 1937, by the Lynds, is a resurvey of their "Middletown", reviewed in the 1929 Handbook, showing the effects of the depression years. In the schools honest discussion of economic, political, religious, and biological questions is suppressed by the conservative forces in control. A schoolmarm confided to the authors, "My pupils insist on raising questions I dare not let them discuss. . . . The things they say keep me on pins and needles for fear some of them will go home and

tell their parents. I have an uneasy furtive sense about it."

In "Are American Teachers Free?", 1936, Howard K. Beale, of the University of North Carolina, shows a strong bias that teachers should have liberty to seek and speak the truth. In the name of patriotism and politics, the teaching of history, religion and science is curtailed and suppressed. Dean Pound of Harvard is quoted as saying, "Punishment for the harboring and expressing of unorthodox economic and political views is more sure and more swift than punishment for murder."

KEEPING TEACHERS TIMID

Teachers are kept timid, pusillanimous and servile through contracts and a false feeling of superiority. "They are expected not to lead and innovate, but on the whole to follow and conform to the accepted practices and beliefs of the community. . . . It is understandable that this conformity should be insisted upon by those in power, whose wealth and prestige would be threatened by change." Most teachers "are considered as employees of the state, as quasi-officials, and so are expected to represent and further the interests of the dominant group which controls government. . . . Despite docility, they cannot, in the very nature of their work, escape the impact of ideas and books, many of them forbidden, and so are more likely to analyze and evaluate the accepted mores. It is also comprehensible that occasionally the teacher with a more sensitive social intelligence should break over into opposition and criticism toward the established order on the grounds that as a faithful servant of society it is in the nature of his duty to demonstrate the defects of its values. . . .

"If a society is to perpetuate those values which it cherishes, it must pay attentive regard to what children learn and what teachers offer them. This is why for instance in a fundamentalistic community the legal code is used to forbid the teaching of evolution, and 'loyalty' oaths are being increasingly required by law everywhere. . . . This is why teachers may not mention or treat frankly certain commercial and industrial practices, corporation taxes, and public utilities unfavorably in districts where business exercises a powerful political control."

This is quoted from Ellis Freeman's "Social Psychology", 1936. "An unblinded psychologist", Superintendent McAndrew called him. In breadth he reminds one of Pareto, in virility of Veblen. The awareness of this man to an enormous range of phenomena, literature, and thought is astonishing. Obviously he has a first class brain and uses it. His chapter on "Values of Special Groups" has to do with lawyers, bankers and other specialists who serve society. The psychology of the banker and financier is that of the absentee landlord. "By his powerful position in society his fictive values have won for themselves acceptance as the

essential conditions which make economic functioning possible. . . . This servile acceptance is but another instance of the power of the environment to make the actual appear to be inevitable, necessary, and without alternative . . . profit has come to precede production." (2)

In the chapter "Creation and Perpetuation of Values" we learn that "the prescribed stereotypes of behavior for the attainment of a particular value are . . . socially derived and vary with the patterns provided by particular societies for the realization of values". "Values and Disequilibrium" leads one to realize that change is inevitable,—we must readjust ourselves to it, help forward it, or die.

CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS

"Education And Organized Interests in America", 1936, are critically examined by Bruce Raup of Teachers College. He tells us how religious, political, industrial, and patriotic groups spend huge sums on propaganda in our schools and colleges. It is documented by hundreds of statements, showing how through the schools, unprincipled forces work to shape public policies, thereby moulding the minds and characters of people to their own inconsiderate will. In a mature, dispassionate way, with factual knowledge and philosophic restraint, Raup presents the actual situation in America, which is of the greatest importance, particularly to those who do not know how their minds have been and are being poisoned.

The opposition to teaching what are called controversial subjects comes from those who are opposed to disturbing the status quo lest they lose prized privileges. But it is seldom stated so realistically. Poisoned with propaganda, it is the school board or the home that raises objection, to what they designate 'subversive'. Primarily this dangerous word means turning under something generally accepted. The method of science is subversive. It turns under everything that cannot be proved and challenges every proof. This method we have not yet applied to social and political beliefs. (3)

Edward L. Thorndike for the Inglis Lecture at Harvard in 1937 chose as his topic "The Teaching of Controversial Subjects". Without attempting "to defend or to refute either the doctrine that schools should limit themselves to what is demonstrably true or the doctrine that they should discuss freely, fairly, and usefully all problems of great importance", he considers "how we may make the applications of both doctrines more reasonable and beneficial than they are at present". First, we should limit ourselves to demonstrable, rather than generally accepted truth. Second, we should refer some controversial subjects to experts. Third, we should use the methods of science rather than emotion or persuasion. In this way controversial subjects may prove a stimulus to learning funda-

mentals, seeking expert advice, and weighing probabilities. (4)

HOBSON'S CHOICE

Most eminent of British economists, John Atkinson Hobson, in the notable series of "Modern Sociologists", chose for the third, following the Italian Pareto and the French Comte, an American. Among all American sociologists and economists, 'Hobson's choice' is "Veblen". Born on a Norwegian farm in Minnesota, he was ejected by one great university after another, and died in obscure poverty, a social and scholastic outcast,—none so poor to do him honor. Now he is held as "the greatest economist this country has produced". And now none are too great to praise him. Veblen has entered Valhalla.

"No American sociologist has brought a wider intellectual equipment, a keener brain and a more objective vision to bear upon the spectacle of American social processes and institutions." Veblen "discovered a sharp contrast between the 'natural rights' theories of his philosophical and economic textbooks and the hard facts of the social-economic life with which he was familiar. But this was only one factor in his intellectual awakening." His keen mind first discovered that "banking is . . . not now a competitive business, except collectively as against the underlying population", that the "finance control of industry . . . means the deliberate policy of curtailing or restricting production in order to obtain a larger volume of profit out of selling a smaller product at a higher price."

"So long as intellectual culture remains 'disinterested', distinctively 'idle'," Hobson goes on, "it is to be encouraged as a mode of conspicuous leisure which America can afford to an ever-widening proportion of her population. But if culture becomes 'interested' in the sense of contributing to processes of thought which stimulate reforms and reconstructions in the political, economic, legal and social institutions of America, such culture must be carefully suppressed. . . . So soon as the higher learning ceases to be merely decorative and begins to show an interfering spirit, it is denounced by business men as useless or worse."

So living knowledge and the inquiring mind are both suppressed in the schools and colleges. Instead of training minds, they are dulling them. "This defect in teaching is no doubt partly due to the fact that teachers themselves have seldom been taught to reason and would find this training of the young difficult and uncongenial, but chiefly because reasoning on controversial topics would cause misunderstanding among parents and school trustees and interfere with the peaceful career of the teacher." (5)

The president of a university must be something of a professional politician, and, Veblen says, must have "a serene and voluble loyalty to the current conventionalities and a conspicuously profound conviction that

all things are working out for good, except for such untoward details as do not visibly conduce to the vested advantage of the well-to-do business men under the established law and order".

Many a good and honest man has come to a college presidency to become a shameless beggar or hopeless charlatan. Few can withstand the pressures of the stupid alumni or resist their gold. At their behest it becomes the president's job to throw out the reformers and coddle the conformers. The retiring president of Yale through alumni pressure is obliged to throw out Jerome Davis, and is supplanted by one who has acted as apologist for the House of Morgan. (6)

The president of Harvard, who took so advanced a stand at the Tercentenary, has since shown the result of pressure by alumni. His annual report is less optimistic and more conservative. He writes,—“It seems to me a hopeless task to provide a complete and finished liberal education suitable to this century by four years of college work”. Forty-two per cent of the students take courses in the social sciences, but he hopes some of them will desert this subject so as to provide more company for the one per cent who still take classics.

WHERE EDUCATION HAS FAILED

We see the results of education all about us. What's wrong with the world is the people in it, their attitudes toward their fellows. It is our education that has brought us to chaos. From our parents and our teachers have come, as part of the social heritage, our prejudices and beliefs, harmful to ourselves and our fellows, as we are constantly proving. The traditional goals of our education are the results of the blundering attempts of the past to explain the mystery of man and the universe. Those who sit at the throttles and guide the world fail to command confidence. The privileged blindly resist the demands of the underprivileged. So there is discontent, confusion, and conflict within and between nations.

How the processes to which we have subjected the young have accomplished these results, how individually and as peoples we come to be as we are, should be the chief concern of educators, as the output of the factory is the chief concern of those responsible. But without inquiry, we go right on producing frustration and conflict. Complacently in this country we have produced a million defectives, a million criminals. Mayor Hague of Jersey City in six years has reduced the number of local youngsters sent to correctional institutions from six hundred to thirty-six. He put it up to the schools. Then he went to the penitentiary to find out how they got there. Confidence won, they told. Typical reply: “The teacher said I couldn't learn anything. I took her at her word. She slapped me one day. I hated her and stayed out. Then I stole.” Hague concludes,

"Nearly all criminal careers start with emotional maladjustments, at home or school, so slight that they might be remedied if detected early." (7)

James T. Farrell in his novel "A World I Never Made", recalling Housman's "I, a stranger and afraid, in a world I never made", has shown in terrifying detail how our civilization moulds the young. And Arnold Zweig in "Education Before Verdun" has expounded its horror. Few yet believe with Einstein that "The most important motive for work in school and in life is the pleasure in work, pleasure in its result, and the knowledge of the value of the result to the community."

IS COLLEGE WORTH WHILE?

Controlled by profit makers fearful for their privileges, our universities will continue to turn out stupid alumni. Harvard, first in most things, is first in the number and quality of its frequent class reports. Usually class members write confidentially to those who were in college with them. The same custom is followed to a much less extent at Yale and Princeton. Other colleges merely compile statistics.

In the *Harvard Man's Guide-Book*, Tercentenary Issue, I wrote remniscently of "Harvard in the Nineties". "As I look over the class report, I find fourteen men more than intellectually respectable in the life of the nation. All were practically unknown to their classmates in college. There are perhaps another twenty who are living locally an intellectual life, and possibly another twenty who manifest some intellectual tastes. Half the remainder are content in their business ruts or professional practice; the other half, drab, sour, discontented, know they are failures. Only two can be regarded as having done something from which the human race will benefit in perpetuity. As undergraduates both were unknown."

This reflects the influence of John Tunis' "Was College Worth While?", 1936. This is a study of the graduates of 1911 of Yale, Princeton, and Harvard, twenty-five years after graduation. It would appear that Harvard was not a paying proposition. The average income of the 541 members who reported was \$4,445. One-eighth of the class were living on charity. The wives of half work to help support the family. Twenty-three out of more than six hundred were in "Who's Who", and included a cartoonist, a poet, a sports writer, a theatrical producer. Reported reading tastes are on the whole low. "The vast majority of the class know little about punctuation, and their style is that of a grammar school boy." 'Beleive,' 'extra-curricular,' and 'imaginery' were frequent misspellings, as well as 'Lowel' for the President-Emeritus, 'Towsig' for Taussig. Tunis concludes, "We are a bunch of contented college cows whose chief ambitions are to vote the Republican ticket, to keep out of the bread line, and to break 100 at golf."

RESULTS SO FAR

The most effective and sinister teaching comes from those highly paid in corporation and government propaganda bureaus. The greater the prize, the more can be put into winning it by those who strive for privilege. Modern dictators through educational propaganda have supplied mental content and emotional attitude, and influenced the behavior of hundreds of millions. (8) Russia has raised literacy from twenty to eighty per cent with 180 millions, and fired them with the spirit of a new religion. In Italy Mussolini changed a nation, dewopped the wops. (9) In Germany Hitler in lesser time filled with enthusiasm and raised to high efficiency a depressed and broken people. But the end and purpose of this education has been nationalistic, the maximum supply of the best quality of cannon fodder. In the so-called democratic countries, England, France, America, the people, confused by stale and outworn slogans, are actually controlled and exploited by parasitic coteries and oligarchies of old men anxious to defend and protect their privilege and pelf. The British Empire is run by Public School men, twenty-five out of fifty-eight from Eton and Harrow. All have felt the cane. Of course they believe in force. Perhaps that explains the unrest of India and other subject peoples.

Insistence on finding out how things came to be, attention to little things, has shown the geologist how the little drop of water has sculptured the mountains, the biologist how life functions and how living forms change. When we are free to give thought to the little things that change the lives of children, when we realize that it doesn't matter what we teach, but what the teaching does, then the science of education will begin. Then we may solve the mystery of lives and what makes them.

While what we call free education is controlled by blind greed, privileged old men, ignorant of what they are doing to young lives, ignorant of the possibilities of the race and species, we shall have psychiatrics, crime, chaos, conflict, confusion, war. It would take a modern Aristophanes in this simian world to make clear the absurdities of what we call education. Not fate nor destiny, just plain stupidity, blindness, greed, account for the present obscene human comedy. What an opportunity for an Aristophanes! (10)

NOTES

(1) "How Universities Are Controlled", pp 195-204 in "What Makes Lives", dealt specifically with the common objectives toward which Harvard, the House of Morgan, and the London Foreign Office have worked. In "War and Education", pp 361-410, this whole subject was covered in a more general way, explaining "how financial institutions, through foundations and the dead hand, control the policies and practices in our universities". A comparison of education in Japan,

Germany, and England made more obvious how education is dominated by those in control of the government.

(2) Freeman was professor of psychology at the University of Louisville at the time that this was written. This honest, straightforward kind of writing offended a group of lawyers and bankers, some of whom were members of the board of trustees. To maintain servility in the faculty, Freeman was forced out, though President Kent was himself a liberal in his tendencies. Under the title 'Keeping Teachers Timid' the late J. McKeen Cattell published in *School and Society*, Aug. 14, 1937, a letter I wrote him in which I quoted from a letter Freeman had written me in response to my review of his book:

"For holding the views expressed in my book, which you find so laudable, I have been on the carpet before the Board of Trustees, in a kind of inquisition or heresy trial. If you have seen the report in the papers recently of a suit [for 'damage to his privacy'] which I brought against the largest bank in town which conspired with American Legion officials to get me fired for 'radicalism' (the bank had a check photostated belonging to me which they assumed was pay from Moscow for subversive activities, when in fact it was a payment from the Chase National Bank for interest on some 7% Soviet bonds which I hold), you will have learned how much you have overestimated the liberalism of the people and the institution here. The bank put these photostats in the hands of Legion officers, who made charges to the Board of Trustees and demanded that I be fired. The Board was forced much against its will to exonerate me unanimously.

"In my suit, the Legion dragged in my book as if it were an outrage against the holy ghost. Sardonicly enough, I found your letter and enclosures waiting for me when I came back from the trial in court. The trial and your comments made a curious juxtaposition of polar opposites, as if the two belonged to very different planets. [The judge in his decision declared that: 'As a teacher in a municipal university supported by public taxes, Dr. Freeman has no privacy to be molested.']. . . After a series of 'minor crises', running all the way from charges that I did not draw our curtains when undressing for bed to complaints by the president that I had no business attacking a great financial institution like the Citizens' Union National Bank, I resigned, on condition that I be given a year's salary in prepayment. It may be relevant to note that one of the most influential members of the Board of Trustees is G. W. Barr, an officer of this bank. There is a lot in this business that reminds me of the charges made against Rice at Rollins. One that was seriously presented was that he had failed to remove fish scales from the sink at the outing cabin when he prepared the catch for himself and students."

(3) The use of the word "subversive" is relatively recent, as Alice Hamilton, first woman professor in the Harvard Medical School, points out in her autobiography, "Exploring the Dangerous Trades". Zechariah Chafee, Jr., in "Free Speech in the United States", 1941, writes, "The maintenance of open discussion depends on all the great body of unofficial citizens. If a community does not respect liberty for unpopular ideas, it can easily drive such ideas underground by persistent discouragement and sneers, by social ostracism. . . . Once commit ourselves to the ideal of enforced national unanimity, and phases of Fascism follow logically and easily."

(4) "Sociological enquiry must get to grips with live contemporary issues, if it ever hopes to enjoy the prestige of the natural sciences. The word prestige in this context is used in an objective sense." (Hogben, "Retreat from Reason")

"What is it that we want done in our schools for the education of our children?"

asks Alexander Meiklejohn, discussing "Teachers and Controversial Questions", *Harpers*, June, 1938. "By direction or indirection we equip the student with opinions which someone other than himself wishes him to have. From this standpoint, education is, to quote the words of Professor Bode, 'the art of taking advantage of defenseless childhood'. . . . There are in the modern world two different kinds of education. It is one thing to learn to submit, to obey, to conform, to cringe. . . . There is real ground for the fear that, under the stress of conditions now beginning to rage, we shall substitute methods of suppression and evasion and violence for those to which, in spite of many failures, we still give allegiance. We shall drift into slavery. . . . the first, fatal, slip into such a drift is to be seen in the enslaving of our education. . . if in our schools and colleges we do not demand of our teachers that they be free . . . we have chosen the way of violence. . . . Our teachers must discuss controversial questions. There is no other program by which the education of a free people can be carried on."

(5) In his autobiographical "Confessions of an Economic Heretic", Hobson writes, "Psychology should make every man his own humorist. The most penetrating humor lies in the discovery that the disinterested motives that have been figuring in the foreground of our own consciousness and have been feeding our sense of self-approval are to a large extent the servile tools of the primitive lusts for power and self-importance, or else protective weapons for the customary habits and institutions which give us status and security. . . . Now intellectual self-esteem requires us to believe that our thinking is purely disinterested and that our public spirit and philanthropy are untainted by any self-seeking. . . . Orthodoxy, the acceptance of authoritative theories and opinions . . . is an attitude of mental and social security, a disposition to swim with the tide and to enjoy the benefits of respectability. . . . It carries an inertia, an indisposition to question and criticize, and this pacific tendency is an enemy of progress. For progress can only come by a break away from authority or convention."

(6) Yale hath her troubles that Harvard cannot cure. Jerome Davis had apparently been completely dismissed from the Yale mind, but in May 1937 new troubles began to pile up. The American Federation of Teachers, in a comprehensive sixty-page report on the dismissal of Jerome Davis, had shown that President Angell had taken this action "upon recommendation of the Provost, Professor Charles Seymour". A special committee reported to the Council of the American Association of University Professors after five months investigation that Yale's obligations to Davis had not been discharged. The Council declared the dismissal "was not justified and should be deemed a violation of the principles of academic tenure which must be maintained if freedom of teaching, of research, and of expression of opinion . . . is to be a reality". While the Yale Corporation was in session on May 8, it was for the second time picketed by students. A straight thinking member of the Corporation remarked, "Yale is no place to stage a frontal attack on capitalism".

Davis' "reappointment was refused, in part, because he accepted and expounded the views of Professor S. B. Fay on the origins of the World War—in other words, because he had regard for the facts. At the same time, Professor Charles Seymour, whom many competent authorities regard as highly reluctant to accept these facts, was made president of the University," Harry Elmer Barnes observes in his "History of Historical Writing", p 287. (22nd ed, 1938, pp 46, 71)

Lundberg in his "America's Sixty Families" comments: "At Yale, Professor Jerome Davis failed of reappointment on the spurious ground of incompetence

discovered only after he had published the highly critical 'Capitalism and Its Culture'. . . . Davis, surveying the occupational status of the trustees of the twenty-seven institutions of higher learning with endowments of \$10,000,000 or more, brought out that of 659 trustees, 254 are bankers, 141 are merchants, 111 are public-utilities operators, 63 are railroad operators, 153 are professionals (whose presence affords protective coloration), 22 are judges, representatives of the two dominant political parties, and 7 fall into miscellaneous classifications. Seventy-two are classifiable in more than one category."

(7) But Mayor Hague is a bad man. And Tammany is an evil institution. Most people see only black and white, good and bad. But there are many gradations to those who can look with discernment. Though he keeps the tax rate in the fifties, Mayor Hague distributes favors to those who otherwise wouldn't receive them and who consequently support him. His hospital dedicated to his mother is said to be a model institution. Lincoln Steffens after he had exposed the "Shame of the Cities" was asked by a bishop what he would do about it. He replied, "Take away the apple", reflecting that we are all sons of Eve. But Tammany has found a better method, distributing the plums, sharing with those who are otherwise deprived. So they earn gratitude and control votes.

(8) "Education has been controlled by those who had the power and thought it worth while controlling", as is explained in "What Makes Lives", 1940, the separately printed introduction to the 24th edition, under the titles "Controlling Mental Content", "Why Control Education?" and "Totalitarian Control".

(9) In July, 1934, *Fortune* devoted its complete issue to the changes brought about in Italy by Mussolini, who at that time was much favored and praised by British Tories and American 'economic royalists'.

(10) In our democratic but highly socialized school system, local school boards, in the rural school districts as in the great cities, are the arbiters of what shall be taught and who shall teach it. What these men and women believe determines the spirit and content of our education. Great educators, professors of education, writers of books on education, rarely influence them. Most important then is the inquiry conducted by Charles E. Arnett into "The Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American School Board Members", 1933. Dr. Arnett submitted to five thousand school board members a list of questions to draw out their opinions. Eleven hundred in forty-five states replied, and here we find the result of this inquisition tabulated, revealing in stark cruelty the blank ignorance and narrow prejudices of those who control our education. The answers to the seventy-one questions "constitute a comprehensive credo of the American school board member". Sixty four percent replying held that teachers should so indoctrinate their pupils that never in later life would their views be unsettled or modified. Fifty seven percent were opposed to free speech. Forty seven percent opposed anything favorable to socialism in school textbooks. Fifty four percent held that our great private fortunes are a result of proportionately large service for the common welfare. Sixty three percent opposed public ownership of power plants. Seventy five percent felt that the government should suppress anti-war discussion. Seventy one percent believed that our present citizenship teaching is just right. Arnett completes the picture revealed by Manly Harpers' "Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators", published by Teachers College in 1927, which showed that the American educator has little consciousness of any duty of improving economic and political conditions in his country. (18th ed, 1934, p 76)

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Outside influences brought repression and timidity to the universities and the schools. The independent were suppressed. Upon the conforming or the bold reward or punishment was visited in diverse and disquieting ways.

At the Tercentenary President Conant's bold stand and brave words aroused great enthusiasm. For a quarter of a century, the more liberal alumni had looked back upon their old university as a safe retreat for moribund professors and the spoiled progeny of the Back Bay of that time. Harvard's young and liberal president took this great opportunity to commit the university to a forward course, boldly stating, "The forces of modern capitalism must be dissected as fearlessly as the geologist examines the origin of rocks". No sales manager with announcement of new styles and models ever stimulated his customers more.

REACTION AND REPRESSION

As the months passed, a change of tone, a more restrained attitude, became apparent. Soon he was making the same gestures as other New England college presidents, setting a pattern later to be followed all over the country, as if prescribed by the same drill master. His speeches, kept to 'safe' topics, harked back to Jeffersonian ideals and advocated measures that some characterized as of fascist pattern. (1) What had happened to produce the change which the undergraduates sensed, and which was manifested by the faculty as either timidity or rebellion?

Two recalcitrant young members of the economics department, Walsh and Sweezy, had been fired and all for a time seemed well. Soon the rumble of protest began to swell. Headlines in the Boston newspapers and the *Harvard Crimson* kept the matter alive, and led to action on the part of the Union of University Teachers. (2)

President Conant was obliged to make the best possible apology for the practical dismissal of the two members of the economics department whose awareness of the world about them has made their courses popular, cf *Nation*, Apr. 17, 1937, *New Republic*, Apr. 21, 1937. Without them the economics department will be kept 'safe', from the standpoint of the stupid alumni who exert the pressure, which of course is denied. (3)

The president on April 12 stated to the Overseers, "The decision . . . does not mean that they are not good teachers, but simply that in the opinion of those within the University best qualified to judge there are others among their contemporaries of greater potentialities" (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*).

In his baccalaureate, June 20, to the seniors, President Conant was reported in the Boston *Herald* to have said there have been "few periods in America's history" when it was "more difficult to avoid conformity". He emphasized that "failure to think independently, clearly and unemotionally . . . was a constant and insidious threat to liberty". (4)

A former colleague of Walsh and Sweezy, in the economics department, Robert Keen Lamb in the *Nation*, May 15, 1937, wrote: "Once more Harvard has fumbled the ball. Once more the university in its dismissal of two liberal economics instructors, has exasperated its friends and delighted its critics by a clumsy substitution of one impracticable subterfuge for another. The ball has been passed from Economics Department to dean to president and back again in an effort to minimize the potential value to the university of its two most popular economics teachers, the only men in the department who have publicly shown sympathy for the labor movement. . . . No doubt Harvard's president considers himself a liberal. He has, indeed, signed several verbal blank checks saying, 'Here at Harvard we regard it as essential that all sides of the controversies in the social sciences be represented'. (5) His checks have come back. . . . The incident illuminates the dilemma of the American university. . . . We 'feel' liberal, but we act tough towards liberals because we don't see how we can afford to act otherwise. . . . The university is being asked to face, publicly, the full implications of these dismissals and to say whether it is any longer interested in retaining its ancient distinction as a liberal institution." (6)

As the result of a petition made late in May by 131 junior members of the teaching staff, President Conant dumped the whole matter in the lap of an investigating committee, to which he appointed the nine more liberal professors. (7)

KEEPING TEACHERS IN LINE

The whole trend of the American university under its present institutional organization, system of support and endowment, is to keep teachers in line. The procedure, suave or gauche, has that effect. What does it matter if a few scurvy fellows with wild ideas are thrown out? The important thing is to keep those who remain, in line, disciplined. (8)

Freedom is something one becomes conscious of when it is denied him. Security, always threatened, is more often in mind. Not many college professors are conscious of being limited in what they write or say. Few have anything to say that anyone would want to restrict. 'Freedom' for them means freedom from worry, rather than 'freedom of speech'. They want 'security of tenure'. (9)

"The average professor in an American college will look on at an act

of injustice done to a brother professor by their college president, with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren, to predestinate and horrible death. . . . The non-attacked rabbit would, of course, become suspect, and a marked man the moment he lifted up his voice in defense of rabbit-rights." It is the voice of John Jay Chapman speaking, in "Professorial Ethics", 1910. He goes on, "Let a man express an opinion at a party caucus, or at a railroad directors' meeting, or at a college faculty meeting, and he will find that he is speaking against a predetermined force. What shall we do with such a fellow? Well, if he is old and distinguished, you may suffer him to have his say, and then override him. But if he is young, energetic, and likely to give more trouble, you must eject him with as little fuss as the circumstances will permit." (10)

HIRING AND FIRING

The giants of the good old days were autocrats, hiring and firing at pleasure. Someone once inquired of President Seelye of Smith College, "Where is Professor Mary —?" "Oh, I fired her the other day. She was impertinent to me." Nicholas Miraculous Butler, great peace advocate, under pressure from Wall Street trustees, when the war broke out, made no bones of firing his professors, Cattell, himself a crusty autocrat, and Dana, tender idealist, both of whom opposed the war, and making it so uncomfortable for others that they got out to maintain their self-respect. (11)

Times have changed. "A subtler method than the old, crude procedure of summarily dismissing progressive teachers is employed by conservative university trustees and executives. Today the usual technique is to take every precaution that no realistic or 'dangerous' men shall be added to the faculties, whatever their scholarly achievements or special capacity for efficient instruction. Thereupon, much ado is made about the complete freedom extended to this select and cautious teaching staff. . . .

"The result is a great decline in the freshness, originality, vitality, and realism of instruction in institutions of higher learning. . . . Great educational endowments—'foundations'— have cooperated in this effort to promote academic docility. Under the guise of ultra-scientific rigor, their directors extol the spirit of research and condemn as unscholarly professors who venture opinions on current economic, political, or social matters." (12)

Carlyle delighted in satirizing the dry as dust professors and the pabulum they served up, as does Barnes above. Look at the lecture notes of the professors, yellowed, thumbled, used for thirty years, as they drone over their sacred script. They have tried them out, they are 'safe'. Why take

chances? And you can't remove the dead wood because of this fetish 'academic freedom' (security of tenure).

So the colleges are filled with little men who went into teaching because they got good marks, sometimes by bootlicking; with soreheads, once precocious or brilliant youths now gone sour; with snubbed Rhodes scholars, outstanding in their teens, who now hide inferiority complexes behind Oxonian snobbery. All sorts of men, scared, tamed, 'sick', appear in "Academic Procession", 1938, in which James Reid Parker presents an anthropological study of *Homo academiensis*, among whom he evidently once went native. As at a faculty tea, we learn their patter, weaknesses, sillinesses, ponderous playfulness and awful archness, display of erudition. He shows why the students get so little from most of these men.

The little man with inferiority fears may blow himself up like the toad in the fable. One who has sat through many faculty meetings writes me, "The real trouble is that we are facing a situation in which dullards are *in excelsis*, in which a low cunning is mistaken for intellect. In faculty meetings, for instance, I am not so much discouraged by the timorous, as by those who are merely dominated by the desire for 'self expression', who are in fact nothing better than exhibitionists, trying to impress their colleagues that they really are damned clever and brainy men."

TAMED AND DULLED

Professors are timid, they don't want to be free, they want to be protected, Donald Slesinger tells us in "Professor's Freedom", *Harpers*, October, 1937. He draws on his experience as a professor at Yale and Chicago, where "there was fear, all right, and there was jeopardy, but tenure was the object of both the fright and the danger. . . . With few exceptions, the professors themselves were the greatest enemies of academic freedom. . . . (13)

"Our graduate schools and summer institutes were and are filled with earnest, hardworking, dull folk who look forward to a comfortable routine tempered with the excitement of occasional academic processions in cap, gown, and hood, and the sense of power induced by petty tyranny over immature minds. . . . There are no more stodgy defenders of the status quo than our university faculties. The word academic has come to have a derogatory connotation when applied to the arts, and the same connotation is appropriate to the academic intellectual life. Most of the professors in America are engaged in a tiresome elaboration of the obvious and fiercely resent any innovation of method or content."

"They had better be timid!" a teacher writes in *Harpers*, December, 1937, responding to the preceding, and citing cases of those not timid enough, "deserted by their professional compeers", thrown to the wolves,

"families destitute". One "told his class there was a country called Russia", another advised his "students to read Hindus' 'Red Bread' ". The fear of hunger, the 'food incentive', is still the driving force of our civilization, as it was with our naked ancestors. For the timid there is no freedom, whether he is a professor or some other kind of animal. (14)

"Academic freedom is a monkey-shine", writes undergraduate James Laughlin IV in the December, 1937, *Harvard Advocate*. "They don't give you the job until they've made sure you won't try to be free." (15)

NOTES

(1) College presidents, in order to hold their position and prestige, forced into attitudes prescribed by the times and the powers, have to find compensations. Conant in an article "Wanted: American Radicals" (*Atlantic*, May, 1943), protects himself in opening with a chevaux-de-frise of war clichés. In the July issue readers came back at him to show that his effort was half-hearted and as full of holes as a Swiss cheese.

Francis Neilson in "Prospects for a Revival of Political Radicalism" (*American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Oct., 1943) analyzes Conant's confusion. "The radical Dr. Conant is in search of would satisfy neither an English radical nor an American one, for the new species is to be used as a kind of meat in the sandwich whose top layer is of white bread and whose bottom is of brown. . . . A Thomas Jefferson in this year of grace, if he were to state in public the views he repeatedly gave to the people of his time, would be denounced as a disturber of the peace, and, in all probability, condemned on the charge of lèse majesté." So Neilson is led "to the belief that Dr. Conant would not know an English radical if he met one".

(2) When, at a hearing of the Massachusetts legislature early in 1937, J. Raymond Walsh, Harvard economics instructor, expressed his "shame" that the President Emeritus of Harvard should continue to line up with the Cardinal and the Bishop in opposition to the Child Labor Amendment, he opened up a larger issue, which continued to agitate the university for two years and finally led to defeat and subservience of the faculty. The Cambridge Union of University Teachers, April 14, 1938, the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* reports, adopted a resolution which stated: "Two of the leading members of the Cambridge Union of University Teachers, its president and one of the most active members of its executive council, have been simultaneously given notice of dismissal from Harvard. . . . In a press release of April 5, the University authorities stated that the dismissals had been made 'solely on grounds of teaching capacity and scholarly ability'. . . . A later statement of April 12, while implicitly denying the thesis of the earlier one, fails to repair the damage already done."

Walsh has since produced an outstanding book on the "C.I.O.: Industrial Unionism in Action", 1937, a live subject which demanded investigation and exposition. He is now director of the C.I.O.'s Department of Research and Education, which has recently produced a "Political Primer for All Americans" (cf "The Future of Education", p 224).

(3) Just the year before the dismissal of Walsh and Sweezy, the Visiting Committee of the Department of Economics had rendered a report absolving the economists of being 'red'. "The locus of authority at Harvard was eloquently

illustrated in July, 1936, when an alumni committee brought in a report 'exonerating' the department of economics of the charge of spreading radical propaganda. The significance in this committee is to be found in the identity of its members, who were Walter Lippmann; Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank; George F. Baker, Jr., president of the First National Bank; Barklie McK. Henry, New York investment banker; Richard Whitney, brother of a Morgan partner, himself a Morgan broker, and former president of the New York Stock Exchange; Orrin G. Wood, Boston financier; Charles M. Storey, Boston attorney; and Representative Christian A. Herter." (Lundberg, "America's Sixty Families", pp 394-5)

The "Harvard Economics Department" was dealt with in the February and May issues of the undergraduate *Harvard Progressive*, in 1939, in an attempt "to analyze the main sources of student discontent". Conclusion was that by following "the path of absolutist economics" the presentation is "a series of statements about the economists' words, not a statement about the real world". They take Conant to task for proudly stating that the concluding re-appointments of Walsh and Sweezy were made without consideration of their "social and political views",—which in the undergraduates' opinion is the "precise reason that the dismissals were unfortunate. . . . They were not only good teachers, they represented a type of economic thought which the overwhelming conservatism of the Harvard Economics Department is slowly stifling." Feeble professorial comeback in the March issue suggested it would be good for the undergrads to bestir themselves to self-education by "reading about, looking at, and participating in the wide world" and meanwhile they "might be grateful for the little help we do give you. . . . We do pay a little attention to students, as little as possible generally, and if we pay more than that, the University soon ceases to pay us anything except the attention necessary to get us a job elsewhere."

It isn't disloyal to recognize that your university doesn't always have the best football team, professional coach, or economics department. A member of the Visiting Committee a year later, immediately after a meeting of the Economics Department, said privately, "They are all good men, but second raters. The chairman of the department is moribund. Economics is much more alive at other great American universities."

"The entire faculty of the Department of Economics is dedicated to a scholarly refusal to come to conclusions on any and all of the leading questions of modern economic life!" Robert Keen Lamb, a former member, tells us. But that is perhaps characteristic of university economists. Thurman Arnold of Yale, not unacquainted with them, writes, "The American economic scholars meeting in Chicago every year have never been visited by observant men asking themselves the pertinent question: 'Why should such apparently intelligent men, when gathered in a group, attempt authoritatively to conceal the facts about political institutions?'"

(4) Sociologists find fashions and mores vague, difficult to delimit, all involving the conforming of individuals to the behavior pattern of others. Knowledge of conformity phenomena, the proportion that conform, the nature of the "conformity-producing agents", is central to the development of any social science. Floyd H. Allport in "Rule and Custom as Individual Variations of Behavior Distributed Upon a Continuum of Conformity", *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1939, examining into this, tells us "The J— curve hypothesis of conformity rests upon the following conceptual basis. Instead of regarding conformity in the

dichotomous 'all-or-none' manner, the approach here suggested is . . . to measure degrees of conformity on a continuum. In this context continua are . . . empirical and nonempirical, and the latter is subdivided into a personality continuum and a telic continuum (measuring purpose fulfilment)." In education the folkways and mores are not so closely adhered to as in the financial world, but they are of more ancient lineage, more broadly diffused, and supply the basic background to explain human behavior in the so-called educational field.

The college president, harassed by the demands of despairing faculty, rebellious undergraduates, with financial overlords anxiously regarding the president as failing in his fund-getting, is likely to become jittery and turn back to the past. President Conant gave expression to his own 'telic continuum' by an attempt to by-pass current difficulties in his 1939 commencement address. "There need be no anxiety lest the universities lose touch with current problems. I believe we need to be far more concerned with the possibility that the mission of our colleges in preserving and enriching the cultural values of the past may be lost to sight in the bustle of the moment." (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, July 7, 1939)

(5) "President Baxter of Williams in his Induction Address raised a healthy question when he asked whether, in order to meet present-day needs, we might not have to revise the old-fashioned idea that each professor must present all sides of every question introduced. He suggested that instead of having a professor propound all sides, it might be possible to have a more balanced presentation of social questions today by letting men teach what they believe, and engage as many proponents of different views as a small college faculty will permit" (Lamb, *Social Frontier*, June, 1938). One of the Williams faculty wrote me, "Mr. Baxter is trying his best to live up to his Induction Address. He is bringing a left-liberal here next year in Political Science, to match Dennett's appointment of Frederick Schuman. . . . It will be interesting to see how long this can go on in a 'rich man's college'."

It may be recalled that Livingston Farrand, when president of Cornell, told his alumni in February, 1937, "If we had not had a few communists and radicals in Cornell, I would have gone out and found them. If we did not have Faculty members who could not see something wrong in our economic system, I would go out and get some." The *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, reporting, apologized for anyone so bold and free by saying, "This of course was simply President Farrand's method of emphasizing the need for a spirit of nonconformity and free inquiry in education." (21st ed, 1937, p 165)

Something of that 'spirit of free inquiry' has been kept alive at Cornell. In the summer school, 1943, intensive courses were offered in contemporary Russian civilization and language, in accordance with the plan sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies two years before and since adopted by the Army as 'language and area studies' (cf "The Future of Education", pp 58-60). The staff was made up of nineteen instructors, including Ernest J. Simmons, the specialist in Russian literature who had been cold shouldered out of Harvard (cf *New Republic*, May 15, 1944). The following winter recurrent articles and editorials in the *New York World-Telegram* charged "that Cornell was being used as a spawning ground for Muscovites". President Day stood staunchly to his guns in the 1944 summer session, and in the *Saturday Review*, March 4, 1944, vigorously defended Cornell's course:

"An educational effort concerned exclusively with tradition, household gods, the wisdom of the elders, and the authority of even the most illustrious dead, will

soon stiffen into tribal tyranny. . . . A vigorous educational system has at all times the opposite function of emancipating the mind of its pupils, young and old, from decayed concepts, misleading principles, narrow loyalties, so that they may live and work realistically in their changing world. . . . In our own present generation it seems that we face a frightening accumulation of beliefs, habits, patterns, and institutions that call for redefinition, modification, and in some cases even denial and destruction. . . . For a generation American university education has neglected what we now recognize to be one of the greatest phenomena of modern history—the political and industrial organization of Soviet Russia.”

(6) The president got away from Cambridge immediately after the commencement. June 27 he and his family left for the high Sierras. “They spent some seven consecutive weeks in relative seclusion” (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, November 5, 1937), and before returning he had secured the support of the Western alumni in “thirteen speaking engagements, chiefly at Harvard Clubs ranging from San Francisco to Kansas City”. (22nd ed, 1938, p 66)

From the time of his return the President has played the game in the orthodox way. He had learned that the policies laid down, the hopes aroused at the Tercenary could not be carried out. He had learned that he was the custodian of a shrinking fund of \$160 million and that it was his job to raise some millions every year to meet the annual deficit, and the money must come from those who would not stand for progress that would interfere with their privilege and prestige. If he fell down on this, the president’s job, he would be a failure. Lamenting the change from the good old days, Conant explained that “the universities were medieval guilds of teachers, self-directing communities of scholars. But that was in the days when scholars had taken vows of celibacy and poverty. In those days financial problems were relatively slight.”

To compensate for any sacrifice of formerly stated ideals in carrying out his objectives, Conant formulated plans to make the institution more democratic. Confirming what I had published on this matter, one who had been close to Mr. Conant wrote me, “He has urged undergraduates to turn back to the classics, he has recorded his anxiety about the endowed institutions, he has advocated a reduction of the numbers attending college; his speech about endowed scholarships for the bright-but-poor boy is on the right side, but it ought to lead him to conclude that we are unable to do the educational job respectably in a plutocracy”.

Also he determined to stifle the criticism of his superficial and scared faculty by seeking out and appointing the most brilliant men he could find. A scrutiny of these recent appointments shows a collection of rare birds, some near geniuses, some misfits, employed at salaries far beyond anything they ever had before. Made aware by Conant’s announcement that he was seeking brilliant men, other universities worked off their misfits on him by subtle and skilful promotion. One who a few years before would have been glad to come to Harvard for \$5000 was in this way worked off on Conant at a salary reported to be in excess of \$15,000 a year. These appointments of emigrés and incompetents caused much discontent among older members of the faculty, who were paid on a more modest scale. In letters and in conversation I have collected an interesting number of more or less scandalous tales as to how these men were put over and how their appointments were received, which I will reserve for my ‘Alibiography’.

(7) To members of the Committee I wrote: “What happens to Sweezy and Walsh doesn’t so much matter. What happens to the professors that are left matters greatly.” One of them in reply referred to the prevalent “academic passiv-

ity, like that of cows". Several members of the committee appreciatively responded. One wrote: "Your letter was read to the committee. Your comments on the job ahead of the Committee of Nine will be given consideration by the Committee, I am sure. There is a colossal amount of work ahead of us; it will be months before we have properly analyzed the accumulating material. Whether or not the final report will be generally accepted as of high value, it appears certain that the existence of the committee, and the questions and answers it has incited, have already been a sufficient justification." Felix Frankfurter replied: "It seems to me you put your finger on the most vital single aspect, to me at least, in the contemporary academic scene, namely, the caution and timidity of academics. . . . What you wrote quite corresponds with my own observations and feelings, and I only wish that you had occasion to write to President Conant. You may remember, in Henry James' *Life of Eliot*, the letter written to Eliot by Professor Emerson. It is good for the head of a great institution, who necessarily must have a restricted and limited view of the detailed forces which play about his institution, to have the benefit of a constant stream of informed critical outside opinion." (22nd ed, 1938, pp 67-70)

This suggestion was acted upon and brought a courteous, non-committal reply from the President. Later letters, however, were answered by his secretary, and finally I received no reply. But Jerome Greene, a classmate of mine, acting for the President wrote me a long four-page letter confidentially, explaining that the President must not be judged too quickly, that he was a liberal at heart and would return to his former policies as soon as possible. That prognosis, however, has not been justified by events. The way a man acts repeatedly determines the pattern of his behavior, which determines what we call his character. If his habitual reactions, the pattern of his behavior, are permanently changed, his character is changed, is it not?

For two years and more I kept in close touch with the members of the committee and others interested (cf p 400). A running commentary on the progress of the committee with frequent quotations from this correspondence was given in successive introductions to the *Handbook*, which were separately published as "Human Affairs" and "Education: A Realistic Appraisal", 1938, pp 67-70, 1939 pp 106-8. On the publication of the final report in 1939 I pointed out:

This concerns itself constructively chiefly with appointments, advancements and security. There is an undertone of nostalgia for the days of free inquiry and greater courage in speech and action as reflected in these quoted statements. "It is essential to the life of a university that it should attract and retain scholars of independent mind. . . . A university breeds its own conservatism", for there are "pressures" for conformity from within as well as from without. Intellectual freedom and liberality are essential to the life of a university, and to all the values of culture and civilization to which a university is dedicated." The alumni should feel shame that their Overseers and Corporation have made it necessary for this Committee to make statements which should be self-evident and for which every Harvard alumnus should stand ready to fight. Are they dumb or are they muzzled? The governing boards and those who dominate them derive their jittery fears from the great financial centers. The poisonous fog that's blown in from Wall Street has well nigh asphyxiated the "assemblage of scholars" which makes up our great university. If there is any truth in this, it is a most serious indictment against our present social set-up. (23rd ed, 1939, pp 106-7)

The faculty on receipt of the report showed resentment and dissatisfaction when

informed by the President that in their meetings they might discuss but would not be allowed to vote on it. Later Conant sent a letter to the Overseers which one of the faculty remarked was 'a brief for the autocratic running of the university'. Toward the end of that academic year ten assistant professors were retired in addition to several younger men, the number of whom was not revealed as the university 'feels that the announcement would hurt the chances of the dismissed'. The increasingly jittery and tyrannical behavior of the President in an attempt to satisfy his overlords was further reported on in "What Makes Lives", pp 181-94, reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, July 21, 1941.

(8) American universities "still take far too much of their color from the habits of their presidents, who are still, despite exciting exceptions . . . far too much engaged in satisfying trustees wholly ignorant of the function of the university. Far too many teachers are content to be scholars in the worst academic sense. . . . They have been timid where the times called for boldness, and devoted their energies rather to description than to the postulation of those values which enables the choice to be firmly faced because it is courageously defined." (Harold Laski, *New Republic*, July 12, 1939)

(9) Dr. Hugh Cabot, one of the outspoken, free thinking Boston Cabots, who had been at the University of Michigan and at the time was connected with the Mayo Clinic but has since returned to Boston, read some of the preceding in manuscript. He wrote me at length June 7, 1938, and gave me permission to use any part of it "which seems to you interesting or desirable. These are things which I have said on previous occasions in correspondence but, so far as I know, they have not gotten into print. Since I have held these opinions for some years, I think I probably believe them. . . .

"After having been rather intimately connected with three universities, I have come to the conclusion that their present methods of selecting, indemnifying, and retaining their teaching staff is calculated to produce a group of people for whom intelligent thinking and stimulating teaching would be quite impossible. . . . I have watched the progress of the disease known as academic security for more than thirty years and it is almost universally fatal to any intellectual process. . . . As long as they are in competition there is at least a fair possibility that they may indulge in the always interesting, though equally dangerous, business of thinking. Obviously, having secured security, the whole purpose of their lives is to retain it. Now it is, of course, obvious that the only real security that can be achieved is death. On the other hand, something narrowly approaching security may be achieved by intellectual hibernation which is very similar to death and from which, when they revive, they have a very incomplete use of their faculties. . . .

"All of the great teachers whom I have known, and they are singularly few, have had great courage and great freedom of spirit. They have almost by definition been so important that the powers-that-be did not dare to fire them. . . . The college professor, once fired for failure to fit the groove, has jeopardized not only himself, which he might easily be more willing to do, but he has jeopardized the future of his wife and, more importantly, of his children. This is something which the boldest might hesitate to undertake. Unless and until we can in some way get rid of the necessity for bribing these men with security in lieu of proper salaries, I confess I am puzzled to see the solution."

(10) William Allan Neilson has remarked that "the trouble with college professors is that so many of them stop thinking at 45. I am a firm believer in security, but I think it would be an excellent thing for colleges if we could find

some way to weed out the teachers who no longer try to keep abreast of their profession and times, who merely go through the routine instead of trying to provide inspiration. After all, an inspired teacher can develop as he goes along; he need not stick to the beaten path, but can grow and become an abler man. The important thing is that he inspire in his pupils the desire to know, to understand. It is hard to find good teachers." If endowed chair holders were obliged to burn their thumbled lecture notes every few years, if they were obliged to change chairs now and then so as to come to their students with the new approach of the learner and investigator, would it not add life and stimulus to their teaching? The war has done something in forcing professors of philosophy and classics to try their hand at teaching mathematics or assisting in the physics laboratory.

(11) President Butler of Columbia, declared in 1940 that undergraduates have no freedom and should have none, and that freedom for instructors was subordinate to the freedom of the university "to pursue its high ideals unhampered and unembarrassed by the conduct of any of its members which tends to damage its reputation, to lessen its influence or to lower its authority as a center of sound learning and of moral teaching". Dr. Carl S. Ell of Northeastern University, Boston, chorused "I believe firmly in academic freedom, provided I am permitted to define it". Presidents Conant and Seymour of Harvard and Yale, while expressing their ardour for morality and religion, have held to a more open minded attitude toward freedom of speech. Let 'em blow off steam.

In times of emotional stress like these, when people are being incited to put down evil, the young men who must do the fighting must be conditioned and disciplined, brought to heel. The presidents and faculties of universities and colleges must recognize their responsibility, in the words of President Roosevelt, to "shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of [academic] government to save government". President Ruthven of the University of Michigan in the summer of 1940 notified thirteen students prominent in non-conformist social activities that they were not to return. He didn't want the University to be "confused by sophistries built around meaningful but ill-defined phrases such as 'freedom of the press' and 'freedom of speech' ". (25th ed, 1941, p 28)

H. L. Mencken, expressing himself editorially in the *Baltimore Sun* Dec. 8, 1940, wrote on the "Ann Arbor Martyrs": "For all I am aware, they may all be characters of lofty potentiality, and chasing them off the campus may be compared to shooting Beethoven the day he left Bonn. . . . My sympathies in this unhappy affair, I hope I need not say, are not at the disposal of President Ruthven. His contributions to it appear to have been marked by all the ponderous jackassry that so often runs with his austere office. From beginning to end he acted without discretion, and in a clumsy, haw-haw manner. If it be true, as some criminal Harvard professor has said, that an American university president, in order to shine at his art, must be an unearthly amalgam of Rotarian, Methodist bishop, Community Fund wiskinski, soap-box orator, mail-order advertiser, police lieutenant and bunco-steerer, then Ruthven followed the pattern in all respects save the last."

(12) This is quoted from Harry E. Barnes' "Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World", 1937. Of the somewhat subtler method by which Barnes was separated from Smith College, a member of the faculty wrote me, "There can be no doubt of Neilson's courageous stand for academic freedom in general, but at the first opportunity to disconnect Barnes from Smith he did so with alacrity. When Barnes got the chance to write a column for Scripps-Howard, he looked

upon it as a somewhat doubtful experiment and asked to be allowed to hold that job for one year while still teaching at Smith. His department so recommended, but Neilson said: 'No, this is my opportunity and I am going to get rid of him'.

"Neilson was then becoming an evangelist for world uplift; was beginning to give too little attention to internal college affairs and too much to international relations, a fault which became almost a curse for us locally and left his successor with so many problems of internal reconstruction that we have been more or less torn asunder under the new administration. His evangelism for the war largely prevented a free and all-round discussion of issues here during his last years by creating an 'official line' of thought that was a bit stifling."

(13) Somewhat the same attitude is voiced by R. K. Lamb, writing on "Intellectual Freedom", *Social Frontier*, June, 1938: "Professors are their own worst enemies. . . . The professor is a strange hybrid, a cross-fertilization of the rugged individual and the timid soul. . . . The chief enemies of intellectual freedom are: control from the outside and timidity from within. Both are motivated by a defense of vested interests. . . . The requirements for promotion are calculated to encourage proper accommodation; dead mediocrity is not publicly praised, but the differences must be mere distinctions within a type, and not marked aberrations. If these controls exerted by timidity are not sufficient, those from outside may have to be involved . . . in some respects less formidable, because more recognizable."

(14) "The Anthropological Prospect of the Survival of Human Liberty" was surveyed by Earnest Hooton in an address a few years ago. Biological liberty is "not synonymous with independence, since animal life inevitably exists by virtue of other life and subsists upon it". Organic liberty "presupposes a relative emancipation of the animal from his environment and from his instinctive behavior . . . in short, its control by intelligence. . . . Human liberty from the biological point of view consists in the more or less complete emancipation of behavior from the automatic mechanism of the reflex. . . . It seems necessary for the existence of human liberty that there be a favorable balance of food supply in relation to the size of the human population. As soon as the available amount of food is insufficient to supply the wants of all the members of a society, its members tend to revert to the instinctive level of behavior, at which the strong seize what they need."

(15) "Most colleges and universities are not supremely interested in securing really able men", contends John Ise in "Shackles on Professors", *Social Frontier*, May, 1937. "They want personality, dress, teaching ability—which may mean mediocrity. . . . They also want safe and sane economic views; and—not infrequently last of all—intellectual power." The professor "must hold the views that governing bodies hold, or keep his peace. He is a hired man, hired to present, not his own independent views, but the views of those who control the purse strings, hired to teach conformity to dominating ideas and traditions; hired, all too frequently, to inoculate the students against thinking about anything important. . . . The wonder is not that colleges get many mediocre men, but that they get as many able men as they do. . . . American institutions will be able to secure social science professors of outstanding ability whenever they want to. . . . For the present, they doubtless get better than they have a right to expect, and in many cases better than they really want."

STARVING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Heresies in the social sciences are guarded against by discarding misfits, securing safe or innocuous men, training young instructors in the way they should go, with resulting frustration among undergraduates.

Science is a pretentious word for education and economics, which still show their origin from philosophy and theology. 'Social studies' would perhaps be more appropriate. Some day we may have a science of society. Science has a lot to tell us about societies of plants, corals, ants, and man. There is a growing science of man, biological and anthropological. (1)

"The so-called 'social sciences', which include education, are in their infancy. For example there was not a single professor of economics in the United States before 1871. Consider how recently whole new vistas have been opened to our view and how little opportunity there has been as yet to explore these fields", Conant said Feb. 22, 1938, the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* reports.

INCREASING DEMAND

The very newness of these subjects, their possibilities, the fact that they deal with problems of which we know so little and should know so much, is reason enough for the increased demand in the schools and colleges for such knowledge as we have. The enormous literature on the subject is summarized in "Teaching the Social Studies", 1937, by Edgar Bruce Wesley. It is largely based on the sixteen volumes of the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association.

There is a new history, enlarged by the archeologist and the anthropologist. There is a new economics, enlarged by experience and experiment, which destroys old theories. The demand for the new comes from below and without, and is opposed by the university history and economics teachers, who have their ideas set, their lecture notes prepared for the rest of their careers. The entrenched classicists and philosophers see the demand for their subjects diminishing. (2)

Even progressives, like the scientist president of Harvard and the historian president of Yale, side with the "gentlemen rankers" against the intruders. They deplore the desertion of the classics, which reflect life and its explanations of two thousand years ago, for these newer subjects which endeavor to tell us something about how we came to be as we are today. It is the teachers of the social sciences, the new heresies, that get the universities into all kinds of trouble with their finance minded trustees, possible donors, and hired editors and commentators. College

presidents have to be careful, and so far as possible confine students to subjects which cannot "feed a spirit of criticism and discontent with the respected institutions of today, because the antiquity of these studies makes them 'safe' ", as Veblen put it. (3)

BIRTH OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

When Harvard sought its first professor of 'political economy', which came out of 'moral philosophy', it took the editor of the Boston *Advertiser*, Charles F. Dunbar. The study of government is still more recent. President Seymour of Yale pours scorn on the study of what was once a divine right. In England that right has descended upon those who wear the 'old school tie', have felt the cane, been nurtured on the classics.

Harvard took the lead with courses in government under the history department and law faculty. A. Lawrence Lowell was first, appointed in 1897, to lecture on government alone. Lincoln Steffens and other 'muckrakers' stirred up interest in municipal government at the beginning of the century. In 1902 Harvard established a department, and in 1904 William Bennett Munro began his course in municipal government.

All this, as well as how sociology and psychology came out of moral philosophy, which came out of theology, is made clear by Samuel Eliot Morison in his "Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936". It was the Reverend Francis G. Peabody's social conscience that led him to give his 'Social Ethics' under the philosophy department. Out of this came a School of Social Workers. "The advance of Sociology as a science was making the religious approach somewhat difficult to maintain in a secular university." Dr. Richard C. Cabot's advanced stand on social injustices and his strictures on the ethics of the medical profession in Boston had made it more comfortable for him to cross the river, where he gave courses in 'Social Ethics'. When a more scientific treatment of sociology was pressed, Dr. Cabot is said to have remarked, "You can find all you need to know about sociology in the scriptures". (4)

A faculty committee was set up to liquidate the old 'Social Ethics' department, and to bring into the Harvard world a new sociological baby. On the committee, which met weekly for several years, were members of the departments of psychology, history, economics, and anthropology. (5)

Sorokin was discovered at the University of Minnesota. Ross, the Wisconsin sociologist, had brought him over to give a course of lectures, and he remained to study "the economic organizations of American farmers" (E. C. Hayes). Called to Harvard, his erudition enormously impressed some of the committee. To others, his seminar in experimental methods,—children in a sandpile, and voluntary contributions,—was

puerile bunk. So was born the unwanted babe, the new department of sociology, with Sorokin as chairman. Naturally the department has failed to develop normally, cannot hold its own with healthier departments in other universities. (6)

President Conant seems to appreciate the desirability of exploring the field of social sciences. But considering the personnel of the sociology and economics departments, one can not much regret his "announcement some two years ago which reflected his despair: for an indefinite period of time the budgets in the departments of history, government, economics, and sociology were to be 'frozen'. . . . Thanks to the rule of giving permanent tenure to all of the status of associate professor and above, the over-crowded ranks of older professors cannot be thinned. But promotions must be given to as few men as possible. . . . At the very moment when the largest number of Harvard undergraduates on record are demanding instruction in the social sciences, the university is limiting its offerings in these subjects. This is the policy of 'the student be damned'" (Robert Keen Lamb, *Nation*, May 15, 1937). "The undergraduates don't amount to much out there. They fill the seats and pay the fees," remarked one of them, concentrating in economics.

THE DOCTOR'S FEARS

"Appointing men to fill the posts of permanent tenure in the departments of the social sciences is President Conant's recurrent nightmare", Lamb goes on. "The real reason for the university's awkwardness in its public relations is clear even to those on the outside. Harvard is trying to conceal from itself as well as from the public the disturbing fact that it is refusing the social sciences a chance to develop. The responsibility falls first on President Conant. It is an open secret that he is not sympathetic with the social sciences in the university and is out of patience with the self-appointed advisers who have undertaken to steer him through the intricacies of current opinion in the field."

President Conant's "confusion as a scientist confronting a pseudo-science is increased by his newly acquired tenderness as the responsible head of one of the largest capitalist institutions in the country. Harvard nurses an investment of more than \$125,000,000. The natural bias of Mr. Conant's fellow-members of the Harvard Corporation is that of five corporation lawyers and a fashionable physician. They regard themselves as 'trustees' for the university's benefactors, committed to keeping costs, and therefore wages, down, and avoiding 'unfavorable' publicity." (7)

Heresies today must be guarded against in the departments of economics and sociology as they once were in theological seminaries. They are best prevented by inbreeding and selecting. The departments are so

organized that when there is an autocrat at the head he can be very autocratic, so that only bootlickers get on. (8)

"The professors of today were the prematurely senile undergraduates of just yesterday, or the day before. . . . For academic life is a system. Or a racket. Or a hierarchy. When it wants a professor Harvard doesn't often look out into the world for a bright young man who has 'done something'. Instead it breeds and raises its own. One becomes a professor not by being good, but by being a good boy. It is just that. I have seen it work, even in my time. You can watch it working now." This was written by undergraduate James Laughlin IV in the *Harvard Advocate*, Dec., 1937. A wise faculty member remarks, "Really, the half baked lucubrations of undergraduates should not be taken too seriously. Frustrated tutors instigate them. Everything is always wrong." Otherwise the tutors wouldn't have been frustrated. It's part of the vicious circle that is higher education.

UNDERGRADUATES FRUSTRATED

The head of the sociology department, Pitirim A. Sorokin, in 1937 published three volumes of his "Social and Cultural Dynamics". The Harvard news office announced this work as a survey of "the social and cultural movements of the last 2500 years". The publishers' blurb proclaimed it "unrivalled for brilliant analysis, breadth of scope, fertility of ideas . . . startling in its originality. . . . Sorokin, one of the greatest social philosophers of our day, holds the answers. . . . Pitirim A. Sorokin emerges at 48 a sociologist worthy of the company of Comte, Spencer, Ranke, Pareto, Weber, and Spengler." With great expectations, we waded into Sorokin's three volumes, anticipating all the 'answers'. But like the lad who 'Joined the navy to see the world, What did we see? We saw the sea.' 'Painstaking scholarship' there was, but instead of 'fertility of ideas' we found sterility, the 'interpretation' one of palsied fear, the 'startling originality' a ratiocinated Oriental fatalism, the 'explanation of forces' an admission of defeat, a call to retreat. (9)

It is an enormous compilation of facts, marshaled in tables and graphs. The cellophane of scientific method in which Sorokin wraps his classified data transparently reveals his pseudo-science. Facts have been searched out, selected, regimented, compressed, expanded, distorted to supply a prop for a predilection. Imposing tables and graphs are based on isolated sociological facts, single elements of human behavior. They are classified without consideration of what brought them into existence or what causes may have been modifying them at the time. (10)

One who knew Sorokin before he came to Harvard writes, "He is a very good man 'gone off' on an impossible tack . . . a man warped for life

by his experiences in the Russian Revolution. . . . Instead of his warping diminishing with the lapse of time, it is increasing." How Sorokin 'got that way' is apparent from his writing. To a semantic psychiatrist he is 'sick'. His mind is confused, filled with fear, preoccupied with words and labels. (11) But Harvard is maintaining him in a position of influence where he is misguiding and frustrating American youth and academic sophisticates. The attitude of defeatism, of surrender, the failure to live up to a heroic role on the part of our university leaders, is the greatest threat to our immediate future, our civilization, our culture. Students need heroic leadership, the example of those who in this present apparent chaos will not turn their backs but march face forward. (12)

NOTES

(1) "The only salvation for social science is to become a real science . . . to part company with 'tribal geniuses'. . . . Cultural anthropology can and must provide the foundations of the social sciences . . . by defining the nature of human associations, of economic pursuits, legal institutions, magical and religious practices . . . within the widest range accessible to observation and analysis", wrote the late Bronislaw Malinowski in "Anthropology as the Basis of Social Science" in "Human Affairs: An Exposition of What Science Can Do for Man", edited by R. B. Cattell, London, 1937.

(2) "The ominous emerging tendency, under the stress of our times, for certain university administrators, fearful of the controversial possibilities in the social sciences, to play them down in favor of the humanities . . . should be stoutly resisted, even by the humanities", wrote Robert S. Lynd in "Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture", 1939, advocating a more honest teaching of the social sciences and assailing the pussyfooting in the universities. For such boldness he was properly snubbed.

Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, writes me, Jan. 10, 1944, "I found 'War and Education' one of the most stimulating works that I have read in a long while and one of the few books on education that made any sense to me. Social scientists are fortunate to have at least one sound advocate in the educational camp. At the moment the drift seems all against us; indeed, against all science and so against human welfare. The struggle over educational policy promises upon the coming of peace to become bitter and critical, and the need for incisive criticism such as yours will be doubly important."

(3) "Only by accepting and confirming current convictions regarding those elements of the accepted scheme of life with which his science is occupied", commented Veblen, can a scientist in the realm of institutions secure the businessmen's approval of his scientific capacity. In the so-called moral and social sciences a "clamorous conformity to the conventional prepossessions of respectability and incisive rehearsal of commonplaces, will commonly pass for scholarly and scientific work". (Dorfman, "Veblen", p 405)

"The price which universities pay", wrote J. A. Hobson in his "Imperialism", "for preferring money and social position to intellectual distinction in the choice of chancellors and for touting among millionaires for the equipment of new scientific schools is subservience to the political and business interests of their patrons: their philosophy, their history, their economics, even their biology must

reflect in doctrine and method the consideration that it is due to patronage, and the fact that this deference is unconscious enhances the damage done to the cause of intellectual freedom."

"Why should the social sciences be the one field in which they don't want the truth? Why should the teacher be the one expert who is paid to conceal what he knows?" asks Herbert Agar, citing the attack of businessmen on educators because they had neglected "their responsibility to teach appreciation of the existing social order". Of course, "they pay the salaries", but they also pay the fees of doctors, but they don't dictate to the latter. (Cf *Social Frontier*, July, 1938)

(4) Out of theology, through philosophy, came most of our university departments. Science was natural philosophy originally, but that had come out of theology. In the time of the early ecclesiastical monastic universities, the purpose was to serve God and prepare for another world. The chief study was the study of God and his theology. Out of that came much disquisition, argument about how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. Scholasticism that was,—revival of learning, some knowledge of the old Greek philosophy, taken over and correlated by theology. Out of this came natural philosophy, which had nothing to do with angels and gods but dealt with unicorns and salamanders and lions.

(5) How sociology happens to be separate from economics is explained by Thurman Arnold in "Symbols of Government". The legal and economic conceptions of man, almost diametrically opposed,—legal man a born sinner who must be restrained, economic man the embodiment of enlightened greed who must be unrestrained,—"leave a whole set of ideals unrepresented . . . in our organized learning and thinking. . . . Hence a new branch of learning called sociology, with its separate associations of professors, its separate departments, its separate classified literature, appeared. . . . Into this classification has been dumped everything that the law or economics found inconvenient to handle. . . . The sociologist did not have any particular abstract man. . . . He was so close to the variegated, unclassifiable, tumbling stream of life that abstract formulas became very difficult indeed—and abstract formulas are the life of the social sciences so far as general scholarly acclaim is concerned. Hence it became customary for sociologists to be regarded with suspicion by their brethren in the law and economics."

However, the pressure of students who, under the necessity of handing back formulas on examination papers, "demand that they be given some concrete principles for their notebooks" and "resent being asked to examine a living institution and think about it . . . has led many sociologists to attempt to develop logically organized fundamentals. . . . Methodology has been elaborated as an end in itself. Curious statistical studies have been carried on, because in statistics the mathematical mind can find peace."

(6) "It is most unfortunate that he has been appointed chairman of the department. He might make a good member of the Harvard department but not a good chairman. There is a great deal of hostility to him among American sociologists, partly because of his almost pathological egotism, partly because other personality deviations make it difficult for other sociologists to get on with him, and partly because of sheer jealousy of his ability. For the mistake of his appointment we must hold responsible the conservative economists at Harvard, led in the first instance by T. N. Carver, who openly boasted to me once that he discovered Sorokin. Ex-President Lowell also bears a large portion of the responsibility since there is reason to believe that Lowell was determined to secure a safe man to head up a department of sociology when, after two decades of delay, as com-

pared with Chicago, Columbia and Yale, he decided to found an independent department of sociology at Harvard. As you know, the politicians in economics at Harvard eased out Richard Cabot, actually I think, because he was too liberal for them. . . . From the practical standpoint the tragedy of Sorokin lies not only in the fact that he does not give to Harvard the proper prestige in the sociological field, but that his errors in judgment are notoriously bad. His recommendations to teachers wanting to hire men are sometimes unbelievably badly informed. He also drives his graduate students to work on his own projects instead of doing his utmost to promote the flowering of their own research and other abilities."

The foregoing was written to me confidentially by a nationally known sociologist who had read what I had written on the subject, and he added, "I furnish this information because I think you may be interested in these reflections and evaluations and because I know that you are sincerely interested in the improvement of education at Harvard and elsewhere. But I should not like to have these criticisms too freely bandied about. . . . For all I know you may take me for a ride in your comments. But what has that got to do with furnishing you with ammunition for a worthy battle?"

(7) The Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, "established at Harvard in 1932 to administer funds received from the Rockefeller Foundation or from other sources for research in the social sciences", distributed in one year \$45,357 (*Boston Herald*). It warms one's imagination to think what might be done with that. A few thousand would supply young men of burning ambition who in a few months' time might ferret out political graft in Cambridge, or in Boston, and the amounts derived from each, or the wastes in some phase of our social set-up or government machinery right at hand under the nose of the professors in the city of Cambridge. But no one ever hears of such things being done. The money is devoted to 'safe' things that will not disturb vested interests, that will not antagonize political agents. The Milton Fund at Harvard annually distributes more than \$50,000 to members of the faculty who are in favor, to index Serbian ballads, study Chaucer, Vergil, or Boethius. Perhaps half the money goes to investigations in art or science that may have some bearing on the future.

(8) "The same struggle is going on in the teaching field of the social studies" as took place some fifteen years ago when "biological science was fighting for free speech" at the Tennessee evolution trial, wrote George D. Lundberg, head of the history department of Framingham High School (Mass.) in "Books and Bogey-Men", *Journal of Education*, June 7, 1937. One "bone of contention" is textbook material, which has gradually "shifted from a passive survey of past events and principles accepted", but "will go for naught if hindered by an out-moded public fear of heresy to come".

(9) This is taken from an extended article in the *Social Frontier*, Nov., 1937, contributed by me at the request of the editor, who asked for "a straightforward major article on . . . the work and influence of . . . Demiashevich and Sorokin—the latter is a particularly formidable menace".

(10) The reviewers are a little awed by the prestige of Sorokin's position, the money invested, the erudition, the labor. His colleague, Crane Brinton, with passing contempt for James Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard, and Arnold Toynbee, and with a condescending word of praise for Spengler and Pareto, mildly rebukes Sorokin that he "sprinkles his three volumes with graphs and tables in the traditional manner of the sociologist aping the physicist". What the "nineteenth century called scientific methods" and Sorokin regards as "sensate degeneracy",

Brinton contemplates with a superior disdain, although he admits "there really isn't any need nowadays . . . to nourish hatred and scorn towards the scientist". Arthur Livingston, translator of Pareto, gingerly takes a swift sideswipe. Lewis Mumford pours scorn upon the "insensate ideologue" whose "blind vanity causes him to fall into a bigger hole of his own digging". Ernest Sutherland Bates detects "question-begging adjectives", distortion of chronology to make facts fit fluctuation; "history, as pictured by Sorokin, resembles the spinning of a cosmic roulette wheel". A. P. Usher, professor of economics at Harvard, speaks of "this vast treatise . . . in fact a singularly arbitrary and dogmatic interpretation . . . essentially anti-evolutionary". D. W. Prall, professor of philosophy, from the standpoint of art points out that he "would confuse sensate mentality with empirically verifiable good sense. . . . Sorokin is all along pleading for faith in the manifestly incredible". William Yandell Elliott, professor of government, says, "Even the most elementary knowledge of the dangers of statistical methods would lead one to view with scepticism, if not with horror, the proof of his pudding". His "method is Procrustean. . . . Professor Sorokin's inspection, by a tabular method, of wars and revolutions does not give me, at least, the feeling that this method has any significance." (22nd ed, 1938, pp 54, 55-6)

(11) Speaking of Sorokin's "Dynamics", E. T. Bell says, "The treatment . . . is once more the purely verbalistic in the best mediaeval tradition". The Russian Revolution popped all Sorokin's bubbles,—'democracy', 'progress', 'revolution', 'socialism', 'scientific positivism' and many other 'isms'. "Having learned absolutely nothing from this wholesale scuttling of his pristine credulity, he opens his mouth from his eyebrows to his waistline, and swallows a vaster dose of credulity than all that he had rejected. Closing his mouth for a moment to allow intellection to pursue its supernatural course, he opens it again almost instantly and begins preaching a new 'ism'—'Ideationalism'. This is the stuffing of the 1937 lifebelt, compounded by the good old 'tried and true' methods of classical logic and scholastic metaphysics." ("Man and His Lifebelts", 1938, pp 275, 277)

(12) Arthur Livingston, translator of Pareto, wrote in regard to the *Social Frontier* article on Sorokin, "Your point of view is very sound, and very much to the point at this time, when the people at the higher levels of culture are surely showing signs of defeatism and bewilderment." A social scientist formerly associated with Harvard wrote, "Sorokin is no doubt reactionary and quite without emotional balance but, on the other hand, there is no doubt that he is erudite. He is probably better acquainted with European sociological literature than any other person in America. No doubt there are certain elements of his scholarship that have a fakir element. . . . So far as I know X was the first man to see through the fakery in Sorokin. Quite certainly he would. X is a man of penetration."

Some of the more vigorous and independent members of the faculty at Harvard, who, however, should not be pilloried for their outspokenness, wrote: "Enjoyed hugely. . . . Agree heartily with most of it."—"I applaud warmly your critique of Sorokin sociology. That you should have been admonished, by one whom you call an 'aggressive and progressive professor', against voicing your views only proves how necessary it was for you to speak forthrightly. Courage of utterance has an infectiousness of its own."

THE BUSINESS OF RUNNING A UNIVERSITY

Correlation with foundations and finance and the retarding influences of conservative alumni, the chief worries of university executives, affect the pattern of education and present difficulties in bringing about change.

Running a university isn't 'big business', but for the cloister-bred, pulled from laboratory or study, it's nervous business. The claustral 'little business men' of the college world meet in the Association of American Colleges, which admits some six hundred. The exclusive American Association of Universities is limited to the thirty or so with the most money to spend. Both have their annual meetings to discuss not only education but taxes, gifts, rates of interest. (1)

IMPERMANENT FOUNDATIONS

The passing of the private university, as prophesied by President Conant, will be accelerated by the wasting away of endowments, and the diminishing return. The elder Morgenthau and other wise men set a new fashion of leaving their money to be spent, not hoarded. The Rockefeller Foundation, realizing the impermanence of investments in these changing times, is providing that specific grants may be spent for other purposes after twenty-five years. In "Endowments in Jeopardy", *Atlantic*, December, 1937, Edwin W. Kemmerer, Princeton economist, explains how in Germany all endowments were wiped out, in other countries diminished, and points to the dangers in this country. (2)

"The Promises Men Live By", 1938, by Harry Scherman of the Book-of-the-Month Club makes clear that our whole culture, all endowments, bonds, bank notes, are merely promises. He reminds us that government bonds are generally destined for repudiation. The total amount of all corporate and governmental promises to pay, in 1929 amounted to over 200 billions. Since then much of this has been wiped out through bankruptcies, repudiations, and reorganizations, and the value of the remainder scaled down by the reduction in the value of the dollar. How much of this and subsequent debt incurred for our follies our grandchildren will pay, no man can figure out. (3)

WHY CLASSICS AND PHILOSOPHY?

President Seymour, in the presence of the President of Harvard, which had just received two and a quarter millions from Lucius N. Littauer, the glove man, for a Graduate School of Public Administration, (4) "warned against developing departments of contemporary economics and

political science at the expense of the classics, philosophy, literature and kindred subjects" (*School and Society*, Nov. 20, 1937). "I know of no evidence", he said, "to indicate that a man will make a better Secretary of the Interior, or a better collector of customs, or a better citizen, as a result of having concentrated upon the study of Government than if he had concentrated on the Greek and Latin classics". Let us hope that Yale doesn't staff its cancer research, for which it has received ten millions, with those who have "concentrated on the Greek and Latin classics", nor that President Seymour patronizes a dentist who acquired his proficiency in the practice of blacksmithing.

Some months later, Professor Cecil Driver of Yale, turning toward Harvard, made the same face. "Government workers should learn to govern within the government itself—they should be apprentices." The *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* adds, "A few decades ago this was said of law, medicine, teaching, and business".

Seymour's attitude is common enough. Even Conant, the scientist, in his 1936 annual report had deplored the increased demand for the social sciences on the part of the students, who were deserting the classics. Hutchins, a Yale man, in his "The Higher Learning" had said, "All there is to journalism can be learned through a good education and newspaper work. All there is to teaching can be learned through a good education and being a teacher. All there is to public administration can be discovered by getting a good education and being a public servant". He found comfort in quoting Aristotle's *Politics*, "The same education and the same habits will be found to make a good man and a good statesman and king".

Light is thrown by the great British economist and sociologist, John Atkinson Hobson. He writes, "Where the elements of civics, politics and economics are introduced . . . care must be taken to keep them inoffensive by confining them to descriptive information, or, if any controversial issue is introduced, to a balanced statement of the pros and cons. While it is admitted by most thoughtful teachers that a living interest in history and in social institutions would be best evoked by an intelligible account of current happenings and the present-day working of these institutions . . . this rational process is banned by its very merit of rationality."

BOOKS ON THE BUSINESS

College people do a lot of talking. Some of it is warmed over and served up in print. Books by college presidents are mostly small talk about small business. Shaking the presidential dust of Yale from his feet, James Rowland Angell published in "American Education" his

recent addresses and articles. He holds that the essence of a liberal education is "intellectual curiosity", yet he could not approve Jerome Davis' snooping about in the ways of "Capitalism and Its Culture". Dr. Butler of Columbia annually acquires a new crop of degrees and produces a new crop of volumes. Always engaged in 'the pursuit of truth', which for him is just around the corner, in "The University in Action", 1937, he reprinted his annual reports from 1902-1935. In his report of 1917 he said, "There is no real reason to fear that academic freedom . . . is or has ever been in the slightest danger in the United States". That was the year he and his trustees, overcome by war hysteria, threw out Cattell and Dana and caused Beard and Robinson to withdraw. President Wriston of Brown in "The Nature of a Liberal Education", 1937, exclaimed, "The curriculum is the educational jungle", and gushed that a liberal education is an experience similar to that of love or religion.

All these give lip service to 'academic freedom'. But Alvin Johnson claims, "We have a right to demand of our leaders in government, business and labor, fair evidence that they are functioning like good mechanics, not chewing the rag on our time. But let us resolve not to look for miracles."

THE DEAD WEIGHT OF ALUMNI

The alumni are the product of the university, but they in turn influence the university and its policies. It is a vicious circle, as Hutchins has remarked. The alumni aren't so "dumb" as one might gather from Tunis' study of his own class of 1911. To manufacture the alumni, the raw material was carefully chosen from the superior, the elect. If there is anything wrong with them, it is the way they have been educated. If they had not gone to college, their training and their inhibitions would be different. (5)

The university produces alumni, who fertilize the soil from which the university grows. They send their sons, they give their funds, and influence others to do likewise. "Look at a gathering of old Harvard grads, bald, jowled, dewlapped, stoop shouldered, pot-bellied. They are dulled, disillusioned. There is no sparkle, no fire. They are a tamed, dispirited lot, without zest for life" (*Yankee*, Oct., 1937). To this a faculty member retorts, "The B.A. didn't entitle them to drink perpetually of the fountain of youth. What do you think education is, a biological miracle?"

The chosen of the land should be the yeast and ferment. Well, they were conditioned in the preparatory process, by "a combination of boredom and torture" (Kirtley Mather). "Teach him to think for himself? Goodness no! Teach him to think like other people."

THEY AREN'T SO DUMB

One of the damaging effects of college on the ordinary undergraduate is not merely that he is conditioned, stupefied and stultified, but the general dampening of his originality, the suppression of his personality. James Laughlin IV, in the *Harvard Advocate*, Dec., 1937, speaks of "the observable tendency of the college's life to blight young thinking: individual thinking, original thinking. . . . Something ties them, or makes them tie themselves, in knots. . . . They give in, completing in a year the curve that should take thirty. In their minds, in their thoughts, they become middle-aged overnight."

More damaging is the permanent feeling of inferiority. A reverence for the dead hand, what are awesomely spoken of as traditions, lies heavily on the college man. Still worse is the awe with which the average undergraduate regards the letter men, the club men, the wire pulling politically minded leaders. This attitude persists among the alumni. Some graduate with the flame of youth still burning. But the prizes are so tempting, and nonconformity calls for so much abnegation, that they soon learn to play the game and take the prize. As tools and servants of finance capitalism, they advance rapidly, achieve worldly success, and are reverently looked up to by those of their classmates who have not taken the brass check.

Men who do things, who give time and money, service and loyalty to the university, come in for criticism from the do-nothing radicals and critics and cynics who stand on the sidelines. Among the most prominent and influential alumni, loyally present at commencements, always ready with a few hundred thousand for some genuine need, are such men as Tom Lamont, '92, LL.D (Hon.) '31, "probably the single most influential individual in contemporary American journalism". His "duties as a Morgan partner and apostolic successor to George W. Perkins are varied, but among them journalistic concerns have played a very large part. . . . Usually when the New York newspapers, in editorial or news columns chastely allude to 'prominent banking opinion', 'impressions in financial circles', and 'the consensus among bankers', they refer only to Lamont." Walter Lippmann, '09, chairman of the Visiting Committee of the Department of Economics, consultant on the use of the Nieman fund "to promote and elevate the standards of journalism in the United States", (6) is "among the many Lamont literary and journalistic friends. . . . Lamont's most important editorial outlet" (Lundberg, "America's Sixty Families", pp 312-319). Twenty years ago Lippmann, an outspoken socialist, was too radical to be admitted to the Harvard Liberal Club. Lamont has come up from a newspaper reporter. He is a public-spirited,

conscientious and useful citizen, and certainly a loyal son of Harvard.

Control of higher education in America lies increasingly with the financially successful. Lawyers and bankers on boards of trustees of fifteen great private universities increased between 1860 and 1930 from 48% to 74%. This is the trend as revealed by the Rockefeller-financed investigation in the *Educational Record*. (7)

Head of the self-perpetuating but constantly changing Corporation, the President of Harvard is responsible to the Overseers, but must hold the support of the alumni. The Corporation today is made up chiefly of men, in their youth of liberal tendencies, now restricted or inhibited by financial dependence upon alumni who serve and represent great corporations. To the Overseers are constantly elected liberals, who in their environment soon conform to pattern, losing the qualities that gave them individuality. And so they begin to look like conservatives.

"These men are products of an environment with which they are so successfully and intelligently integrated that it would take more than your or my suggestions by letter to have any effect on their decisions or actions", writes an alumnus and former college president, who knows the ways of his fellows. Men of good will, they are playing the game according to the rules as they know them. They begin to feel a loss of curiosity, even a growing unwillingness to delight as does a scientist in facing new questions. Their joy no longer lies in discovering the whys and wherefores of what is generally accepted. They are turning their backs on reality.

FREE AND FEARLESS

Snubbing and snobbing are the most powerful means of holding men in control. England knows how to put it over on 'inferior' peoples, to maintain its caste system. On the other hand, English diplomats always put it over on their American colleagues,—take 'em right into camp.

Rare are the alumni who remain free and fearless in their thinking. And these few are unknown to each other, unorganized. Few are bold enough in their thought to have anything to say, and of these, few independent enough to dare say it. Only occasionally is a lone, clear voice heard above the tumult of rah rahs. Though the more tolerant may listen, the more cynical smile. But in perspective they stand up as giants among the little men.

Thoreau shook the dust of Cambridge from his feet, never to return. Emerson, its severest critic, for more than twenty years ostracized, avoided the college yard, though from Somerville and from the Theological Seminary he denounced the stultifying influences of his alma mater. Wendell Phillips was an outcast in his day. The mediocrities are much

more comfortable to have around than the Socrates.

Another free man cast in heroic mould, with a face like Michael Angelo, and an impetuosity and fieriness of temperament akin, was magnanimously tolerated because of recognized charm of personality. He was in the Boston tradition of the greater Adamses, of whom the last was Brooks, of Wendell Phillips, and Garrison. Such men grow, like William McAndrew, "the older, the bolder".

In "John Jay Chapman and His Letters", 1937, Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe presents this wildly free friend of his. "It was not until Chapman became openly critical of Harvard that his alma mater began to recognize his existence. In a private letter he once tossed off the term 'almamatriotism', to define an obnoxious sentiment." And Chapman is quoted, "It is with a kind of joy that I attack Harvard College knowing that Harvard supplies the light and liberalism—hardly elsewhere to be seen in America—by which I am permitted to proceed. I should grieve to have this freedom extinguished, as it would be if the alumni were forbidden to take a critical interest in the institution."

'Academic freedom' the university stands for, but no "Free Speech and Plain Language", 1937, such as Albert Jay Nock advocates. Formerly editor of the *Freeman*, in these reprinted essays which appeared in *Harpers* and *Atlantic*, Nock hits hard with great suavity. Contempt and revilement are placidly poured upon those who would attempt to control him, by government, law, or tabu.

One of his best essays bears the title "The Disadvantages of Being Educated". In England we all admire the ivy mantled ruins of the monastic establishments Henry VIII suppressed. H. G. Wells has held forth on the possibilities this method offers for our modern universities. Nock tells of a distinguished American artist who "when his ship came in . . . proposed to give magnificent endowments to Columbia, Harvard, Princeton and Yale on the sole condition that they should shut up shop and go out of business forever". This stimulated Nock to rush "into print with the suggestions that in addition to our present system of schools, colleges and universities which are doing first-class work as training-schools, we ought to have a few educational institutions".

NOTES

(1) Controlling boards, whatever they are called, must function through an executive, a front man, the president. His is a nervous job. To his faculty, to his trustees, he must be two-faced, like Janus. He must be a hero to undergraduates, satisfy alumni, flatter future donors. His success measured by ability to deal satisfactorily with a host of bosses, he soon appears to be a 'fence-sitter'. These college presidents use "languages of great ductility" which will not "disturb the harmonious intercourse of those who support, and those who direct and gov-

ern" their institutions comments Edgar W. Knight in "What College Presidents Say", 1940. The theory of executive control and of authority is enlarged upon by Chester I. Barnard in "The Functions of the Executive", 1938. (Cf "What Makes Lives", pp 211-12)

(2) "In two hundred sixty-four years, that is prior to 1900, Harvard University had accumulated less than \$12,000,000 endowment, whereas in thirty-six years it added more than \$120,000,000. . . . At the turn of the century the aggregate endowment of all colleges and universities in America was \$170,000,000; in 1936 \$1,600,000,000" (O. C. Carmichael, *Educational Record*, July, 1938). "In 1915, Harvard's was the only endowment exceeding \$20,000,000; now there are 16 universities with endowments of more than that amount. The combined endowments of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Yale have risen in 25 years from \$20,000,000 to \$359,000,000" (Horace Coon, "Money to Burn", 1938).

The 36 billions expended for the first World War resulted in great accumulations of wealth. Foundations were established to escape taxation. Harvard under the aegis of Thomas Lamont through John Price Jones, a Liberty Bond driver, first used high pressure methods to get hold of the pursestrings of alumni, which resulted in a fund of 20 millions, of which Jones was paid approximately \$800,000. Colleges and private schools rich and poor in the twenties profited from such campaigns and drives. Sinclair Lewis satirized these "philanthrobbers" in his novel "Gideon Planish", 1943, devastatingly disclosing the highjackers of the underworld of the philanthropy business.

"How Foundations Influence", "How Universities Are Controlled", how "Philanthropy from the Grave" has resulted in "Interlocking Directorates", "Foundation Janizaries", which have become "A Menace to Democracy" and "Subversive to Academic Freedom", and how through these agencies universities are used to promote war, was explained in "What Makes Lives", pp 181-214. In "War and Education" the early apprehensions as to the repressive influences of the men who run them, their "Growing Financial Control", the "Techniques of Control" of communication, the distorting of history, and the building of ideologies, are expounded, pp 361-450.

(3) Our 1944 debt so overshadows former figures as to make them seem insignificant. Our total assets in 1938, including every promise, every piece of personal property, totaled 388 billions, according to R. R. Doane's estimate in "The Anatomy of American Wealth", 1940 (cf "Getting U S Into War", p 580). If we spend that amount on the war, we are bankrupt. As to the claim that our income has increased, income as figured includes lend-lease and payment for war materials which are dissipated in the air, on the ground, or in the depths of the sea.

We still live on promises. Rulers, political or ecclesiastical, hold power through promises of future freedom or salvation. Every bond, stock certificate, mortgage, 'scrap of paper' is a promise. Corporations' promises are called bonds or stock certificates, and banks' promises more properly bank notes. If all the promises were met, there would be little profit to the promiser. Eventually the promiser cashes in by juggling the medium of exchange, by reorganization or repudiation, or some other device. Your deed to a piece of land is the government's promise to maintain your monopoly to the use of that land, which promises that so long as your tenure is secure and the climate remains as anticipated and labor can be employed to cultivate it, it will yield a return. Even a gold brick is a promise that government, men in control, will continue to use gold as a medium of exchange and put a value on it.

(4) Littauer, graduate of the class of '78, in his address inaugurating the building for which he had so generously provided, said, "This school will encourage a broad approach to problems of public administration . . . train leaders, and through them the people at large, how to translate democratic ideals of administration into living realities. . . . The improvement of public administration—national, state, and local—is our fundamental objective, and we shall work to make the government service popular as a life's vocation. . . . I have been led toward its foundation by my firm belief in the capability of highly educated men to be instructed in public administration, studied not merely theoretically, but in its practical application. I am confident that . . . here they will learn not merely to follow beaten tracks, but to carve new and better paths."

(5) In "Two-Way Currents of Service, The Colleges and Their Alumni", Ruth E. Anderson tells what the colleges do for alumni under the headings Alumni College, Alumni Week-Ends, Lecture Courses, Reading Lists and Library Service, Alumni Buildings, Placement Bureaus, etc., and what the alumni do for the colleges under the headings Alumni Funds, Bequest Programs, Recruiting. Under "Generating the Current, The Alumni Association, Its Organization and Program" is explained how through committees, gatherings, contacts, publications, money is raised. (*Bulletin of Assn. Amer. Colleges*, May, 1935, pp 330-73)

(6) Lucius W. Nieman for forty years maintained a high standard in his Milwaukee newspaper. In 1937 when his widow offered to establish the fund, the Corporation of Harvard hesitated before accepting, perhaps fearing its purpose might interfere with the plutocratic control of the press. At last the great publishers of the country, called into consultation, found a way. Fellowships were to be granted on their recommendation to employees, to whom they gave leave of absence. Archibald MacLeish was given charge of the first group. In 1942 the Nieman funds were used for a secret conference of four hundred newspaper men which dealt largely with the subject of war propaganda and morale (cf "Morale and Education", pp 298-9 in "War and Education").

(7) J. Anton De Haas, a Hollander educated at Leland Stanford and Harvard, who has taught in four American universities and is now professor of international relations at Harvard, in "A Hired Man Speaks", *Atlantic*, Dec. 1938, tells us that American educators are absorbed in method and have no objectives. While "in our universities in Holland, all important decisions are made by the faculty", in this country "decisions are made in many institutions by the super-executives. That is the way the Standard Oil Company operates, so who can doubt that the same method will also bring the best results in directing the work of a university."

THE FEAR PSYCHOSIS

Confusion in the chancelleries, giving place to fear, was passed on to the centers of finance and higher education, thence communicated down to the schools and by mass suggestion to the people, establishing a basis for war.

"The fear psychosis is the factor determining the course of civilization today," Dr. Clarence Cook Little, former president of the University of Michigan, told financial and industrial leaders at the Boston meeting of the New England Council, November, 1937. They had no come back. They accepted it as true. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a few evenings later at International House told a dinner gathering, "A glance at the world of today reveals the fact that fear stalks the earth like a specter in the night."

FEAR EVERYWHERE

"Many of the commencement addresses of 1937 have a note of mis-giving and of fear," an editorial writer in the Boston *Herald* complained. "The uneasiness of these commencement speakers, who are not given to impulsive thinking or reckless talk, is not an isolated thing. . . . The average citizen, too, has a vague feeling that all is not well." Teachers and college trustees, as we have seen, are jittery. "The church is afraid. It sees reason for fear in everything," writes Rollo Walter Brown in the December *Harpers*. "All over the country I hear clergy and official laity express to their adherents one great fear after another . . . priests of every sort express even more desperate fears . . . churchmen everywhere express the fear of a proletarian uprising that will have as a part of its program the suppression of the church." Labor and management fear each other. Vested interests fear government, and government fears them. The nations fear each other, and everywhere we hear "ancestral voices prophesying war".

The fatuous twenties was a period of frivolity, of wild extravagance, until the bubble burst in '29. In the twenties we scorned the Soviets for bringing to Geneva a proposal for general disarmament. France, ignoring her part of the Versailles Treaty, increased her armament, bled Germany white, marched her troops into the Ruhr, requisitioned the daughters of the Rhine for their Senegalese troops, paralyzed German industry, and sowed the seeds of hatred.

The greater part of the wealth that is now produced by labor, we spend to the profit of a few in preparation to kill and to pay for past killings. Little wonder that we are jittery with fear. "The Frightened

Thirties" this decade will be called, H. G. Wells predicted in a lecture in Boston, Nov., 1937.

WHAT IS FEAR?

The phlegmatic moron has fewer fears than the nervously organized and active minded. The clam is proverbially happy. Lacking the highly developed endocrine and sympathetic systems of the higher animals, its emotions are not so complex. It is not so excitable. It knows a lesser number of fears.

Fear is conscious anticipation of impending catastrophe to one's body, possessions, or hopes. It is dependent upon ganglionic storehouses of memory, interconnected by association tracts. With growing complexity of this neural and endocrine apparatus, hopes and fears have multiplied and may for another million years. Growth of altruistic attitudes, of social consciousness, increases our hopes and fears for others. In the last analysis, fear is anticipation and consequence of a negative tropism. A paramecium approaching a poisonous particle with which it has had experience, halts, reverses its course and retreats. Fear has survival value. Those whose fear came early escaped the danger and survived. Those who did not react quickly enough were killed generations ago. Don't be fearless. When you see a cornice falling, be scared, move!

"Partial ignorance and inability to control things and situations produce fear. . . . Fear, having been induced in the controllers of capital and industry, is through them created in those seeking political or social preferment. From these, fear is communicated. . . . Insidious pressure and intimidation control the teaching profession," wrote Dr. A. O. Bowden, University of Southern California, in "Fear—the Master Enemy", *School and Society*, January 9, 1937.

When nothing is threatened it is easy to be individual and independent. In the face of impending disaster, filled with fear of violence and sudden death, our critical faculties are paralyzed. Like sheep we huddle together for collective action. Then there may be more danger from panic and stampede than from the wolves. Startled, we may respond to false leadership, and blind and insane from fright plunge over a cliff to destruction. Most of our leaders dare not face reality. They turn their backs on facts new to them, vainly hoping to escape trouble. Behind so called philosophies, excuses, wishful thinking, they attempt to hide or escape. For comfort they offer old sentimentalities and platitudes. They would retreat to the past. It is traditions and inherited attitudes, laid down in former times, that keep us ignorant.

The dead hand is heavy upon us. It shackles, enslaves, holds us back. It keeps us fearful, prevents us from investigating and learning. It

denies to youth the joys of exploring, of discovering. So we kill divine curiosity. Frustrated, the world seems drab, so we long for excitement. Even war is release. We leave the field open for the Hitlers and Mussolinis. And only a few clear sighted men are bold enough to speak up.

WHAT WE DO FEAR

"Every new discovery which threatens to change the social order strikes terror in the heart of man. It threatens his established habits and his position in the community. Only the pure scientist, whose passion is great enough to block out the fear of newness, seems to escape," writes Leslie C. Barber in 'The Age of Schizophrenia', *Harpers*, December, 1937.

"Modern man is still plagued with fears: the fear of economic collapse which will mean poverty, the fear of disease which will mean death or disability worse than death, the fear of war which gathers into and totals in itself all the other dreads. The only one of these fears that has been approached with anything approximating the scientific method is the second; and it is the only one in which any decided progress has been made," writes George W. Gray in "The Advancing Front of Science."

We fear only the unknown. When we understand this, then fear may become a great driving force to solve the mysteries ahead, and so dispel fear. Most of us have only one fear, that we will lose our possessions, something we have. If we had more fears, if we feared that we would fail to gain something ahead, then we would get on and the world would move faster. It was mere blind fear that sent the animal in retreat. From this negative tropism, the result of chemical reaction, our nervous systems have made it possible for us to anticipate and create the future. A time of change like the present holds the greatest promise for those who can understand and master their fears. "Nothing in life is to be feared," said Marie Curie, "it is only to be understood."

NATIONS GONE MAD

The leaders of the nations are confused puppets. They don't know what to do, and so they sing the Gilbertian lines, "The world, in short, which never was extravagantly sane, developed all the signs of inflammation of the brain" (A. P. Herbert). "I think civilization has gone crazy," remarked Sir Evelyn Wrench, publisher of the London *Spectator*, and British propagandist in America, and Lord Horder, before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, said war is "the greatest of all modern diseases . . . primarily a disease of the mind".

Even psychiatrists,—and there is a fringe here,—similarly misled, attribute diseases to nations, figments of our imagination, as though they were real persons. "The world today is insane", wrote S. H. Kraines,

lecturer on mental diseases at the National Hospital for Diseases of the Nervous System, London, in *Science*, Oct. 22, 1937. He characterized each of the different nations in the terms of the psychiatrist. The United States he found "manic-depressive", England "apprehensive", France "suffering from an excessive emotionalism", Germany "paranoid", Russia "just passed through the throes of puberty", China "middle-aged, lazy, calm, philosophical . . . becoming irritable".

THE GROUP MIND FALLACY

Such an attitude is based on acceptance of the fallacy of the group mind. Nations, like corporations, we personify. The former are always feminine, to be defended. That stimulates mob patriotism. We invest corporations with personal attributes to give them legal standing in our courts. It is the stupid, confused men in control who are responsible. It is the man who stands at the throttle who starts the engine. The engine doesn't go insane, but the engineer may. It isn't the nation that is sadistic, but the men who run it. But it protects them and relieves them of responsibility to promote such nationalistic myths. And so we say, "What will Russia do?" "England expects every man to do his duty."

A simpler explanation than that the nations have gone crazy is that peoples long deprived are gaining strength to move against the over-privileged. But to move even a depressed people requires a leader. If the intellectuals, the natural leaders, betray them, men like Mussolini and Hitler and Stalin will arise from lower classes. Italy, Germany and Japan have dense and increasing populations, and lack territory, resources and food. Henry I. Harriman, New England power magnate, returning from Europe, naively said out loud what almost no other has, that there can be no peace until the have-not nations are appeased. Hoover, six months later, missed this. Ambassador William E. Dodd, on his return to America, pointed out the selfish blunders of the nations since the first World War,—twenty months of blockade of helpless Germany, deprived of food and necessities.

But those who are in control will permit no such simple explanation, nor will their statesmen puppets or the diplomats who palaver for them. They foster folklore among the people. With the press kept in leash, they help to create from poor human material mythical heroes for the people to worship. Tabus are sustained or set up. Propaganda machines are organized which arouse animosity and create hatreds to conceal underlying purposes. In the confusion and waste resulting, shrewd Levantines like Zaharoff hope to win something now just beyond their reach. Stupidly they can't see beyond their own selfish, immediate profit. "Education today throughout the world is . . . to convince the people of

the merit of their rulers and to make them docile", write John K. and Margaret A. Norton after a 1937 trip around the world. (*A. A. U. W. Journal*, April, 1938)

AGE OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

"The chauvinistic Armistice Day ceremony at Whitehall's Cenotaph" was interrupted by a cry, "Stop all this hypocrisy!" While the king stood stolid, the "madman" piled on by the police was hustled to the insane asylum. A letter writer to *Time* protests, "Hypocrisy! The inanities in the world taking place in the name of 'patriotism' are enough to make any sane, intelligent person 'wild-eyed'. . . . Perhaps he was the only rational person there!" *Time* annotates, "Possibly but not probably.—Ed."

Peer Gynt, visiting an asylum in Egypt, set all the lunatics loose and locked up the keepers, we are reminded by the editors of *Harpers*, in the December, 1937, issue of which appears "The Age of Schizophrenia". This is the concluding chapter of a book by Leslie C. Barber. Salesman, reporter, soldier, farmer, he writes from the standpoint of the patient, now loose. Schizophrenia is "splitting apart of the emotional from the intellectual life", due to the difficulty of adjustment to change. "Thus as the years go by, most men and women become more or less afflicted with schizophrenia. Their minds grow without friction or serious effort, while their emotional development is retarded by the hard labor of adjustment. . . . They wind up in the half-hearted compromise between Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. . . . The place to begin any social development is with the children. It is easier to avoid schizophrenia than to cure it. Our growing citizens may fairly demand this of us because they will have need of their best energies if they are ever to bring order out of the state of affairs we are bequeathing to them. Let us, to the best of our uncertain knowledge and ability, avoid afflicting them with habit patterns which they will some day have to change."

The child "is likely to discover that certain social habits of his group are an insult to his intelligence. These are hangovers from the past. He learns that there are some questions which may be asked and some which may not. His established habit patterns are challenged at home and abroad. The painful process of growing up is in full swing. . . . The coming of puberty, with its new and violent strains and stresses, finds him facing a new and still more severe set of taboos. His entrance into college or into the working world brings a new complement of regulations to which his habits must be made to conform. Marriage brings still another, and the births of his children (who promptly relegate him to second place in the household) demand one more series of adjustments.

Small wonder that by the time the average man has reached middle age he is tired of the endless process of taking himself to pieces, and becomes a conservative in a futile effort to avoid further change. It is quite logical that after seventy he should become a downright reactionary," Barber concludes.

"The psychiatrist does not deny the value of facts learned in school, but he believes that the facts can be useful to the individual only if proper adjustment is made to life. He considers that the first purpose of education in its broader sense is the facilitation of adjustment to reality, and if this is not attained, facts, doctrines, systems, and philosophies can be of little value." This is quoted from the chapter "Applications" in Karl Menninger's "The Human Mind". "Furthermore, he believes that the child's education begins with the first day of life and that the most important period from the educator's standpoint is the early years before the child enters school. The parents are the child's earliest educators, and the teacher is not dealing with untouched material, but with an individual whose personality is already well determined. . . . And psychiatry . . . is comparatively unknown in educational circles. True, of late there has been considerable demand in parent-teacher groups and in teachers' associations for information on mental hygiene, but usually it has been included as a kind of side line."

THE HARM THAT SCHOOLS DO

Psychiatrists, like the Menningers, say it doesn't matter what we teach, it is the result on the pupil that counts. We are just beginning to learn a little about what these educational processes have done and the more we know the less faith we have in them. The trouble has been that teachers have been magnifying their own egos, not the child's. Principle, conviction, has been so strong with us that we have been unconscious of the result we were producing inside the child's skull. Good intent, conscientiousness, were our justification, and so we paved the road to hell for many a youth.

"Frustration is the one thing characteristic of the present generation" and it is due to our conscientious teachers living up to their principles and philosophies. This was explained in "The Crime of Teaching" by Porter Sargent, *Yankee*, Oct., 1937.

In our earnest desire to provide better education for our children we have put implicit faith in 'book larnin' and the school teacher. We are just learning that instead of teaching reading we create a distaste for it, that our best writers have never been taught, that examinations are foolish, homework harmful, language a semantic mire out of which grow psychoses.

From our schools and colleges youth is thrust "afraid into a world he never made". Housman felt it as fate. Thomas Hardy made protest. His first poem, 1866, "A Young Man's Epigram on Existence", carries the same burden that I have heard from many a graduate of our best private schools,—“A senseless school, where we must give our lives that we may learn to live! A dolt is he who memorizes lessons that leave no time for prizes.”

THE HERITAGE OF IGNORANCE

Education must first "dispel the 'knowing so many things that ain't so' ". Ours is "a gigantic heritage of ignorance—a heritage held so jealousy in trust that it did not begin to totter until psycho-pathology entered upon 'the morning of its medical life' in our own days. . . . Then, if this task be successfully completed, we embark upon the relatively simple business of imparting the new information," remarks Gregory Zilboorg in "The Heritage of Ignorance", *Atlantic*, June, 1937. The 'things that ain't so' are persistent, difficult to dispel, as history shows. (1)

Aristarchus of Samos, 250 B. C., anticipated the discovery of Copernicus, that the solar system was not geocentric. Eighteen centuries later Copernicus was denounced as a criminal, and Bruno was burned for announcing this heliocentric truth. And Galileo, obliged by the inquisition to recant and make a "weekly recitation of the seven penitential psalms for a period of three years", died with his great work unpublished for another 180 years. But Galileo got a laugh out of his persecutions, at the expense of the professors of Padua. Zilboorg quotes Professor A. Wolf's translation of his letter to the German astronomer Kepler: "I wish, my dear Kepler, that we could have a good laugh together at the extraordinary stupidity of the mob. What do you think of the foremost philosophers of this University? In spite of my oft-repeated efforts and invitations, they have refused, with the obstinacy of a glutton adder, to look at the planets or the moon, or my glass! Why must I wait so long before I can laugh with you? Kindest Kepler, what peals of laughter you would give forth, if you heard with what arguments the foremost philosopher of the University opposed me, in the presence of the Grand Duke, at Pisa, laboring with logic-chopping argumentations as though they were magical incantations wherewith to banish or spirit away the new planets (the satellites of Jupiter) out of the sky."

Man usually welcomes new things which are supposedly practical and useful,—new tools, new gadgets, every patent medicine 'to poison out disease as we smoke out vermin' (O. W. Holmes). It is in the trivial that he seeks the new and the novel. On important things he holds to the ancient fundamentals, where he lets principles bar his way, laws,

traditions, mores, tabus fetter him. He is always ready to logically defend his ignorance of things that are of permanent and far reaching significance. Ignorance exercises "an automatic, invisible, effective censorship over man's thought and activities". The why's are many. Let's study the causes that have "'damp't the glory of human wits' and led humanity to defend its ignorance with a vehemence far greater than that with which it has ever fought for genuine knowledge".

"Man projects not only his apprehensions but also his aspirations," Zilboorg tells us. Paranoia is a mental projection outward, of fear, hatred, hostility, which seeks to fasten the hatred or hostility on some imagined persecutor. "Idealizations, belief in immortality, faith in a better future are all magnificent or tragic offsprings of the primitive mentality which utilizes the mechanism of projection. . . . These displacements and projections . . . fantasies coming from the unconscious emotions . . . color, influence, and frequently dominate and control the intellect whose supposed function is to control them. Thus 'knowledge of so many things that ain't so' is born, nurtured, developed, and clung to with all the tenacity which is characteristic of a biological need. . . . That is why matters psychological have been bound up throughout the history of humanity with magic, revelation, religion, and speculative philosophy. . . . Man is chiefly interested in scientific investigation of material nature, since this helps him not only to gratify his curiosity but—and this primarily—to gratify through the outside world his own fantasy of and aspiration for mastery and omnipotence." As Voltaire remarked, "If it is true that the Lord created man in His own image, man returned the compliment".

WHAT IS MIND?

Today we are "puzzled as we were in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries . . . by the problem of the soul". John Locke sought to penetrate the mystery. But the scientist, warned off, has been obliged to confine himself to the more obviously physical realms. "We seem to shy off looking directly at the psychic reactions of man," Zilboorg observes. "In this almost universal trend it is not difficult to detect an old, essential prejudice", which "makes the development of modern medical psychology so difficult and arouses so many passions where psychological or psychiatric problems are involved. . . . Everyone looks everywhere—into the stomach, the brain, the glands—except into the human mind (the psyche) for a solution to his various problems." If a man is sad, they say it's "black bile", melancholia, take a pill. The soul is perfect, immortal, hence invulnerable, inviolable, it can't be sick. 'Mens sana in corpore sano' is still quoted by educators and in school catalogs as the

complete prescription. Our soul, or psychological problems are turned over to the priest, the philosopher, the charlatan. Kant believed that mental disease was a matter for philosophers.

It is as difficult for us to recognize that what we call the human psyche is a natural phenomenon which can be subjected to analysis and biological understanding, as it was for Galileo's peers to admit that the earth went round the sun. "What we call the human mind is merely a biological characteristic of the *Homo sapiens* . . . subject of a number of natural laws rather than master of these. What we call mind is not our intellect alone, but all our feelings, conscious and unconscious, all the inner drives which guide our thinking. . . . The scientific value of understanding human beings helps us to rid ourselves of the assumption that the human psyche is more perfect than the human body." (2)

Our mental mechanisms are quite as subject to derangement as our digestive. Our digestion is no more an entity than is our mind. We might theorize and build a metaphysics about the universal and eternal digestion, and it would be more logical and hold together better than any of the metaphysics on the universal soul or mind: Everything is in time digested, resolved into its elements and assimilated in new ways to build new units. That's demonstrable in the laboratory. (3)

THE HUMAN INFERIORITY COMPLEX

Henry Adams reflected in his life and writing something of the mingled hope and despair which he saw in man's long history. "Man began by usurping the rank of lord of creation. Galileo and Newton succeeded in deposing him, much against his will,—as the Church very candidly confessed,—but he has never despaired of reinstating himself by means of his Reason." (4)

Walt Whitman's proud boast that he, like the beasts of the field, had serenity and contentment, was mere camouflage. "Much of the modern world's despair springs from a belief that man ought to be an angel and therefore must be treated as a rat because he isn't. . . . If there has been a time when life was other than precarious or when mankind was immune from danger, agony, cruelty, or disaster, it must be sought in prehistory only," Bernard De Voto writes in the *Saturday Review*, Oct. 23, 1937.

"From the time when one of the earliest Adams shivered in fear before the threatening forces of nature and compared his puniness with the incalculable power of the universe, man has been 'aware of' his relative helplessness in the hands of natural forces. Having reconciled himself to this with the aid of various devices . . . he encounters the same discomforts in comparing himself with individual men, stronger, quicker, or more astute than himself." (Menninger, "The Human Mind")

Of that golden age of mankind which De Voto like millions before him have longed for, glimmerings have come to us from the East. Under Asoka there was a period of hundreds of years of peace, actual, not armed peace like the Pax Romana. The Indus civilization reveals a people of six thousand years ago, advanced in art and hygiene, living in great cities without defense or weapons. Gerald Heard sees in these Indian survivals evidence of a proto-civilization when the mind of man was whole and sane. With the development of agriculture and land values came governments and wars and so developed the concept of sin, the consciousness of guilt, the 'split consciousness', and our longings for the lost paradise, our glimmering hopes for a return, which Gerald Heard elaborates in "The Source of Civilization".

But anthropologists find evidence of conflict and lack of adjustment even among primitive tribes. There is evidence, too, that before man had acquired the use of language, there were internal tensions and stresses, a basic lack of coordination that resulted in behavior disorders, individual and social.

HUMAN CONFLICT

Such imbalance due to conflict of internal motives of man as a species, Dr. Trigant Burrow explores in "The Biology of Human Conflict: An Anatomy of Behavior Individual and Social", 1937. A psychopathologist who has devoted his life and thought to behavior disorders, he has organized a group of patients, pupils, and disciples, known as the Lifwynn Foundation. They study their own behavior disorders and incentives as normal or neurotic persons in order to develop a technique which offers hope of repair. Objective observations of neuromuscular functions lead to understanding of subjective processes. (5)

The "underlying causal factors in behavior-disorders" are "envisaged by phylobiology". This pertains "to man's reactions as a phylum as they mediate his bionomic rapport with his social and material environment". "Bionomic" has to do "with the relation between organism and environment". His inferences as to causes far back in the phylum are drawn from the study of the persons before him. He remains a psychobiologist, dealing wholly with the specimens in his laboratory, but arrives by this original method at results which have been reached by anthropologists studying a wider range of material. Crime, like insanity, is due to lack of adjustment in the individual but implicates the phylum, the race, society. No community will be competent to cope with insanity or crime, to reduce the maladjustment, until it has recognized the conflict and imbalance intrinsic in the social structure.

Unbalanced behavior he says is a symptom of a pathological process

within the racial organism and within that of the individual. This pathological process results from a conflict between two systems of response, one measured only by the organism's need, the other which reacts to external environment through the symbol—the spoken or written word. The first is inherited, the second acquired.

The major difficulties with the individual, as with groups, are conflicts of words and ideas in which the outlook is distorted. He makes a great deal of language, as do the semanticists. This brings Burrow close to Korzybski's attitude: "The old animalistic, fallacious generalizations have been, and are, the foundation of our 'philosophies', 'ethics', systems, and naturally such animalistic doctrines must be disastrous to us. Neurologically, we build up conditions which our nervous systems cannot stand; and so we break down, and perhaps, shall not even survive." (6)

NOTES

(1) The Russian Gregory Zilboorg, graduate of Petrograd and Columbia and practising New York psychiatrist, won prominence through what he did to and for Marshall Field. Much of the common sense that he sets forth was anticipated by Justice Holmes who said, "To have doubted one's own first principles is the mark of a civilized man. Certitude is not the test of certainty. We have been cock-sure of many things that are not so."

(2) "Mind is Minding", declares Leslie A. White, University of Michigan anthropologist, in the *Scientific Monthly*, Feb., 1939. Of the so-called 'mind-body problem', "the solution has not been reached because the problem is a false one, somewhat like the paradoxes of Zeno. The difficulty is one of verbal origin; it is of our own making. . . . 'Mind' is a noun. A noun is a name of something. Therefore there must be something in the cosmos that is mind. A person has a mind; it is possible for him to 'lose' it. Thus 'mind', an entity, a 'thing-in-itself', was created and projected into the cosmos. Then people set about trying to find it as they have been searching for truth these many weary years. One might as well search the cosmos for the square root of — 1. . . .

"By rewording the problem the 'problem' disappears: use the word mind as a verb instead of a noun. . . . The reacting, behavior, of any living organism as a whole, as a coherent unit, with reference to its environment, is minding, or mind. . . . It may sound ridiculous to say that a radish has a mind. But it sounds much less ridiculous to say that a radish minds, i.e., reacts to its environment, behaves, does something as a unit. . . . The mind of man is not the same as the mind of ape or starfish or radish. There are patterns or types of minding or mind, just as there are patterns or types of structure."

"But . . .", comes back Jared S. Moore in the *Scientific Monthly*, April, 1940. "Still . . .", rejoins White, "to cherish the 'mind-body problem' . . . may be dear to the hearts of some philosophers. But . . . how long should a hen brood on a hard, roundish, white object before she concludes that it is not an egg but a door knob?" On the farm if the habit became chronic with the settin' hen, we cooked 'em. What to do with the philosophers still settin'? For further enlightenment on the 'body-mind problem' cf pp 345-6.

(3) "Behavior is not the criterion of mind, but is mind, and 'individual' mind

or behavior has only that reality which derives from relationships to others, relationships which are constantly changing from moment to moment. . . . There can be no mind without a change of mind, no behavior without a change of behavior," we read in "Mind and the Group", a chapter in "Vectors in Group Change", 1940, by Lewis Henry Rohrbaugh. A professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Rohrbaugh was a pupil of E. A. Singer, whose "Mind As Behavior", 1924, was a stimulating and thought-provoking book.

(4) This quotation is from "A Letter to American Teachers of History", 1910, printed in "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma", 1920, a volume in which Brooks Adams presents some of his brother's papers. In a 122 page introduction on "The Heritage of Henry Adams" Brooks seeks "to tell the story of a movement in thought which has, for the last century, been developing in my family . . . and found expression through my grandfather, John Quincy Adams, who made the realization thereof the work and ambition of his life", the belief in the "democratic dogma" and the gradual realization that "certain fundamental facts . . . are stronger than democratic theories".

(5) In "Science and Criticism", 1943, Herbert J. Muller in a judicial evaluation of the work of Burrow, Korzybski, Ogden, writes, "If Dr. Burrow is right, he has shattered the foundations of almost all the world's thought. He insists that our most revolutionary thinkers have all been superficial in their criticism of behavior. None has had an objective, scientifically established standard of 'normal' behavior." Burrow's "phyloanalysis" is "an effort to get at the fundamentals of biological behavior as well as social conduct, and so to define the inherently normal". It "offers a scientific basis for the whole anti-intellectual movement, and more especially for the creed of D. H. Lawrence (who wrote an enthusiastic review of 'The Social Basis of Consciousness', an earlier work by Burrow)".

(6) The semanticists, scrutinizing the words we use, show how our language, differing from our organic nerve and brain reactions, throws the human machine out of kilter. Not only does this result in our entanglement in philosophic and metaphysical mazes, but economists and the critics of society have bogged down in words that are mere symbols, without consciousness that they were strangling themselves. Korzybski's new science of 'general semantics' makes obsolete most of the teaching of the philosophers, the metaphysicians, the economists. The decisions of the judges and the sacred themes of the statesmen, under semantic scrutiny resolve themselves into traps for mankind. But semantics is destructive only in that it clears the way for a re-examination and a better understanding of human difficulties. The psychiatrist who sees most tragically the breakdown of humanity under the ideals and teachings of our present teachers, because of philosophies and principles and ethics, is naturally the first to appreciate the value of this new science and to apply it in repairing broken mentalities, in driving out devils and saving souls.

It will be long before our universities give general recognition. No major college yet offers a course in this important subject. But then the universities usually lag a few centuries behind the leaders of thought. Up to 1900 Harvard had not recognized in its courses that the world was round. To the universities semantics will long remain a heresy, for it would reveal to unprejudiced undergraduates that a large proportion of their professors were engaged in meaningless juggling of words and symbols, in philosophy, economics, and government. (22nd ed, 1938, p 209)

CAN EDUCATION SAVE THE WORLD?

Faith in education failing, there followed a weakening of private initiative in the universities and schools. Through the fog of fear, far visioned men in high places saw in a changed education the only hope.

The founders of our country knew, preached and wrote that democracy could be made to work only if we had a people educated and trained for that purpose. But we have forgotten about that. We have not been faithful to the trust they placed in us. Busy exploiting a continent, we ourselves have been stupidly exploited. Now the time of awakening is at hand. We must face reality or cease to be a democratic people. In the present state of the world, what we do with children and youth is vastly more important than in quiescent, normal times. With everything changing about us, the future will belong to those who are prepared.

BLIND FAITH, VAIN HOPE

Pitiful are the sacrifices that parents make to enable their children to be subjected to the institutional processes which in apology we call education. Bitterly we are coming to doubt its value. President Hutchins at Chicago, June, 1937, said, "The community has had a child-like faith that from institutions of learning some leadership might emerge. The results to date have hardly justified the ecstatic hopes. . . . Taking the country over there is little evidence that its college and university graduates as such have ever done, said, or even thought anything which suggested that they could be singled out to lead the way in improving the education, government, or character of our people."

"Helpless in the grip of economic and social forces too large and overwhelming for them individually to cope with, five million young people are out of school and jobless", Josephine Roche, then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, told the Wellesley commencement gathering in 1937. Many "make a clean breast of adult failure and inability to make the world a fair and hopeful place" and admit "we've made a mess of it".

"We have no time to waste if our schools are not to go on delivering year by year fresh hordes of ignorant, unbalanced and uncritical minds, at once suspicious and credulous, weakly gregarious, easily baffled and easily misled into the monstrous responsibilities and dangers of this present world. More cannon fodder and stuff for massacres and stampedes", H. G. Wells said at the British Association in 1937.

"It may possibly be that we have gone too far already—that nothing can restore the world to sanity." Surveying the sorry state of the world,

the threat to our democratic dream, Head Master Fuess, in his commencement address, June, 1937, uttered these words to his departing Andover seniors. "But I am quite sure that our chief hope lies in arousing in young men a sense of community responsibility. Even education may not save the world, but if it cannot, nothing else can." (1)

UNIVERSITIES DOMINATE THE SCHOOLS

The great preparatory schools like Andover and Exeter, even more than the lesser schools, reflect closely the ideals from above. But all are dominated by the standards imposed upon them. Head masters and teachers are college trained, stamped and branded with the essential degrees. Their pupils follow the pattern of studies laid down by the colleges for entrance. That there have been hundreds of changes in the pattern in the last three decades never shakes the confidence of the colleges and universities that they are now right, however wrong they may have been in the past. That the requirements of some other are different can only mean to the authorities of a particular one that the other is finical. (2)

Youth so selected, the colleges and universities hold for four years in the hollow of their hands. Theirs is the sacred task to transmit to the elect of the generation the best of our human heritage, the wisdom of the past, to prepare them for the future leadership of their fellows.

The beacon light of learning, which had flickered murkily while Lowell was making Harvard safe for Back Bay youth, was at the Tercentenary blown into a mighty flame by President Conant. But at the 1937 commencement he wearily fell back on safe generalities. There was little attempt to revive the heroic attitude. Of the commencement speakers, President Edmund E. Day of Cornell, attempting to buck up and reassure his hearers, said, "I venture to believe that . . . Harvard . . . will face its responsibilities. . . . The American people will continue to look confidently to the great universities of the country, and assuredly to this oldest of them all, to justify mankind's growing faith in intelligence, in its never-ending struggle with the forces of prejudice and passion."

Dr. Walter Cannon, speaking somewhat apologetically for the Tercentenary Conference on Human Behavior, did not fail to hold the note there sounded of optimistic idealism. "What can be done to improve behavior? Here, as last, we confront the most important frontier of all. Here is the supreme challenge." We have "depended too largely on speculative thinking. . . . Certain it is that there exist potent biological factors which shape our ends, that theorists have not dreamed of."

Former Governor Winant of New Hampshire, fresh from his social security labors at Washington, addressing the Phi Beta Kappa, also

showed realistic awareness. "It is the task of our men of learning to explain the needs of the future to those who fear to lose the hard won gains of the past and to direct the building of those who would have only eyes for the future to rest their works on the solid foundations of the past."

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRATIONS

In 1937 sixty-three new college presidents were inaugurated. Nine of the forty New England college presidents were replaced, a turnover of 22.5%. To reduce this, trustees more than formerly select relatively young men. But some resign to preserve their self-respect, like Tyler Dennett, whose rugged and honest independence ruffled his finance minded trustees.

Not long ago President Neilson advocated a "Be-Kind-To-College-Presidents Week", evidence that the president occupies no easy chair. Another, anonymously writing on "Prexy", *Harpers*, Jan., 1938, tells in a gossipy way, without scratching deep enough to reveal underlying causes, well worn stories of the difficulties met with by a score of presidents. John R. Tunis, author of "Was College Worth While?", in "College President", *Harpers*, Feb., 1937, deals virilely with these forces. He presents a pitiful picture of a brave young president standing for what is sensible and right, and as a result thrown down and out. He leads us to pity the poor college president who prostitutes himself to prosper.

"In the whole library of academic documents, none is more dangerous than the inaugural address", said Levering Tyson in his inaugural at Muhlenberg College. Clarence A. Dykstra, successful city manager of Cincinnati, and hero of the Ohio flood, who succeeded Glenn Frank as president of the University of Wisconsin, writes, "I gave no inaugural address at the University; first of all because we had no inauguration, at my request, and second because I do not know how to make a pronouncement on education. I did give a charge to the graduating class in June and I spoke for ten or fifteen minutes to the first meeting of the faculty the other day. Neither of these talks is an attempt to box the compass in education." (3)

Against alumnae opposition, twenty-five trustees, mostly male, elected Roswell Gray Ham first male president of Mt. Holyoke. Though he had devoted his life to the study of Dryden, in his inaugural he tactfully went still farther away from the modern, confining his remarks to St. Paul and Plato, whom he links up with Mussolini and Hitler. Worrying about "Where exactly is the open mind to end?", he reminded us there is always "an area that is *verboden*, where speech itself is suspect". (4)

Williams, Cornell, and Yale inaugurated new presidents, in impres-

sive ceremonies, with the aid of prominent robed and becaped figures of the academic world. Speaking as though with one voice, they deplored the world situation, the dangers besetting their quiet academic life.

PASSING OF THE PRIVATE UNIVERSITY

President Day, in his inaugural at Cornell, where he succeeded the brave and beloved Livingston Farrand, safely generalized that the university should be the place where students may "improve their command of the difficult art of thinking", and discussed the forces that today make it so difficult for the universities "to maintain the primacy of the intellectual function". At Harvard the preceding June, on the occasion of receiving the honorary degree from Conant, Dr. Day had said, "Governments come and go. . . . The great university survives and moves on." President Conant, at the Cornell inauguration, prophesied the passing of the national selective university like Harvard, dependent upon the largesse of finance capitalists. "During the next century of academic history, university education in this republic will be largely in the hands of the tax-supported institutions."

At Williams, James Phinney Baxter III in his inaugural demanded that "the American student . . . familiarize himself to some degree with both the content and the methods of the whole range of the social sciences". He espoused Justice Holmes' "principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate", and pointed out that in one year, 1935, "seventy-five gag laws of various sorts were enacted by the legislatures of forty-four states and in two of these states the mere utterance of opinion was defined as criminal". (5)

Baxter quoted from President Eliot's inaugural address, "The notion that education consists in the authoritative inculcation of what the teacher deems true may be logical and appropriate in a convent, or a seminary for priests, but it is intolerable in universities and public schools, from primary to professional". He quoted Emerson, "Colleges can only highly serve us when they . . . gather from far every ray of various genius to their hospitable halls, and by the concentrated fires, set the hearts of their youth on flame".

At the Yale commencement President Angell declared, "Menacing shadows have already fallen athwart our path", liberty and democracy "are in peril in our land". "The dogmatic assurances of our political medicine men" failed to quiet his fears in regard to our "bastard democracy" and "the spawn of a decaying liberalism". His baccalaureate provided headlines for the newspapers on the "rape of the Constitution" and his "stern criticism of labor". He "expressed confidence in the fair-

ness" of employers, and made a "stirring plea for the return of youth to the philosophy of Christ". But Bishop Lawrence almost simultaneously was holding up Christ as a stimulus to youth. "Jesus calls us to blaze new trails and open up new areas of life as yet unknown."

Few of these were blazing 'new trails' or opening 'new areas of life'. They in no way justified the implicit faith that the American people have placed in education. Some, it is true, realized that they had fallen down on their job, but most lost themselves in platitudes. They are evidently intellectually starved or poisoned, reflecting prejudices and hatreds, the propaganda fed by a controlled press to create public opinion. But does that mean that we shall give up the faith in education of the founding fathers, who looked to the schools to make democracy work? Or does it mean that we must repudiate our present education and educators and get something better? We must have vision, immediate worthy objectives, a revival of the heroic attitude, if we are to 'save the world'. (6)

NOTES

(1) The word 'education' as here used is an abstraction which each of us can load with our ideas of what should be done to the young. For example, "last September an excited college president told a group of educators that the only way to save America, its freedoms, its youth, and its schools was to go back to the kind of education that disciplined young people, that gave them facts that would be useful when they are called for military duty, and that would develop unswerving loyalty to 'Americanism'" (Charles A. Wedemeyer, "The Schools and Reaction", *English Journal*, Nov., 1943). Not all of us would agree that this was the way to save the world.

(2) The dead hand is still apparent in our universities which, in smug pride of their ecclesiastical, monastic origin, still would have us teach mostly of the past. They set the pattern of our education, and train and condition directly and indirectly our teachers (cf "What Makes Lives", p 213). Now the Federal Administration through the Army and Navy dominates the universities.

(3) Speaking at the Hobart College commencement the following spring, Dykstra showed himself to be a man who faces reality, a college president who isn't academic. "Our education must be concerned with coming generations as well as with the present. It must take account of advancing knowledge; it cannot fall under the dead hand. In the words of the Educational Policies Commission, 'Education involves the dissemination of knowledge, the liberation of minds, the development of skills, the promotion of free inquiries, the encouragement of the creative and inventive spirit and the establishment of wholesome attitudes toward order and change'.... American education faces a very real decision.... The values which we have taught in America for generations no longer produce a proper understanding of the world as we find it. We keep putting new wine into old bottles instead of getting a new orientation.... One of these days we may have to decide that all of our available educational facilities, schools, the press, the radio, and the screen must be marshaled together in an effort to give the American people a realistic picture of the world in which we

live and an understanding of the problems facing our civilization and our democracy."

(4) Whatever the learned doctor may have had in mind, the open mind seems no longer to be within his area. The alumnae of the women's colleges made their last stand against the dominance of the male at Mt. Holyoke. Since then Smith College has been handed over by Mrs. Morrow to an English-Canadian doctor of eighteenth century literature, and Radcliffe brought under the regimentation of another masculine from the west. These men have been selected with care by able trustees chosen to guard the finances as well as 'the area where free speech is *verboden*'.

(5) "Holmes saw life as a struggle. . . . The core of life is conflict. . . . But conflict, unless composed, is chaos. Disputes must be settled if men are to live in society. And in times of peace the judge must settle them. Holmes did not say that the law settles disputes; he said rather the judge settles disputes, because the law is what the judge says it is. He was the first of the legal realists," Gabriel tells us in his "Course of American Democratic Thought", 1940.

"Ultimately the issue of freedom of speech came before the Supreme Court, and Holmes listened to the arguments of the attorneys in the case of *Abrams v. United States*. . . . 'I think that we should be eternally vigilant against the attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that immediate check is required to save the country.' . . .

"The advance of knowledge depends upon the open mind and upon the constructive skepticism of the investigator. All hypotheses must be doubted until the evidence which supports them becomes overwhelming and even then a man must stand ready to accept revision. But the advance of knowledge depends also upon the freedom of the investigator to pursue truth and to announce his discoveries. Upon such freedom and such skepticism civilization is founded. These two are the possessions which distinguish the civilized man from his barbarian cousin whose intellectual life is confined within the prison walls of ghost-fear. Holmes sensed not only that intellectual liberty is the greatest achievement of the race but that it is a mountain top from which men may at any time be driven. . . .

"The seeker after knowledge must have honesty as well as freedom. There are times when he must possess the courage of Holmes in the *Abrams* case when he told a fear ridden generation that they were selling their birthright of freedom for an illusion of security."

(6) "There can be but little question that a serious lag has developed between our rapid scientific advance and our stationary ethical development, a lag which has already found expression in the greatest tragedy of history", wrote President Raymond Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation in "A Review for 1936".

"We have inherited a series of ideas and beliefs about man and nature, many of which have become incredible in the light of new scientific knowledge and understanding", writes Dr. Lawrence K. Frank in "Man's Multidimensional Environment", *Scientific Monthly*, April, 1943. If we can arrive at Frank's understanding of human conduct and what determines it and modifies it, "we may clarify some of the present day confusions and conflicts"

PHILOSOPHIC FETTERS

Ideologies or philosophies may be built up or adapted to justify contemporary predilections, or to apologize for fixed beliefs. Hypotheses based on tested evidence, changing with new data, become a living philosophy.

If we adults had been educated, trained, conditioned, environmended, by all-wise, all-seeing parents and pedagogs, we would then naturally be much better adapted to meet the things that worry and trouble us now, that we don't understand, that frustrate us.

Generations of loving parents and conscientious pedagogs with the best intent have striven zealously to follow the best traditions, to inculcate principles, sure of their ideologies, their fundamentals and philosophy. And it has resulted in frustrating youth and has reduced the world to its present state.

PHILOSOPHIC HERESY

"Philosophy is a stage in intellectual development, and is not compatible with mental maturity. In order that it may flourish, traditional doctrines must still be believed . . . there must also be a belief that important truths can be discovered by merely thinking, without the aid of observation." Bertrand Russell in the *Atlantic*, February, 1937, in an article on "Philosophy's Ulterior Motives", uttered this shocking heresy. Most *Atlantic* readers had believed that philosophy was the ultimate, that philosophers were the final repositories of the world's wisdom, that they held the eternal verities in their possession, that they told scientists where they got off. Philosophers still attempt to keep us under their thumb. According to Mortimer Adler, as Sidney Hook puts it in the *Nation*, April 9, 1938, "scientists may explain the world in a descriptive sense, but they cannot understand it". (1)

Russell goes on, "Philosophy has been defined as 'an unusually obstinate attempt to think clearly'; I should define it rather as 'an unusually ingenious attempt to think fallaciously'. . . . To the completely unintellectual, general doctrines are unimportant; to the man of science, they are hypotheses to be tested by experiment; while to the philosopher they are mental habits which must be justified somehow if he is to find life endurable. . . . Capacity to believe that the 'laws of thought' have comforting political consequences is a mark of the philosophic bias. Philosophy, as opposed to science, springs from a kind of self-assertion. . . . If our scientific knowledge were full and complete, we should understand ourselves and the world and our relation to the world."

Philosophers would have nothing to do if all their pupils were like Stuart Chase who in his "Tyranny of Words" complains, "Another matter which distressed me was that I found it almost impossible to read philosophy . . . just a haughty parade of Truth, Substance, Infinite, Absolute, Over-soul, the Universal, the Nominal, the Eternal." Now that Chase has discovered the new technique of semantics, he writes, "Many of the questions asked about social and philosophical subjects will be found to be meaningless."

A NONSENSE GAME

Thirty years ago, that colossal personality John Jay Chapman had penetrated the bunk. In a letter March 17, 1897, to William James, he wrote, speaking of Josiah Royce, "I never heard a man talk so much nonsense. . . . The inroads of Harvard University upon his intelligence . . . have been terrible. . . . I know you would say that it's mere philosophy and not to be taken seriously; but these things do have some influence sometimes." On another occasion, apropos of Royce, he wrote, "There is no such thing as philosophy. But there are such things as philosophers. A philosopher is a man who believes there is such a thing as philosophy, and who devotes himself to proving it." And again April 25, 1909, "Modern Philosophy since Kant is a game and so many thousands are in the conspiracy that almost anyone may be tempted to throw a few louis d'ors on the table as he passes through the gambling hell. With three years' practice I could play it myself." (2)

Henry Adams, when Bergson's "Creative Evolution" was first published, referred to it as "the most widely known among the very latest efforts of metaphysicians to defend their conceptions against the methods of physics. From the beginnings of philosophy and religion, the thinker was taught by the mere act of thinking, to take for granted that his mind was the highest energy of nature." (3)

"We sometimes forget that systems of philosophy are the products of old age; and we have failed to follow the Socratic direction to teach the young how to become, not how to be, philosophers", John Rice apologizes in *Harpers*, May, 1937, for Hutchins' back-to-philosophy cry.

These philosophers "feast upon shadows in the prevailing famine of substance", E. T. Bell tells in "Debunking Science". They eschew experience, refuse to make inquiries, remain uninformed about scientific research, assert that the correct procedure is known only to supermen like themselves and that they are above criticism. (4)

These old men pass on their versions of mythology, theology or philosophy, which Boas, the anthropologist, tells us are merely different terms for the current shape of human thought. He quotes Lehmann

"The character of a system of philosophy is, just like that of any other literary work, determined first of all by the personality of its originator. . . . It bears the general marks of the period to which it belongs. . . . It is influenced by the particular bent of philosophical thought of the period." (5)

MODERN MEDIEVALISTS

"Through Science to Philosophy", 1937, by Herbert Dingle, London astrophysicist, is an exposition of the modern scientific method in the presence of Einstein's relativity and the quantum theory. Dingle is an avowed solipsist, a sincere exponent of extreme subjectivism, considering his own "consciousness as the whole universe—including whatever of physical, mental, spiritual or other kind of being you regard as existing or capable of deluding me into thinking that it exists". One suspects that Dingle has not fully escaped the Aristotelian fetters, that he has some semantic difficulties, and he admits that he lacks the biological point of view. In "The Unity of Philosophical Experience", 1938, Etienne Gilson of the University of Paris gives us a history of psychological failures, holding up Plato, Aristotle, and Thomas as the non-failures, the servants of "perennial philosophy", who attempted to "relate reality . . . to the permanent principles in whose light all the changing problems of science, of ethics, and of art have to be solved". Erudition is Gilson's middle name, but his last is Dogmatism.

"A Philosophy for a Modern Man", 1938, by H. Levy, tends to counter the confusion of these medievalists. Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty is directly dealt with. The pessimistic conclusions of many writers on science, he shows by his method of 'isolates', are due to philosophical mistakes. His is a counter attack on the modern confusionists and a protection for the ordinary man against them. (6)

"Four Ways of Philosophy", 1937, Erwin Edman, professor of philosophy at Columbia, reduces all philosophies to four perennial types,—those of "logical faith", "social criticism", "mystical insight" and "nature understood". "Philosophers are always arriving at conclusions, but there is no conclusion to philosophy. . . . The end at which they arrive is determined by what they start with, and what philosophers start with is in turn determined by temperamental bias, by the circumstances of a social and political and religious tradition, by the particular points of social conflict or personal uncertainty which initiate the whole movement of their thought. . . . Other men, other circumstances, other central problems, and other philosophies arise. . . . The philosopher is always a mortal creature at a given place and juncture of time. . . . Philosophy examined historically and psychologically is as much an activity of men

as breathing, as much a skill as music. . . . Philosophy has mistaken its function in arrogating to itself the notion that it is either a transcript of reality or a specific program for life."

PHILOSOPHY AS POETRY

"Philosophy conceived as a wide and disciplined poetry, celebrating man's origins, his vicissitudes and his objects of life, would clarify the question of progress in philosophy", Edman believes. Chapman had written James thirty years before that "philosophy was only an inexpressive form of poetry and that you would end by teaching poetry if you make philosophy speak". Like poets, philosophers present their reflections on their experience of life and nature, many of them abstrusely and complexly, but Edman is able in simple language without technicalities to present these different philosophers sympathetically and understandingly.

"'To make the philosophy by which men live the philosophy by which they speak' is a felicitous statement of a common program for all naturalistic and empirical philosophies. Psychology, sociology, and imaginative reconstruction then become the appropriate instruments for understanding philosophers who cannot make themselves clear to others", comments Sidney Hook in the *Nation*, Jan. 8, 1938.

SOCRATES' LOVE OF WISDOM

The "new education" that Socrates stood for he called "philosophy", love of wisdom, which meant to him hatred of bunk. This love of wisdom had for its main task "to examine and reject" everything false that was commonly held. The methods of his new education, philosophy, consisted merely in asking for definitions for words like "justice", "courage", "piety". The last twenty years of his life Socrates devoted to "the exposure of ignorance in high places. . . . Disclaiming all knowledge, he declared himself incompetent to teach. . . . This humility naturally infuriated anyone who had been subjected to the deadly Socratic analysis and had been forced to realize his state of mental confusion. For it soon became clear that no reputation could survive a conversation with Socrates, the man who knew nothing." Socrates didn't claim to teach anybody anything. He only helped people to question themselves. "He did not provide his hearers with new and interesting ideas, but like a midwife assisted the pregnant mind to bring forth its own truths. In the early dialogues of Plato we can watch 'the midwife' at work."

The foregoing quotations are from "Plato To-Day", 1937, by R. H. S. Crossman, fellow and tutor of New College, Oxford. Originally radio talks, this book lacks the verbosity of most writings on Plato. He is paid

to teach Plato, who wrote, but he has greater admiration for Socrates, who, like Christ and St. Francis, left nothing in writing but lives through the vividness of his personality. Crossman does not dwell on Plato's foibles or perversions. He pictures him as a very human personality, an aristocrat, of a time and place, who belonged to a dying order and a dying nation and tried to save it. He outlines his plan for society, the philosopher kings, the administrators.

"Plato's philosophy is the most savage and the most profound attack upon Liberal ideas which history can show. It denies every axiom of 'progressive' thought and challenges all its fondest ideals. Equality, freedom, self-government—all are condemned as illusions."

WHY PLATO FAILED

Plato, he tells us, "busied himself with the problems of his fellow Greeks. . . . In all that he tried to do for the Greeks he failed. Why then should people in this modern world bother to read what he had to say?" An extended analysis of "Why Plato Failed" explains his relations to his time and his inability to adjust himself to inevitable forces which he failed to face, turning backward to "defend a status quo in which the seeds of revolution are watered by the self-righteous opposition of the educated classes to all forms of social change. . . . The politicians on each side were equipped with high-sounding slogans: the Left claimed that they were the champions of the constitutional rights of the people, the Right that they stood for aristocracy, law, and order."

"It is Socrates, not Plato, whom we need", Crossman tells us. Socrates was "the first man who really saw what intellectual integrity implied and yet preferred it to everything else. He was the spirit of research, incorruptible, intolerant of sham, greedy for every variety of human experience, insatiable in discussion, ironic yet serious. Such a spirit is generally intolerable to any well-organized community. The statesman . . . the priest . . . the professor . . . will all unite to suppress the free spirit . . . which respects no authority. . . ."

"Every established authority must resort to the most irrational of defences—force. There is no other weapon against the conscientious objector. . . . Conscientious objection to prejudice and unreason . . . will have no simple answer to the questions of the hour. Regarding force as irrational, it will refuse to use it and ceaselessly demand that those who are prepared to do so should ask themselves precisely what their purpose and their motives are. The Athenian democracy had no answer to this question, and so Socrates died. Socrates will always be compelled to die, his death will always be . . . condemned by succeeding generations, who see so easily in retrospect that truth is ultimately preferable to any

established falsehood, however efficient it may be. Condemning the death of the historical Socrates, each generation kills its own."

PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

There was a time in the nineties when educators had implicit confidence that there was a 'philosophy of education', that there were 'principles', 'fundamentals' from which to start, and one inevitable road to follow. Since then the emphasis has changed. We have heard a great deal about a 'science of education'. An enormous amount of time has been spent on 'educational research'. Able, beefy, brainy men have spent endless hours devising puzzles for children to do and timing them on them. All these ideas, of course, developed within the skulls of adults.

'Philosophy of education' is a large phrase worthy of semantic analysis. Once it was fashionable for everybody to have his personal philosophy. Every field of activity is supposed to set up a philosophy. But none parade their philosophies more blatantly than the educationist. Most of these educational philosophies will not stand any close analysis or scrutiny. Looking through educational publications for the phrase, one finds that often the meaning is made clearer if for educational philosophy, you should substitute plan, program, or propaganda.

An article on "The Need for a Philosophy of Education" in the November, 1937, *Journal of the N.E.A.*, boils down to the idea that if we have one, we don't need to worry, we will only have to defend it. Such an educational philosophy is a crutch to lean on or a screen behind which to hide while we put across the ideas which we think must prevail, while we put over on the young the program which we think they should be put through. (7)

Philosophy is often an excuse for inherited or second hand ideas or prejudices. It is an ideology, a defense for what are thought to be beliefs but are really hunches, handouts, or inherited attitudes. Those who hold forth on philosophy of education usually know least about the physiological processes of growth involved. It is a concealment of ignorance.

WINDOW DRESSING

Korzybski remarks in "Science and Sanity", "Most 'philosophers' gamble on terms which have no definite single meaning, and so, by cleverness in twisting, can be made to appear to mean anything desired. . . . Many 'philosophers' have played an important and . . . sinister role in history. At the bottom of any historical trend, we find a certain 'philosophy', a structural implication cleverly formulated by some 'philosopher'."

Walter Crosby Eells, director of the Cooperative Study of Secondary

School Standards, in the *Educational Record*, Jan., 1938, reported on "Educational Philosophy of Schools: Theory vs. Practice". He quoted Sir John Adams, British educator, who "argued that 'the principles' and 'the practices' of education as taught in teacher training institutions were like oil and water—they hardly ever mixed. Often, indeed, 'never the twain will meet'." The "philosophy of education held by the administrators and staffs" of the two hundred schools studied shows little relation between philosophy or theory and actual practice. It is all charted to show that they are more progressive in their philosophy than in their practice. Their philosophy is a screen, a window dressing, behind which they follow traditional practice.

"We say that we have a philosophy of education and from that source we derive the reasons why we should give certain types of curricula and certain courses of study and contents thereof", wrote President Raymond A. Kent of the University of Louisville in "Mirrors of Education", *Educational Record*, July, 1937, and he cited the absurd teaching of "mathematics and Latin, originally inserted into the curriculum . . . as tools to be used by persons who were to enter specific types of occupations".

"To escape from the restrictions of science, our contemporaries write philosophies of education", wrote W. C. Ruediger in *Educational Method*, reviewing A. Gordon Melvin's "The New Culture", 1937. Of our traditional fields of study, the author tells us, "we must discard the organization which cast our world since Aristotle into such various logical or static forms as astronomy, mathematics, history, etc. . . . This type of organization is outmoded; it should become for the purposes of the school entirely extinct. The educational luncheon must be served in a new set of courses with food adequate for all."

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

The educational presses are turning out each year new books from the pens of college teachers, on the philosophy, program and methods of education. Some follow the mores, the folklore, the customs of this American branch of western European civilization. But increasingly books appear which have a biological or psychological basis. That is, the statements, the practices are such that they could be tested by others, in other times, in other climes, and proved in other words. There is a tendency toward the scientific attitude. But it has not gone far.

Our Western philosophy is quite different from Chinese philosophy. We Nordics and Baltics, recently brought in contact with classic cultures and Oriental religions, have had our inferiority complex so enlarged that we have to excuse ourselves at every turn, we have to build screens and camouflages, and we call these philosophies, and get pleasure from con-

templating life in distant worlds, or in chasing our mental tails.

Lin Yutang produced a beautiful and engaging picture of an ancient culture, reflecting the sweetest and deepest kind of patriotism, "My Country and My People". No Westerner has yet written with as great depth of feeling, understanding, and sanity of his own people and country. In his "The Importance of Living", 1937, he presents what we 'Westerners' would call a 'philosophy of life'. The great theme is that life is worth living and worth enjoying, without vain hope of future life, without excuse or apology for the present.

The Western philosophy is all to answer the questions "Why am I?" "How did I get this way?" and "Where do I go from here?" "What is the end of living and what is the purpose of life?" The Chinese never ask those questions. They live and die and explore the universe about them, unquestioning but exploring, discovering, appreciating, enjoying.

John Dewey, speaking on "The Relation of Science and Philosophy as the Basis of Education", told the School Administrators, Feb. 26, 1938, "According to empirical philosophy, science provides the only means we have for learning about man and the world in which he lives. Some have thought that this fact makes philosophy unnecessary. . . . The elimination does rule out *one* kind of philosophy, namely, that which held that philosophy is a higher form of knowledge than the scientific kind, one which furnishes knowledge of ultimate higher reality." But, he added, "Given the most extensive and accurate system of knowledge, man is still faced with the question of what he is going to do about it and what he is going to do with the knowledge in his possession. . . . Experimental philosophy is at one with the genuine spirit of a scientific attitude. . . . Finally, the science and philosophy of education can and should work together in overcoming the split between knowledge and action, between theory and practice, which now affects both education and society, so seriously and harmfully." (*School and Society*, April 9, 1938) (8)

"Great is philosophy, for it is the synthesis of all knowledge, but if it is true philosophy it must be built upon science, which is tested knowledge", said Edwin Grant Conklin in his address as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

"The only justification for our concepts and system of concepts is that they serve to represent the complex of our experiences; beyond this they have no legitimacy. I am convinced that the philosophers have had a harmful effect upon the progress of scientific thinking in removing certain fundamental concepts from the domain of empiricism, where they are under our control, to the intangible heights of the *a priori*," wrote Albert Einstein in "The Meaning of Relativity".

NOTES

(1) "The philosophers, like the classicists, are organizing to defend their interests", as is explained in "Philosophers Mend Their Fences" in "The Future of Education", pp 123-8. Recent articles along this line, and particularly a series that appeared in *Fortune* from 1942 to 1944, reveal a troubled, vague, and anachronistic tendency. Julian Huxley was permitted in the December, 1942, issue to file his protest under the title "The Biologist Looks at Man". In the August, 1944, issue John Dewey presented his reply "to the critics of his modern scientific beliefs" under the title "Challenge to Liberal Thought". Contrasting with Huxley's biological approach, his is philosophical. He welcomes the reactionary assault upon what is modern as an opportunity to show that the "standards that were laid down in Greece some twenty-five hundred years ago and renewed and put into practice in the best age of feudal medievalism six and seven centuries ago" were based upon slave or serf labor and do not apply to our modern life. It is a travesty to speak of reviving these antiquated standards as 'education for freedom'. Our modern scientific and technological advance and new standards of living are the result of heresy against those teachings now being advocated by the reactionaries.

(2) Late in life Chapman wrote in his unpublished "Retrospections": "I owe to Palmer a philosophic experience that left a permanent trace in my mind. . . . Palmer outlined Berkeley's paradox. . . . Our explanations of any problem were, for aught we could find out, merely a part of our dream. This was news to me, and I said to myself, 'Very well; until one can get past this barrier, I do not intend to burden my mind with philosophy'." (Cf "John Jay Chapman and His Letters", 1937)

(3) "Metaphysics has successfully imposed its 'caveat' on every physiologist who straightforwardly tries to study and describe the workings of the brain. He is warned that here the trivial notions of physiology will by no means do; the plain empirical findings derived from the study of other parts of the organism will not apply to the cerebrum. For here sits the soul", remarked my brilliant classmate Edwin B. Holt in his "The Concept of Consciousness", 1914.

The difference between "Physics and Metaphysics" is explained by W. C. Allee, quoting Professor Wood of Johns Hopkins. "The physicist gets an idea. The more he mulls and reads the better it seems. 'Finally he devises an experimental test and goes to his laboratory to apply it' and 'discards the idea as worthless'. 'Unfortunately', he concluded, 'the metaphysician has no laboratory'." ("The Social Life of Animals", p 19)

(4) "The unknown is mysterious. And while philosophy does deal with the unknown, its mystery comes mainly from ignorance and unfamiliarity. . . . To ask 'How far is it from New York to London?' is not to ask a philosophical question. But to ask 'What is distance?' or 'What is space?' is to ask a philosophical question," Dr. Archie J. Bahm informs us in "What Is Philosophy?" (*Scientific Monthly*, June, 1941). Questions that cannot be answered, on which we have no data, it appears, are philosophical questions. "It is more important to try to know a little somewhat than to prove the unprovable. It is not necessary to arrive as a full fledged prophet. It is not necessary to have a philosophy, a finished, complacent doctrine good for all seasons and immune to frostbite", says William Marias Malisoff in *Philosophy of Science*, April, 1941.

(5) The brilliant Oxonian, F. C. S. Schiller, vied with his friend William

James in throwing brickbats at their fellow philosophers. Asking "Must Philosophers Disagree?" he remarked, "When two philosophers engage in controversy they hardly ever understand each other. They hardly ever even try to understand each other. They have brooded and ruminated so long over their own solitary thoughts and their own peculiar interpretations of books, that they have become almost incapable of making contact with another living mind. . . . The obscurity of many philosophers is notorious and indisputable; they write obscurely in order to be respected by academic colleagues who dare not criticize what they are not sure they have understood, and in order not to be found out."

(6) "It is ridiculous to see certain modern philosophers offering philosophy as a cure to modern man and to modern times. . . . In all the modern systems of philosophy there is nothing original. They represent retrogressions of the philosophic mind to the time before Kant if not to that of the ancient Greek. . . . Kant established a formidable bulwark in his 'Critique of Pure Reason', making it known once and for all and definitely that no 'cognizance by pure reason', no 'cognizance of the Absolute', no 'absolute knowledge' and no 'metaphysics' are possible by means of philosophy. . . . The 'Critique of Pure Reason' is still ignored as the last word in philosophy. But for how long will this be true?" asks Ludwig Freund in "The Death of Philosophy", *American Scholar*, June, 1939.

(7) "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." Perhaps Hamlet was thinking of Horatio as an educator. The things in the educator's philosophy are his own beliefs, convictions, premises, principles, prejudices, which he regards as eternal verities and which, as in the case of every man's philosophy, determine what he does and justify him in the doing. Accepted educational principles formerly could not be questioned. That was heresy and might bring one to the stake. Now the scientific approach makes this possible, but the old lingo lingers. Even so able a man as William Heard Kilpatrick confesses to a "philosophy" which deals with "enduring principles", which are "conceptions" or "relationships" which "have grown out of experience" and are "least liable to change". By this he means they have changed least. "What is philosophy?" he asks. And one gathers that it is those principles above referred to, that the philosophy and the principles are the results of experience which you perceive no reason for changing at present. With added knowledge little would stand. His philosophy, then, is not an excuse. It is deduction from experience which no added experience has yet led him to change. (Cf *Progressive Education*, Dec., 1937)

(8) The questions that early puzzled men led to the primitive medicine man, the shaman, offering answers. And out of this grew systems of theology with their priestcrafts. Questions that are not relegated to any other sphere belong to the philosophers, and they too have developed a priestcraft, with hierarchies of teleologists and epistemologists and metaphysicians. The latter, someone remarked, run their mental factory at top speed without raw materials to work with. "When men begin to examine philosophies and principles as they examine atoms and electrons, the road to discovery of the means of social control is open," writes Thurman Arnold in his "Folklore".

MAN'S SLOW ADJUSTMENT

The process of socialization, learning to live in groups, after a million years of human endeavor, is still incomplete. Selfless altruism, long since achieved by the termites, is looked upon as part of a 'perfect social system'.

The original state of man has been a subject of much conjecture, from the original sin of the Presbyterians to Rousseau's idealization of the noble savage. Anthropologists do not agree with either, or even among themselves. Primitive man was solitary, maintains Alfred Machin, but Sir Arthur Keith takes issue, finding that anthropoids live in families or bands.

SOCIAL BEGINNINGS

These apes, however, were not our earliest ancestors, so the story is more complicated. The earliest mammals, insectivorous animals, were both solitary and nocturnal, to escape their enemies and to take their sun loving insect prey when, lacking the warmth of the sun, the latter were less active. Their omnivorous remote descendants, the monkeys, found survival value in living in troops. Two heads were better than one, twenty pairs of eyes and ears better than one pair. And this held for the baboons and the smaller apes on the ground. The huge and powerful gorilla, confident in strength, could live an isolated family existence. So perhaps did our immediate human ancestors (cf p 350).

Man's habits have been controlled largely by his food. (1) Primitive man, a food gatherer living on seeds and roots like the Australian aborigines of today, must have lived in small groups. When man became a hunter of the gregarious herbivorous animals, there was an advantage in uniting in drives and later, as he domesticated these animals, in handling the herds. Agricultural man, too, found advantages in living together for defense against wild beasts and marauding tribes.

The earliest traces of village groups in the Swiss lakes and in the fens of Somerset are probably much less than ten thousand years old. (2) We have lived a social life for only a short time. Before that for hundreds of thousands of years we lived as individuals or in family groups, for some million years earlier as troops of tree living animals. But if we go back beyond a hundred million years, we will find our ancestors solitary, nocturnal. So it is from a long mixed heritage that we derive our conflicting complexes, both solitary and social.

A living species, plant or animal, adjusts itself to its environment, only those individuals surviving who fit the changing situation. Societies,

groups, cultures undergo the same survival tests but are slower to change. Adjustment is not a matter of free will or effort but is something that is inevitable and continuously going on. Methods of getting food or overcoming competitors may lose their survival value under changing conditions. Those who do not change their methods, who do not adjust themselves, do not survive. The rocks are full of encrusted conservatives, former stand-patters who could not make good, and there are living fossils today.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Men have not yet had time to become adjusted to social life, to living together, to modern conditions. The sadistic virtues of the hunter are inimical to life in our increasingly complex social groups. No human society has endured. That of ancient Egypt and the present Chinese civilization have been the longest lived. The ancient Egyptian lived in the Nile valley under unchanging physical conditions. The Chinese, living in a diverse land and enduring cataclysms of nature and of man, are notoriously adaptable. (3) (4)

Our study of societies is very recent and incomplete. Eventually there may be a real science of sociology, but the study bristles with semantic difficulties. "Social Psychology may be defined as a study of the behavior (or awareness) of individuals in their reactions to other individuals or in social institutions, and the behaviors through which individuals stimulate one another in such situations" (*Social Forces*, May, 1937). This is the definition adopted by The American Psychological Association at their meeting in Hanover, N. H., September, 1936. It is broad enough to include not only the American people but the white ant.

The late Sir Josiah Stamp pleaded for "The Science of Social Adjustment", 1937, "which the times so urgently demand if we are to stave off Emerson's verdict: 'The end of the human race will be that it will eventually die of civilisation'."

Knowledge of the road that we have come over would seem to be essential to an understanding of where are we, and where do we go from here. We need guides who know the road. Philosophers, statesmen, are ignorant. Biologists, paleontologists have some knowledge of how we came to be as we are. As Herbert Spencer said, "I believe you might as reasonably expect to understand the nature of an adult man by watching him for an hour (being in ignorance of all his antecedents) as to suppose that you can fathom humanity by studying the last few thousand years of its evolution."

Man, 'supreme' among the mammals, is in some ways primitive. The hand of man is that of the frog. Primitive amphibians of this four

fingered and thumbed type developed in the carboniferous a hundred million years ago. That hand has been distorted and diverted into unrecognizable forms in the bird's wing, in the horse's foot. But in those animals that took to the trees, like the opossums, the tree shrews, the hand with opposable thumb became especially useful when the monkeys descended from the trees, for picking up stones and sticks.

FOSSIL CONSERVATIVES AND RADICALS

Recently discovered in Malayan jungles are living fossils, insectivorous primates, ancestors of the higher primates. "The Living Dead", by Erich M. Schlaikjer, paleontologist and geologist, *Natural History*, March, 1938, tells about these little ratlike patriarchs, the living images of our forefathers, that scampered about on the ground 140 million years ago, during the time of the dinosaur gangster dictators. With changed conditions, mountains where there were lowlands, arid country where there were marshes, the great overspecialized reptiles could not readapt themselves and became extinct. But these insignificant little placentals, insectivores, primitive mammals, instead of laying eggs like the dinosaurs, produced their young alive and perhaps fed on the eggs of dinosaurs. Alert and adaptable, they flourished. Some of them took to the trees, and adapting their five fingered hand for grasping became the ancestors of the lemurs and all the monkeys and apes, while other descendants, giving up the hand for rapid locomotion on their toes, became horses, deer, antelope. Along with the use of the hand, the simian brain developed and the eyes rotated forward, giving us stereoscopic vision. To our hands, more than to any other one factor, we owe our brains.

"Each geological period has had its three main factions in every group of mammals," Schlaikjer says, "but each time it has been extinction for the radicals and dictators, survival for a few ultra-conservative living fossils and victory for the conservative-liberals." In the tropical jungles have recently been discovered some of these extreme conservatives who survived. Ghosts of primitive ancestors, living fossils, are the ratlike Tupaia of Malay and the shrewlike Ptilocercus of Borneo, timid, nocturnal tree livers only "slightly changed throughout 60 millions of years".

The confusion today in the minds of some men, because of changing conditions, is nothing to the problems that have been repeatedly faced by our ancestors, back through millions of years. Those who made the right decisions went ahead, and we are the result. The others we occasionally find as fossils. If physical conditions change, if the plain becomes mountain, the jungle, desert, then its inhabitants migrate, readapt themselves or die. Most die. If what was once Republican plunder-land becomes Democratic or socialistic Altruria, the plunder

bosses will have to migrate, or change their habits to survive.

Vision rather than stupid force helps to the right decision. Our 'intelligence department' needs strengthening that we may plan our campaign wisely. We are fed up with 'education', a foolish fetish. With some knowledge of the history of what has come before, we need training in how to see, how to use our senses, and how to react.

THE GREATEST STORY EVER TOLD

Man is still the greatest mystery to man. The story of whence he came and whither he goes is the most enthralling of all time. What interests us is what's ahead. All men have built in their imaginations paradises, valhallas, utopias, heavens for themselves and hells for their enemies. But the past holds the keys to the future. Evolution is a process that has been going on since life began. Most of us believe in evolution as we believe in the Holy Ghost. We give it lip service but we don't think it out, we don't see it in action. (5) We see instances of it sometimes when they are pointed out to us. Sometimes it is retarded. Some forms remain static under fixed conditions, like *Lingula* on the sea floor since the Silurian. Sometimes the process is accelerated, in jumps which are called mutations, or biological sports. With the tree shrews started a long period of continued development out of which finally resulted man.

"No teacher with a spark of imagination or with an idea of scientific method can have helped dreaming of the immortality that would be achieved by the man who should successfully apply Darwin's method to the facts of human history", wrote Henry Adams in "The Tendency of History".

Evolution, writes E. A. Hooton in "Apes, Men, and Morons", "even now has not permeated the medical profession—at any rate as a dynamic, scientific reality, has not even penetrated to the dusty and probably empty recesses of the political minds which direct our social destinies. To the majority of the professional leaders of Christianity and other established religions, evolution is not merely an unsubstantiated theory, but an atheistic and anti-social philosophy, the promulgation of which is subversive to the welfare of man."

In "Darwin's Theory Applied to Mankind", published in 1937, Alfred Machin pursues the same theme as in his "Ascent of Man by Means of Natural Selection", published twelve years earlier. He shows that the behavior patterns which have persisted had survival value. Once you have achieved Machin's vision, seen the picture he presents, innumerable disturbing phases and features of human behavior fall into place like the missing pieces in a picture puzzle. It is the greatest story ever told,

pieced together convincingly from little clues. The evolutionary process is still going on, still accounting for everything that man is and has been. The mysteries of life and our fellows are readily explained if we understand how things have come to be as they are. And everything in organic life has been the result of slow change and survival. (6)

OUR MORAL NATURE

Deep within us are qualities for which we feel only shame. The sense of sin, the consciousness of guilt, persists. At unexpected times men exhibit the most sadistic and selfish traits. For hundreds of thousands of years, primitive man, victim of the elements, of great and savage beasts, of changing conditions, survived only through his fortitude, his ability to bear suffering and pain. Puberty ceremonies, tattooing, cicatrization, torments, impalements, cruelties have added to the "Martyrdom of Man", and served to eliminate the weaklings. The survivors not only had to endure, but they had to witness human agony without mental disaster. And this ability persists as Machin writes, "deep down in the recesses of the human heart even unto modern days. Thus St. Thomas Aquinas made the charming remark that, 'in order that nothing may be wanting to the felicity of the saints of heaven, a perfect view is granted them of the tortures of the damned'."

Gladiatorial tortures in cultured Rome, bear baiting in England, and whipping Quakers at the cart tail in New England, lynching and the blow torch burning of the Negro in the present day South, all attest. Lecky in his "History of European Morals" recognizes as "perfectly normal", an honest inheritance, and not an unusual thing, the "real and lively pleasure" brought by human suffering and torture.

Primitive man combined for success in organized drives in hunting the wild horse or in digging pitfalls to take the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros. Cooperation came to have survival value. "Once societies began to form, survival was governed by the winning or retention of hunting grounds, and that depended on success in battle. Success in organized warfare depended on the inhibition of fear and panic and the substitution of valour and patriotism", Machin tells us. "They thus formulated and applied the principles of the first morality, and sought to secure its rule through law, religion, and reputation giving. Natural selection sat in judgment on the tribes and awarded survival to those who best practised the new morality. . . . The result of this application of the first morality was to advantage the valiant and patriotic and to eliminate the craven, the insubordinate, and the socially unworthy."

The virtues of the hunter's morality still survive. Most of our recreational and outdoor life is "indulging those physical activities and exercis-

ing the associated emotions which fitted them to survive in those stages of man's existence which have long gone by, they are pure atavistic survivals not of muscles and organs but of organic functions". Hunting, fishing, fighting, throw back to the first hunter stage. Group contests today take the form of football, hockey, etc. But we may enjoy all these contests vicariously, deriving the emotional outlet from onlooking. The theater, cinema, radio, and literature in large part is designed to entertain. Even our newspapers furnish sensations, emotional thrills. (7)

The hunter became social only from pressure of population. As men came to live together more closely, those who respected the privileges of others survived. A new code developed, which "aims first at the economic prosperity of the state and the well-being of all those who dwell therein. The fundamental condition for this is the security of property, the guaranteeing to every man the full fruits of his labour. The means to the end are industry, thrift and enterprise. . . . Wealth is the prime aim and outcome of the second morality as valour was of the first." (8)

WHAT WE OWE TO SLAVERY

"All ancient civilisations have been based on slavery, on the enforced labour of captives . . . a necessary condition for the development of agricultural societies," Machin emphasizes. "Civilisation in its beginnings required a dual structure. An agricultural estate needed cultivators and defenders . . . governors and controllers who were soldiers, citizens and freemen . . . workers who were slaves or serfs." (9)

The slaves were those who were preserved, not put to the sword. They were the favored. The worker, the cultivator, was selected by the conqueror, who continued to cast off the less industrious. "What man did for plants and animals, it was surely possible for him to do with that superior animal, the slave. . . . The selective breeding of workers was probably largely unconscious", but it was easy to propagate from the best, eliminating the unsatisfactory.

"To the slaves or serfs it meant mere survival and perpetuation for the most faithful workers, and elimination for the lazy, inefficient, and recalcitrant. The laws and religious teachings were designed to maintain these principles, and to secure the perpetuation of a body of resigned and contented workers. . . . The application led consciously or unconsciously to a human selection, a process of selective breeding, and the ultimate production of a working class who were adapted and resigned to their condition . . . great change in human nature. . . . The conflict in human nature must be due to the clash between . . . the survival values of the different stages of human progress."

Our repressed interests, like selfishness, derive from the primitive law of self-preservation,—“unbridled anger, fear and panic, and lastly, the sentiment derived from solitary battles, sadism or love of cruelty . . . the instinct for revenge, that primordial guardian of morality. . . . Man's survival today depends on the best synthesis or composition he can make among these conflicting demands. He has to regulate and harness his nature to achieve survival ends. Obviously too much work with repressions too severe will entail derangement and insanity. . . . Man is, in short, like all other living things, just a bundle of survival values.”

PRIMITIVE INTELLIGENCE

Man is not fundamentally stupid. Twenty-five thousand years ago Cro-Magnon man had as great a cranial capacity as today, as many brain cells. And since that time every man has been born into the world with approximately the same number of millions of brain cells, all that he will ever have.

Oscar Riddle, biologist at the Carnegie Institution of Washington, writes, “As a student of life-science and the background of man, I am convinced that by nature man is more thoughtful than we now are. . . . The primitive savage is kept constantly alert by ever-present danger. He is constantly thinking about the meaning of what he sees and hears. His life and the continued existence of his tribe depend largely upon his quick and correct interpretation of sights and sounds and upon a sure and ready use of whatever his environment offers for his advantage. Civilization and sheltered childhood have removed many a stimulus to thought, and few things in the training of the citizen now seem more important than getting him back to the primitive habit of thinking constantly and effectively.” (10)

Freed from the stress of life in the open, the beliefs of civilized man, especially the urban dweller, are largely automatic. He does not use his brain. His information is prepared for him by textbook makers and other propaganda agencies. For some thousands of years the game of those who rule has been to fool. They plan his education that way. Early man was obliged for survival to be scientific, and to give his young a scientific education. What do we mean by that? Use of the senses in accurate observation—elimination of error so far as might be possible. Error in observation meant failure, death from the charging mammoth, or starvation from failure to bring him down. Few of us have any occasion for such alertness or agility today as had those naked men, with only chipped stone for weapons and implements to overcome great and savage beasts.

The great Columbia anthropologist Franz Boas as early as 1911 an-

nounced that the mind of primitive man was as good as ours. And in the last edition of "The Mind of Primitive Man", 1938, he still maintained his original thesis. "There is no fundamental difference in the way of thinking of primitive and civilized man." And then he proceeds to show that the mind of man today is still primitive.

"We must bear in mind that none of these civilizations was the product of the genius of a single people. Ideas and inventions were carried from one to the other. . . . When we recognize that neither among civilized nor among primitive men the average individual carries to completion the attempt at casual explanation of phenomena, but only so far as to amalgamate it with other previous knowledge, we recognize that the result of the whole process depends entirely upon the character of the traditional material."

SURVIVAL OF PRIMITIVE EXPLANATIONS

Myth, folklore, tabu control the primitive mind, Boas makes abundantly clear. "The difference in the mode of thought of primitive man and that of civilized man seems to consist largely in the difference of character of the traditional material with which the new perception associates itself. . . . We are only too apt, however, to forget entirely the general, and for most of us purely traditional, theoretical basis which is the foundation of our reasoning, and to assume that the result of our reasoning is absolute truth. . . .

"In the history of civilization, reasoning becomes more and more logical, not because each individual carries out his thought in a more logical manner, but because the traditional material which is handed down to each individual has been thought out and worked out more thoroughly and more carefully. While in primitive civilization the traditional material is doubted and examined by only a very few individuals, the number of thinkers who try to free themselves from the fetters of tradition increases as civilization advances. . . .

"There is an undoubted tendency in the advance of civilization to eliminate traditional elements, and to gain a clearer insight into the hypothetical basis of our reasoning. . . . The confusion of the popular mind by the modern theories of relativity, of matter, of causality shows how profoundly we are influenced by ill understood theories."

Boas does not agree with Porteus that there is a racial basis of intelligence. In "Primitive Intelligence and Environment", 1937, S. D. Porteus tells of his travels and experiences in central Australia and the Kalahari Desert. He took his test material for the I. Q. and Porteus Maze Test, trying them out on primitive tribes. He finds the Australian aborigines have more intelligence in some ways than the Bushmen, but the latter

are better artists. These differences he relates to environmental influences. (11) These results, presented tentatively and somewhat apologetically, are a corrective of the "race levellers" who claim "that no real evidence of racial differences in mentality has yet been presented", but he adds, "Environment has some influence upon all of a man's reactions—whether it be the crimes he commits, the benefactions he makes or his mental test responses". (12)

DISCOVERY AND INVENTION

The story of "How Man Invented His Way to Civilization", of how necessity and changing conditions stimulated the activity of hand and mind, so that he found new ways, new methods, new tools and new explanations, is the subject of "The Conquest of Culture", 1938, by M. D. C. Crawford. There is a 'truth shall make you free' purpose behind his writing. Invention was not confined to physical things. It was more alive in the immaterial world. The devil was an invention, an attempt to explain, and this too is part of the story of the development of man's culture. Man's history is a record not only of his contest with nature but of how, out of the confusion that arose from his social relations with his fellows, and from the explanations of the mysteries about him inherited from his ancestors, he has come to his present status. The successive advances and retreats of the Ice Sheet after man had occupied Europe were a challenge, a stimulus, and led to adaptations and progress.

It was a great mechanical discovery when ape man first learned that he could use the cutting edge of a flint. Successive steps in the discovery of the properties of matter and the mechanical use of materials have brought us to the hydro-electric plant. We call that physics. It was the beginning of the control of molecular change, chemistry, when man first learned to master fire, to utilize the heat given off in a chemical reaction. That has brought us all the way through the synthesis of new organic compounds to the splitting of the atom.

The story of man's industries, agriculture, weaving, pottery, is here interestingly told with a wealth of human material from the most recent researches. There are many high spots, among them the interesting account of the discovery of cotton in two worlds, the development of the art of weaving, and the utilization of wool, silk, and flax, traces of which have been found as early as 5000 B.C. To the Indian agriculturists of the Americas we owe the discovery, domestication and utilization of some forty plants, most of which now are of the highest world utility.

Man has always been quick to adopt new gadgets and materials. Bronze was better than flint, iron and steel still better. Such things are easily demonstrated. But for all his "social inventions, once accepted,

man has a strange, often a passionate fondness, since they more often involve his emotions than his intellect", says Crawford. "He will fight fiercely and endure bravely for a law or a custom about which he knows little or nothing and which has perhaps been a terrible burden to him. But he will discard an old and faithful tool in place of a better one without a moment's hesitation of sentimentality. . . .

"Man had invented both the machines and the legal systems that prevented the most fruitful use of the machines. The machines he constantly changed; the laws he held, by some strange confusion of mind, to be perfect and unchangeable. Society was self-shackled by the shadows of its own creations. . . .

"Our society for two thousand years has developed only one escape for its surplus mechanical energy. This escape is the ancient hag of war. . . . Suppose one-half or one-quarter of the true costs of the last war and its aftermath had been spent intelligently in plans to improve the world, clean out pest holes, lead water to deserts, destroy slums and spread education and create beauty spots and give to leisure a fruitful direction. Would the world today be armed against itself? . . . We can find little hope in institutions; only in the individual's processes of thought." Man's effort today is to destroy. The greater part of his labor goes to pay for past and prepare for future wars. It is the social lag, the persistence of old and dead ideas and explanations, valuable when invented, but now preserved as sacred. It takes brave, bold, clear seeing men to speak out, to destroy, to clear the way.

The conscious setting up of goals for collective effort is something new to us, old as it may have been to the ancient East. Good conservative people still think it foolish. Social consciousness, too, is a new thing for Nordics and Western Europeans. Some haven't yet achieved it. Social conscience came a little earlier, manifested in alms giving.

WE ARE SOCIAL PARVENUS

We are still tyros in this social game. We still think of society with a capital "S" and read about it in Sunday newspapers. Not so with the ants, who were socially adjusted before there was even a monkey in the treetops. They know a society queen when they see her. They are not misled by the nouveau riche.

When we get off our human pinnacle, divest ourselves of our egocentric attitude, we see that many of the things we humans are clumsily groping for have been already more perfectly achieved by other groups under Mother Nature's supervision. Tours and cruises to the West Indies are relatively new to us, but the birds long ago perfected this tourist business and carry it on with less bickering than the participants

in our luxury cruises. We are climbers but new to the social graces.

Complete social adjustment has been achieved among the lower animals a hundred times in the past millions of years. All that time corals have lived in well constructed apartment houses with food brought to their door and with all sex problems solved. The ants from predatory species thirty times have evolved societies *de novo*. (13)

All goals for social effort grow out of fundamental urges, and have for their purpose the furthering of the particular group, tribe, race, in the struggle for the possession of the planet and its resources. Without social effort and some of the amenities, group living would be impossible. We would quickly revert to the solitary and predatory type of living. The tribe would diminish. Most of us would disappear.

OTHER SOCIETIES THAN OURS

Both animals and plants living together in groups derive mutual benefits which give them greater chance for survival. Sponges, corals, fans, as well as bees and beavers and scores of other diverse groups, were completely socialized before man appeared. It is little wonder that other societies than ours are more perfectly adjusted to their environment. They have had a longer time to perfect their communistic living. But who wants to be a white ant?

Man proudly boasts that this is "his world", this the "age of man". In his entertaining survey of invertebrate societies "Evolution and Behavior of the Invertebrates", Chapter VII of "The World and Man: As Science Sees Them", W. C. Allee, professor of zoology at the University of Chicago, rebukes man for his anthropocentric boast.

There are more than 600,000 named species of animals, perhaps as many more unnamed. Stretch out your arms from tip to tip, six feet. The first joint of a finger represents proportionately the number of species or mammals, the second joint birds, reptiles and amphibians, the basal joint and the palm the fishes. The one hand represents all the vertebrates, —the rest of the arm, body and other arm, all the invertebrates. And the number of species in each group corresponds roughly to the length of time the group has existed.

The insects comprise not only the greatest number of species, but are overwhelming in their numbers. They actually dominate and prevent the existence of man over a considerable portion of the earth's surface. The world is theirs and the fulness thereof, except in the temperate regions and in a few places like the Canal Zone where at great expense man has reduced the number of some one species of insect, like the malarial *Anopheles*.

An intimate view of insect life near at hand, with 130 photographs by

the author, is Edwin Way Teale's "Grassroot Jungles", 1937. He tells us, "Nine-tenths of all the living creatures on the face of the earth are insects". There are 25,000,000 insects in the air above each square mile of the earth's surface, "3,500,000 insects live in the soil under each acre of meadowland". Of the 600,000 species, not all named, only a few hundred are enemies of man, but they cause a loss of a billion and a half annually in the United States.

But the insects have another claim. Not only have they developed a stable and efficient social life, but they have achieved almost a hundred per cent altruism and unselfishness, qualities we poor humans strive for, boast of, but fail to attain. The best known of these societies, which we prey upon and plunder, is that of the honey bee. But with them, as with man and nearly all mammals, the male still remains unsocialized, a disturbing element, creating war, discord, jealous hates. The females of the species are completely socialized, cooperative, and wholly altruistic except toward the males. The sisters sting the lazy drones and throw them out, and so the war goes on between the sexes.

The ants have done better. They have not only made imposing uniformed doormen of the males, but they have subjected them to military discipline and send them out to bring in slaves to lighten the labor of the females. Though Solomon told us sluggards long ago to 'go to the ant' we are only just beginning to go. Julian Huxley in charge of the London Zoo thinks ants are stupid. Even William Morton Wheeler who knew more about ants than anyone who has lived, took cheer from the fact that their social life was not perfect and wrote:

"And so far as the actual, fundamental, biological structure of our society is concerned and notwithstanding its stupendous growth in size and all the tinkering to which it has been subjected, we are still in much the same infantile stage. But if the ants are not despondent because they have failed to produce a new social invention or convention in 65 million years, why should we be discouraged because some of our institutions and castes have not been able to evolve a new idea in the past fifty centuries?" (14)

SOCIETY PERFECTED

Blundering man in the presence of perfection is filled with wonder and worship. Those who know the termites are impressed. This "insignificant insect, which, except in soldier form seldom attains a quarter of an inch in length, presents to those who care to study it, a living obsession of unselfishness. His life, of unknown and, it may be, indefinite duration is devoted to the interests of others: to the good of his fellow-creatures and his city."

This is quoted from Herbert Noyes' "Man and the Termite", London, 1937. The author has lived most of his life as a rubber planter among the termites, and though he is not a scientist, he knows the literature of the subject, gives an excellent bibliography, and quotes from the great scientific investigators. Their activities to him seem to transcend intelligence. We have fossil termites preserved in amber from the Miocene, but they probably have existed for 300,000,000 years. Blind, living in total darkness for a hundred million years, sending out no scouts, termites in a single night will build covered two way boulevards up a concrete pillar to reach and honeycomb the wooden beam that rests upon it. How do they know it is there?

The Zulus have high respect for the termite, Noyes tells us. "My Zulu induna, N'hlutunkungu, a chief of the Isibonga of N'hlatuzi," remarked, "These teachers of yours tell us of a heaven to which we may aspire and at which we may presently arrive. But, if they are to be believed, none of us are worthy of such a glorious fate. Are there many among your own people worthy of such distinction?"

"And I said, in the vernacular, no; but according to the legends there was such a Man, two thousand years ago. But when I talked of prophets and intercessors, N'hlutunkungu was strangely irresponsive. A god he could understand, but not a vicarious deity. 'One may well believe', he said in effect, 'that the good deeds of Man are not sufficient either in quality or quantity to win him celestial felicity, but that he should try to gain it through an intercessor appears to me a childish faith'. And I told him that because of that incredulity, unwisely expressed, white and brown men had been killing each other for the last nineteen hundred years and were killing each other to-day.

"The beasts and the Termites have but one God, as we all know', he objected; 'to what end shall they employ a middleman? This talk of go-betweens seems to me mere foolishness. It is in my mind that the Termites are nearly perfect in their mode of living; my own people are far from it, and of the white men, who can say?'"

Eugene N. Marais, an Afrikaander, after college began as a journalist, studied medicine, then was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. Scholar, man of culture, he chose to live in a hut in the lonely Waterberg mountains, making friends with a troop of wild baboons, whose behavior he studied, and which he tamed so that he could move among them and handle them with impunity. His chief work was to have been "The Soul of the Ape", a study of the behavior of apes and baboons and comparison of their mental processes with those of men.

His "The Soul of the White Ant", 1937, "With a Biographical Note by his son and translated by Winifred de Kok", was written in Afrikaans,

the Dutch language of South Africa. His observations, photographs and drawings are original. Perhaps he abandons too readily the mechanistic and materialistic explanation of the behavior of the white ant. He has been over impressed possibly with the marvels of their behavior, with the fact that they build arches. Two individual workers build pillars which gradually approach each other, or across the pillars lay a spear of grass, covering this with pellets of earth to make the solid structure.

Perhaps unfortunately he has adopted an attitude that will seem esoteric in assuming that the termite colony is a single organism, and that what some regard as the individual worker and soldier are akin to the red blood corpuscles and leucocytes in the blood, and that the queen corresponds with the ovary. The fungus garden in which the white ant cultivates bacteria to digest cellulose, he regards as the digestive system of the organism. Maeterlinck appropriated this idea six years later. Stripped of sentimentality, it is the condition revealed by the great physiologists, the modern representative of whom is Walter Cannon. (15)

Others have regarded the human body as made up of colonies of cells each with its own activities, highly differentiated individual phagocytes and red blood corpuscles, all living symbiotically within an integument in which they float bathed in body fluids that act as a medium of exchange between different cells.

NOTES

(1) Perigord in Southern France, where the truffles and the foie gras come from, has developed the world's richest cuisine. Shops and offices are closed from noon till three or four for déjeuner, the great event of the day, and the long siesta that follows.

"The Origin of Food Habits" by H. D. Renner, 1944, considers the subject from the standpoint of psychology, climate, and agriculture, techniques of preparation, with consideration of sociological and historical factors. Many of the twelve now recognized senses play an important part in the formation of food habits. "By the quality of a sensation is meant the degree of stimulus applied to that particular organ. . . . There are only four sensations of taste: sweet, bitter, salt, and sour. Possibly the alkaline taste could be accepted as a fifth. Up to ten years ago 60,000 different qualities of smell alone had been discovered. This means that of the 300,000 chemical compounds isolated up to that time, there were 60,000 with a smell, and each possessed a different one." And once experienced, these smells are remembered. It is combinations of such memory-smells, flavors, that bring back the longing for mother's cooking.

"The Science of Nutrition" by Henry C. Sherman, 1944, considers food habits, optimal and minimal standards of nutrition, economic aspects of family spending, food distribution, etc.

(2) In the Iranian Highland, at Sialk, 250 kilometers south of Teheran, early in 1938 the Louvre expedition, excavating two mounds, revealed a series of human habitations, "fifteen or more superimposed layers of buildings . . . the beginnings of which go back to the fifth millenium B. C." (R. Ghirshman, *Asia*, Nov., 1943).

At Tepe Gawra, in the upper Mesopotamian valley, the layers go back to about 3000 B. C. Here where irrigation was available to increase the food supply there were larger groups, the beginnings of city life, of the city state, of social organization. The food supply determines the population of a region or a community except as when in recent times human energy is devoted to transporting food over long distances to where we gather round the bright lights.

(3) William Morton Wheeler like many others has emphasized that even solitary species of animals necessarily are more or less cooperative. Not only do they compete among themselves but they also cooperate to secure mates and insure greater safety. "To discover and distinguish the principles of general sociology it is necessary to look farther, to focus attention on the social and anti-social relationships of many animals usually regarded as lacking social life." (W. C. Allee, "Social Life of Animals", p 30)

Complete cooperation, universal self-help, which is of a high order of morality, is to be found in the white ants, which are considered a low order of insect. In their relatives and ancestors, the primitive cockroaches, selflessness, altruism and all that was much less highly developed. It took perhaps a hundred million years for those who became termites to complete their social organization and to attain that degree of selflessness in which the individual is but a contributor to the welfare of the community.

There is much ahead for the human race, but we have been only a short time climbers on the social ladder, only about a million years. There are individuals who are fairly well adjusted, the corner druggist, the Rotarian, the joiner, the man who always wears a smile. The happy moron who demands of his fellows not more than three squares a day and his twice a week, and whose chief irritation comes from deprivation of these, is pretty well adjusted to his social environment. But there are still those maladjusted individuals of the species who are never satisfied but are always seeking a better way, some so completely maladjusted that their lives and energies are concentrated on attempting to change the behavior of their fellows. Some do it through paint or marble or speech or with the sword. Some of us are so ill-adjusted to living with our families and neighbors that we go into the wilds and pretend we are primitive killers. But even the solitude loving social human can't remain solitary very long. The worst torture that can be inflicted on the recalcitrant is solitary confinement. We are new at the game of climbing the social ladder but committed to it. Any deb can tell you that society offers difficulties.

(4) "Some races, once dominant in their particular sphere, have disappeared entirely; others, fallen from high estate, linger in inglorious decay. . . . Some have rotted away quickly, others have fallen before the onset of less rotten stocks or perhaps of extra-human disaster. . . . Today . . . almost all of mankind has encountered civilisation and either perished or been transmuted. The fatal complexity of civilisation grips the whole species, crushing it into unity. . . . The specific causes of the collapse of once dominant races are doubtless varied; but there is general agreement that one universal factor is disintegration in complexity, an aspect of over-specialisation. . . . Those who deny that human institutions are subject to the laws of organic evolution know either no history or no Palaeontology. Many proverbs give epigrammatic statements of the principles of evolution in imaginative terms. 'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, where wealth accumulates and men decay.'" (Raymond Pearl, "Progress in the Biological Sciences")

(5) The organized reaction toward medievalism in education and social affairs, which has been under way to increase authoritarianism, make possible regimentation and war, has had for an important element the attack on Darwinism, emanating from the Tory group that controls England (cf "The Future of Education", pp 129-32). The recent attack began with Geoffrey West's apparently innocent but belittling biography of Darwin and was continued in Jacques Barzun's "Darwin, Marx, Wagner", which ascribes present evils to the progressive advancement of the 19th century (cf "War and Education", pp 121-34).

(6) The most active protagonist for evolution is appropriately Julian Huxley, grandson of the great Thomas. In his book "Evolution: The Modern Synthesis" and in *Fortune* he not merely upholds the theory but makes it clear that evolutionary processes are as actively going on today as ever (cf "War and Education", pp 126-7, 133-4; "The Future of Education", p 128).

(7) "Thou shalt not" follow the practices of primitive men that once brought the highest good to the race, survival. They were once 'virtues', but with the development of society and cooperation they ceased to be and were forbidden by the mores. Violation of these mores is now only permitted at the direct command of God in waging war for righteousness, or through those who hold divine right and control the state. Only those who have this power may cause to be killed, according to our present accepted mores.

This survival code, modified by early cultures, was expounded by Dr. S. J. Holmes, before the A. A. A. S. at Palo Alto (N. Y. *Times*, July 1, 1939), when he explained that it is subject to abuse "under our faltering performance of such codes of morals as we have been professing under the Christian and other religions". The institutional check on killing has not been effective in reducing the lust to kill, which survives in most of us who have been artificially checked. Clarence Darrow, who saved many a killer from death, remarked, "Everybody is a potential murderer. I've never killed anyone, but I frequently get satisfaction reading the obituary notices." The noted Canadian Indian naturalist known in his children's radio talks as "Grey Owl" refused to make a scheduled talk when BBC officials deleted his plea to "never take the life of a weak and defenseless animal for your own amusement", along with a passage scoring the hunt as sport (AP, Dec. 21, 1937).

(8) The 'freedom' to sell one's labor in the best market guarantees to individuals "the fruits of their own labor and abstinence" (J. S. Mill). The accumulation is private property, though the term is sometimes misapplied to property accumulated as loot or through deceit. This freedom to produce and accumulate is hampered by "the primary need of the rulers to keep the masses down to keep them from making any other than the smallest improvement in their condition" (Machin). "Apart from economic liberty, political liberty has little meaning. Only so long as a man knows that he can defy superior power and still support himself and his loved ones is he a free man", Arthur Bryant reminds us in his "English Saga". Such a simple anthropological historical view sheds light upon our modern university teaching of economics and government.

(9) The word 'slavery' usually carries emotional connotations, but it can be used scientifically to describe an established behavior pattern of relations between species or individuals. Readers of Wheeler's "Social Life of the Insects" will learn that slavery arose independently many times among many different species. Two hundred million years ago species of ants had acquired the habit of kidnapping the larvae of other species and rearing them to perform useful labor for

their captors. The ants also early learned to make use of domesticated animals of other species, such as the aphids, and used them as we do our milch cows.

The anthropologist looks upon slavery in different groups as a human institution. It may be superseded and still survive, like many of our institutions which should be repudiated. Civilized man is still a parasite for the most part, living on the labor of others, exploiting white, black, yellow, or brown for his own satisfactions. But the parasite, unlike the slave master, does not assume responsibility for his property and strive to increase its value. Imperialism remains aristocratically respectable today as negro slavery once was in the southern states.

The Hollander H. J. Nieboer has an ethnological approach in his definitive treatise, "Slavery as an Industrial System", 1900. Wage slavery is not slavery, nor is peonage, nor indenture in which services are sold only for a time. Serfdom is not, for serfs are seldom sold except with the land. The slave is property whose value can be separately realized by sale.

(10) The 'stupidity' of primitive man has been much over-rated. He was not stupid. The stupidity of modern man today is not primitive in origin, but carefully cultivated. As Riddle has pointed out, "Youth was taught to observe accurately the phenomena of nature, dead and living, to draw seemingly correct conclusions and to regulate his actions accordingly." Under the influence of shamen man gave up the scientific way of life of primitive man; under the influence of philosophers and ideologists he sought explanations within his own skull. Now due to the heretics who defied authority we are getting back to the scientific ways of the Ionian Greeks.

(11) Difference in the intelligence of races is not intrinsic but due to modification of environment. New York City negroes show a higher intelligence than the whites of southern rural districts. This statement in "The Races of Mankind", published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., N.Y.C., 1944, prepared by Drs. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, Columbia anthropologists, shocked some of our southern Congressmen. The pamphlet was banned for use in orientation courses, by the House Military Committee after "a secret investigation of Army plans to distribute 55,000 copies". (AP, March 6, 1944)

(12) Porteus in his "The Psychology of a Primitive People", 1931, remarks, "If there is one thing which to my mind emerges most definitely and unmistakably from this study it is the selective influence of environment and the apparent malleability of human nature". Charles Aldrich in "The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilization", 1931, introduced by Malinowski, following Carl Jung, predicates a primitive mind, the common stuff of human nature. It is a comparative study of the manifold differences in human nature among primitive peoples, all of which have been arrived at through gradual changes. (16th ed., 1932, pp 84-5)

(13) William Morton Wheeler's profound studies of social behavior among termites, ants, bees, and wasps and the less generally known social beetles, detailed in his numerous books and monographs, led him to some illuminatingly critical comments on human social behavior as he had observed it. W. C. Allee in his "Social Life of Animals" has a more complete survey of many scientific studies on the behavior of a wider range of animals, including birds and mammals. Ecology, the science of living together, includes the study of all phenomena of plants or animals which have adjusted their lives to group living. It comprises, of course, such studies as sociologists and economists have arrogated to themselves, all of which have to do with phases of social behavior of organisms, whether pines in a grove, polyps on a coral reef, or politicians in a party.

(14) Ants, perhaps because of long subjection to social organization, societal conditions, are human in some of their ways, Professor Chen of Peiping in 1937 showed in experiments with the *Campanotus*. "An ant which works at an intermediate rate may be speeded up if placed with an ant which works more rapidly and slowed down if put with a slower worker" (Allee, "Social Life of Animals", p 141).

Roy Chapman Andrews, Director of the American Museum of Natural History, tells us that an ant has been observed "dragging a load sixty times its own weight. This is equivalent to a man whose weight is 150 lbs. dragging a load of $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons, or a horse weighing 1,200 lbs., a load of 36 tons! An Australian ant, while suspending itself by its feet, supported in its jaws a pair of gloves that were more than 1,100 times its own weight." This would be the equivalent, for the man cited, of supporting "in his teeth a weight of 82 tons while hanging by his toes from a horizontal bar". (*This Week Magazine*, May 29, 1938)

But Raymond Pearl tells us that man is "physically the strongest of all known animals, by a vast amount". By the use of his cerebral cortex he has developed machines and methods that have "added to the power and strength of his muscles and bones, and to the delicacy and range of his sense perceptions in a degree beyond anything that even the wildest imaginations were ever able to conceive before the event. . . . All useful machines . . . except as a part of man's biological equipment . . . are as meaningless and useless as a last year's wasp's nest is to this year's wasps. . . . Machines are only parts of men. They are merely extensions of, or additions to his arms, or his legs, or his eyes, or his ears, or to some other organ system. They are added organs." ("Progress in the Biological Sciences")

(15) Herbert Spencer as early as 1848, contemplating the cell structure, saw the analogy between the members of a modern state and the microscopic cells which make up the body and brain of a man or any multicellular organism. In his "Social Organism" in 1860 he made this analogy. Parliament was compared to the brain, telegraph wires to nerve fibers.

THE SOCIAL SCENE

In the current phase of our slow cultural development, as in the past, the hunger incentive is effective in controlling behavior and even existence. Unadjusted to the new technologies, our social system is anachronistic.

"The golf links lie so near the mill that almost every day the laboring children can look out and see the men at play." This is Sarah Cleghorne's vivid picture of the twentieth century social scene. Vaughan Wilkins' "And So Victoria" pictures these children a hundred years ago deep in coal mines, or in a mill that had no such beautiful scene from the window, —only slag heaps. The men would have been carousing at the inn or using a strap on the laboring children (cf Hansard). A few centuries earlier the men would have been in armor, ahorse, picking along the road, the children sniveling at the door of a hut. The social scene does change. (1)

The vast majority of men are more or less content with their lot. Like their ancestors they will go on salting the earth with their bones, unheeding. The solid citizen always endeavors to keep the boat from rocking. But in spite of his best efforts there are trouble makers, those dissatisfied with our social system. There have always been such, but in spite of, or perhaps because of, red hunts, political persecutions, protective arrests, detention camps, and barbed wire, the numbers increase. There are always those who fancy they see something ahead for which they reach or agitate.

PREVAILING MYTHS

The story of our social system is quickly told. It is a slave system, as so many have clearly shown. We have come far, and there are those who doubt that "slavery exists by the law of nature". But it is only a hundred years since the anti-slavery movement began in England. As late as 1831 in Pennsylvania towns white men, indentured servants, were sold, shackled and branded, and runaways advertised. (2)

What we call our 'social system' is the result of the behavior of a great number over a long period of time. The larger phases of this seen through history we call 'civilization'. Gustavus Myers, whose books have since become classic, thirty years ago wrote about the behavior of some of the more potent members of our current society and how they acquired wealth. "It is obvious that in both past and present times the chief beneficiaries of our social and industrial system have found it to their interest to represent their accumulations as the rewards of industry and

ability, and have likewise had the strongest motives for concealing the circumstances of all those devious methods which have been used in building up great fortunes. . . . While it is true that the methods employed by these very rich men have been, and are, fraudulent, it is also true that they are but the more conspicuous types of a whole class which, in varying degrees, has used precisely the same methods, and the collective fortunes and power of which have been derived from identically the same sources."

The older forms of physical slavery are pretty well a thing of the past, though we hear of wage slaves and we know that few of us are economically free. We like to believe that we have achieved 'political freedom', 'equality', and 'democracy'. But intellectually the great mass of us are still slaves to inherited beliefs, to prevailing myths, to customs, mores, tabus, inherited from a dead past. (3)

"Organizations always tend to assume the characters given to them by popular mythology", writes Thurman Arnold in "The Folklore of Capitalism". "Probably the only way in which mythologies actually change is through the rise to power of a new class whose traditional heroes are of a different mold. . . . At first it is looked down on. Gradually it accumulates a mythology and a creed. Finally all searchers for universal truth, all scholars, all priests (except, of course, unsound radicals), all educational institutions of standing, are found supporting that class and everyone feels that the search for legal and economic truth has reached a successful termination."

"'Mythology', 'theology' and 'philosophy' are different terms for the same influences which shape the current of human thought, and which determine the character of the attempts of man to explain the phenomena of nature, writes Franz Boas in "The Primitive Mind". "Herein lies the immense importance of folk-lore in determining the mode of thought. Herein lies particularly the enormous influence of current philosophic opinion upon the masses of the people, and the influence of the dominant scientific theory upon the character of scientific work."

THE HUNGER INCENTIVE

All animal life is parasitic, dependent on the green of the grass, the chlorophyl which can directly utilize the energy of the sun. (4) Out of this primitive urge for food, with the abundance the earth affords, man has created an art. And the epicure, to satisfy his taste for fine wines and good cookery, must have wealth. At Yale, C. C. Furnas, Associate Professor of Chemical Engineering, has illuminatingly written on the one great interest of man,—food. Something of this is in the title, "Man, Bread and Destiny", 1937, written in a crisp, scintillating, pungent

manner resulting from an active brain that fairly decrepitates with electrical discharges. With wit, wisdom, and infectious enthusiasm, he deals with food, its chemistry, customs, substitutions, tabus. And for food almost everything has been used. Where populations are dense, tabus count for less in the face of starvation,—“A man must eat. . . . Freud to the contrary, the Great Motivator of the human race has been the empty stomach.” (5)

Logan Clendenen in “The Human Body” writes, “When a man is no longer under the grinding necessity of acquiring food for his next meal, he will turn to other things—to the operations of the stock exchange, to politics, racehorses, or the gathering of first editions. When a woman no longer needs to exert any mystical fascination of limb or lip to capture a sugar-broker, she turns to lyric poetry or dyspepsia. But in none of the variegated depravities of the mind or soul—the plan of the battle of Austerlitz, the Fifth Symphony, the ritual of the Holy Communion, the belfry tower at Bruges, the organization of the Standard Oil Company, the ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’, or Rob Haselton’s collection of postage stamps—can I discern anything but a weak disguise either of the means to acquire food and shelter that they may be converted into energy and tissue, or of the means to acquire a mate in order that another individual may be reproduced.”

The hunger incentive, the fear of lack of food to sustain life, is still a driving force in our civilization with the great mass of humans. It is this hunger incentive that holds the masses to uncongenial labor that they may have food to survive and propagate their kind. Survival values are determined, in our social system as among primitive man, by starvation. (6)

Man does not live by bread alone. If you can earn more than \$1000 a year, you have twice the chance of living. Josephine Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, speaking before the National Health Association, October, 1937, said that, from the ten major diseases causing three out of four deaths in the United States, the death rate of 40 to 50 million Americans living on less than \$1000 a year was twice that of the rest of the population. But Southern tenant farmers seldom have incomes of even \$500 or \$600 per family.

WEALTH ACCUMULATION

All our wealth is derived from the soil, that is, through labor on the surface of the earth or in mines below, or from the atmosphere within two miles of sea level. But wealth has a tendency to accumulate in the hands of the acquisitive and forceful. Roscoe Lewis Ashley in “Our Contemporary Civilization” reminds us that before the day of corpora-

tions wealth circulated; now its concentrations are perpetuated. "Corporate property has partially supplanted private property in this country." The Federal Trade Commission has shown that "six-tenths of one percent of the population owned forty-two and one-half per cent of all income-producing property and nearly sixty per cent of all the wealth in the United States".

Robert H. Jackson, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, says that "by 1933 over 53 per cent in value of all assets owned by corporations in this country was owned by only 618 out of our half million corporations" (quoted by John Allen Murphy in *Harpers*, June, 1937).

There is an extensive literature explaining how wealth is accumulated through selling of 'securities', stock market devices, whereby the lambs are shorn and wealth accumulates while men decay. Bernard J. Reis in "False Security: The Betrayal of the American Investor", 1937, explains from the evidence brought out in suits the "wringing out" process by which bond buyers lose out through "the manipulations and chicanery practiced by many of the most reputable of our financial institutions". There is a tendency for wealth to accumulate, and now that we have the self-perpetuating, immortal corporation, the process is accelerated and intensified.

THE EFFECT OF INCOME

Income determines social attitudes. Too little is harmful. A lot of sentiment is wasted, that is, it isn't effective, in deploring the hard fate of the great mass of people who don't have enough income, who don't have enough anything. But there is another way of looking at it. We ought to save the mentality of our best. Many good men, capable of great things, are forever spoiled, lost to the world, their abilities latent or perverted by too much of what in lesser quantities would be good. It is too bad to have a thoroughbred spoiled by letting him loose at the bin of oats. He eats too much and founders.

Greed is not a pleasing quality. Those who are distended with gluttony are not good to look upon. The earth has yielded abundantly. The great mass of men have been stupid, weak, defrauded, and a few have gorged themselves unconscionably. The Los Angeles Bishop asked Lincoln Steffens his cure for the abuses of our present social system. In reply Steffens reverted to the story of Eve, and suggested, "Remove the apple". Still, if apples are lying about, they will be appropriated and some will get social colic and become conspicuous nuisances. A decent society such as that of the white ants finds ways of policing and restricting such unsocial abuses. How careless the American people are about such matters, how imperfect our social organization, is shown in numerous

exposures in periodicals and books revealing abuses that still go unchecked even unheeded until recently. (Cf pp 239-50)

OUR CASTE SYSTEM

Naturally such an oligarchy of wealth is surrounded by parasites and climbers, who constitute what is called in the newspapers Society, with a capital "S". "The Saga of American Society", 1937, is by Dixon Wecter, who in a scholarly tome attempts to give an historic picture of the upper crust, and in conclusion writes: "It has bought Old Masters, but fed few living artists. Its taste in music and opera have been both timid and grandiose, and its patronage of literature has been negligible. Unhappily it forsook politics more than a century ago, though for reasons not wholly unselfish it longs just now to return. With generosity it has sometimes given to charity and education, though it has wasted other great sums in foolish ways. To the wisdom, goodness and piety of mankind it has afforded at best an erratic and whimsical support. In all these ways American society has shown characteristic shortsightedness."

A corrective to the persistent myth of equal opportunity for all will be found in "Caste and Class in a Southern Town", by John Dollard, author of "Criteria for the Life History". This research, carried on not without some danger to the investigator, reveals the system by which the Negro inferiority complex is maintained, and how strictly caste and class lines are drawn. The study is psychological rather than economic. He shows how fear, hatred, and aggression have built up the "personality of the Negro", his habits and attitudes. (7)

In an interesting study of the "Half-Caste", 1937, with a preface on prejudices by Lancelot Hogben, Cedric Dover shows that it is the prejudiced treatment of the half-caste that establishes his inferiority complex. He cites abundant anthropological studies to show that he is in no way inferior. He cites numerous authors, Lord Raglan, Toynbee. He points out that "in South Carolina a Negro population comprising 51 per cent of the total was only allotted 11 per cent of the educational funds".

CULTURES WITHIN CULTURES

Within our own culture there are other cultures, groups organized for their own self interests, with their own mythology, traditions, practices, moralities, language. Thurman Arnold in his "Folklore of Capitalism" gives us an inside view of the mythology and moralities, prevailing mores and symbols, among the legal lights of lower New York.

An illuminating study of one of these parasitic cultures has been made by Edwin H. Sutherland, professor of sociology at Indiana University, in "The Professional Thief", 1937. It is based on discussions with and

revelations written while in prison of one Chick Conwell, now dead, who tells how he became a thief, how he acquired the technique, and established the essential contacts and protection so that he could carry on. Sutherland has annotated, checked, and interpreted, and shown that thieves have a culture of their own which extends back to Elizabethan times, a language of their own, a code of ethics of their own. They have their own distinctive culture, skills, arts. And on the success of this, they parasitize themselves on the culture of the greater number. "It is practically impossible to understand an individual professional thief without this more general knowledge of the group to which he belongs. . . . The culture of the underworld grows out of and is related to the general culture . . . our general social institutions."

Courtney Ryley Cooper in "Here's To Crime", 1937, asserts that "There are not twenty of our first class cities in which a non-partisan investigation would not result in a dozen prominent citizens being sent to jail. At least four thousand of our policemen would prove to have criminal records if fingerprints were taken." The "legal profession protects, clogs the courts, delays prosecutions, opens prison doors, surrounds criminals with legal safeguards". Henry F. T. Rhodes, of the Institute of Criminology, University of Lyons, in "The Criminals We Deserve", 1937, traces the conditions which make criminals, and finds the roots in our economic and social system, which results in mass production of criminals as of other things. "The revolt of the criminal against society is often born in the first place of nothing more than a revolt against intolerable conditions."

But within a community or within any group, not all have come along the evolutionary path equally, as in a well socialized species like the bees, ants, or termites. Social fossils, contemporary ancestors, are all about us. Remote from modern currents in the Southern mountains are people of our stock who are still Elizabethans in language, arts, and folklore. But in every community there are men who belong to a past century, to whose minds social consciousness has not yet come. And even in banking houses and Wall Street are 'troglodytes' without social conscience. "Our contemporary ancestors", Walter Hines Page called them.

NOTES

(1) "As I looked down on those wretched streets [and the houses of the steel workers in the lower town at Bethlehem, Pa., contrasting with the beautiful upper college town] I thought of the Essen of Krupps, with its charming houses and its admirable sanitation, and I wondered at the American fear of 'paternalism', which can make a steel company refuse to surround its workers with health, comfort, and beauty, and can permit it to crush out all trace of independent unionism among them and reduce them to the helplessness of single individuals face

to face with a great corporation. The German workman under the Kaiser had freedom to combine with his fellows but not to live in sewerless streets; the American had just the reverse." This is from Alice Hamilton's autobiographical "Exploring the Dangerous Trades", 1943, a book which discloses the American way of life, "the American system", which she did so much to change.

(2) The Hon. H. A. Wyndham in "Problems of Imperial Trusteeship: The Atlantic and Slavery", 1935, gives us a documented history of indenture in the colonies. From 1630 to 1700 upwards of a hundred thousand freemen and indentured servants came to Virginia. In Virginia and Maryland, "early colonial societies were not divided into a white aristocracy and a coloured proletariat, but into freemen", including Indians and Negroes, and "servants for life or slaves", white and black.

As indentures expired, their head right entitled them to take up fifty acres of wild land. But only 6% of the indentured servants established themselves as independent planters. The head rights were bought up to make large plantations. The 'poor white' class grew with the building of great plantations and the importation of slaves. "As the seventeenth century passed, the provisions of the colonial laws governing them gradually hardened. Liberties . . . progressively denied them . . . status . . . became one of servitude rather than of service." Punishment for breaches of contract by adding to the term of service encouraged this change from servant to chattel. "If he fled in company with Negro slaves he had to work a set period for the time lost by each of them, as well as by himself. For a second offence he was branded on the cheek and shoulder. He might also be whipped. His hair was kept close cropped in order that all should recognize him as a runaway. . . . As a runaway he was coupled with a slave."

Chastellux in his "Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781, and 1782" describes the "miserable huts . . . inhabited by whites, whose wan looks and ragged garments bespeak poverty."

(3) "Where the cant of democracy dwells on the lips of the forgers of fetters and wielders of whips", as J. G. Whittier wrote,—'preserving civilization' has been a process of perpetuating parasitic living on slave labor. The British Empire rests on exploitation of tropic peoples and their resources by indentured labor, made possible by keeping them on a starvation basis. One-tenth of the people of the globe, before the war broke out, lived in relative abundance, six-tenths in extreme poverty in "the fields in which the wealthy nations have operated as imperialist powers. Between these extremes we find a long list of nations scattered over four continents", C. Hartley Grattan remarks in "There'll Be Some Changes Made", *Harpers*, July, 1941.

(4) "Parasitism within the species" is found only in *Homo sapiens*. "Man is the only creature who lives upon his fellows, and seeks that satisfaction of his needs, not from nature, but from other men; who directs his efforts rather to subjugating and systematically exploiting his fellow-men than to discovering natural resources for himself", Max Nordau explained in his "Interpretation of History".

"This parasitic impulse is not a primitive instinct in man. . . . Parasitism arose by the operation of the law of least effort. . . . Parasitism thus arises out of the original inequality of men. . . . With the necessity of making exertions to support life parasitism appears. The motive that impels man to seek out his fellows is not a gregarious instinct, as has often been maintained, though without proof, and contrary to all probability and to all psychological evidence, but the profit to be made from them by force or fraud. . . .

"The leader understands that he must keep the instrument of this parasitic system in a state of constant efficiency, and creates institutions for that purpose. He collects the largest possible group of men under his control, and abstracts from them the largest possible share of the fruits of their labour, compelling them to supply him with soldiers, whom he supports by contributions forcibly levied on his other subjects."

(5) In "Hunger and History", E. Parmelee Prentice explains their relationship during the thousands of years of recorded history. Food is still the driving force in our civilization, just as it was in central Australia, although we can produce food enough by the work of a few people in a few days to feed the whole population. It is an archaic value which is still the basis of our civilization. The food incentive is still kept "by force of habit" as the supreme incentive, "the immutable basis of a productive society", Ellis Freeman reminds us in his "Social Psychology", 1936. "The virtue of the sweaty intermediate has been so over-emphasized that a rational organization of industry which would cut labor to a few hours a day savors distinctly of immorality to the puritanical."

"Enough and to Spare", 1944, Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard oil geologist, declares in the midst of war, for any probable population. With facts and figures he optimistically maintains that the world's raw resources are sufficient to do away with hunger. Quite aside from 'raw resources' to which Mather refers, information, use of unstultified brains, birth control, improved agriculture and synthetic chemistry may easily banish many pangs including those of hunger.

(6) "The buffalo hunters have done more to bring about peace with the Indians in a few months than the whole Army could do in thirty years!" General Phil Sheridan told the Texas State Legislature, when it was considering a law for the protection of the bison, Willy Ley reminds us in "The Lungfish and the Unicorn", and goes on to say that Sheridan "declared that the bison hunters deserved medals showing the picture of a discouraged Indian. Even if extermination of the bison should be the price for perpetual peace with the Indians, who would then be starved into submission, the price would be low." Sheridan in his lectures on military strategy at the Sorbonne after the Civil War advocated a policy of 'Schrecklichkeit' and boasted that he had left the Shenandoah after his raid so devastated the crowd would have to carry his provisions in crossing the valley.

Speaking for the present Administration, Adolf Berle explained that we are hoarding food to be used to reward those who have been good from our point of view. "By denying or stinting food, raw materials and credits to popular or revolutionary parties, while reserving these favours to conservative groups, they can do much to buttress the old class-structure throughout Europe" (*New Statesman*, Jan. 8, 1944, quoting the *International Transport Workers Journal*).

(7) Sponsored by the American Council on Education are similar studies on "Color and Human Nature" by Warner, Junker, and Adams, "Children of Bondage" by Davis and Dollard, and "Growing Up in the Black Belt" by Charles Johnson. Another, under W. Lloyd Warner's direction, was "Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class" by Allison Davis, Burleigh and Mary Gardner.

BREEDING GROUND OF IMPERIALISM

Living on the labor of other peoples led to exploitation, imperialism. To maintain the system the Public Schools trained and supplied the servants of Empire, who wreck rather than adjust to world industrialization.

From the English breed, the noblest the world has seen, still come men who can face indomitable odds with steadfast purpose,— poets whose burning lines lead youth to aspiration or revolt. England's champions first shook the shackles from the slave. England's adventurous youth first opened the seas to trade. It was the English breed that planted all the western world.

DESPERATE INCOMPETENCE

The ruling class in England is no longer what it once was. Taxation for war and for socialistic sops to keep the people quiet has resulted in the depletion of resources of many an old family. Their scions have gone to seed, or as chairmen of great corporations it is their patriotic duty to uphold the diminishing income of their stock holders. But behind them are shrewder, more aggressive men, interested in 'chemicals' and 'heavy industry'. Moral courage is lacking. Labor is leaderless. The British parliamentary investigation of war profits was safely side-tracked. Popular demand had been incited by Senator Nye's investigation in America. But that, too, was stopped by a word from the British bureaucrats through President Roosevelt, just as it was about to disclose that international banker control which Brooks Adams had denounced.

The operating crew, the 'Coalition Government', in August 1935 were in a desperate way, on their last legs. Twelve million people had just voted for peace and the 'League'. The time for a general election approached. 'Labor' confidently expected to come in. A sudden call for a cabinet meeting about the middle of August brought members back from distant vacationing. From the meeting Ramsay MacDonald emerged, announcing, as though he were letting the cat out of the bag more or less purposely, that the decisions made had been the most momentous since the Great War.

What had happened was that some of the 'bright boys' had devised and put across a plan by which the government could perpetuate itself, a plan whereby a rearmament program could be sold to the people that would keep 'heavy industries' prosperous and yield large profits to those in control. Censorship was clamped down on the press, and before the English people were permitted to know, their fleet was in the Mediter-

ran. Italy was being stirred to whip up enthusiasm for rearmament. If England had closed the Suez Canal, free men might have triumphed in Ethiopia. Spain would have settled her own difficulties, Japan might not have been so cocky. When the English people had been stirred to war intensity of enthusiasm in support of the League, a general election was sprung upon them. The 'crew' received a new lease of life. The rearmament program was announced. The directors of the 'heavy industries' had done their duty to their stock holders. Huge profits were assured. The Labor Party which had been so confident of triumph, had been skilfully fooled and was confused and helpless. The Public School boys, educated for the purpose had 'saved England'. (1)

ENGLAND'S PREDICAMENT

The suppressed nations, deprived of territory and resources, have continued to breed and multiply, while in England and France the birth rate has declined. Their desire to expand, to get food, to continue to exist, has led to general rearmament. Trouble is brewing. Something must break. Lord Astor has patiently expounded the steps by which the democratic countries since the war killed democracy in republican Germany and socialist Austria. In 1931 the English Labor government and France "objected very strongly to the proposed customs union although both Germany and Austria were then democracies. . . . Geneva and The Hague was invoked to stop the union. . . . The outside world made Germany feel that she could only get redress of grievances by use of force. . . . Two years ago, even one year ago, Germany was anxious to discuss and settle by negotiation certain outstanding questions. Britain and the outside world held back. . . . If past foreign secretaries had been more far-sighted, there would possibly not have been a dictatorship in Germany." (Boston *Herald*, April 3, 1938)

"England is stamped with the symptoms of decay. The British empire is on the decline. Night has settled over England . . . foes gather. . . . Britain looks to the United States for support", Charles Beard wrote in *Events*, Nov., 1937, reviewing Quincy Howe's "England Expects Every American To Do His Duty", 1937. Howe, virile and vigorous Boston scion, is a realist. He knows his England and loves it, but America more, and does not like to see us made fools or puppets.

Howe understands with Pareto and Machiavelli that every country is controlled by "a small minority that devotes itself to the business of government", but that "never since the days of ancient Rome has so much power remained concentrated in so few hands for so long a period as in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and its overseas Empire". He exposes British propaganda in high places, the universities, the New York

Times, the Foreign Policy Association, and numerous other organizations. He shows how our statesmen have usually been taken in by the British, and reveals the cultural and social propaganda constantly maintained in this country.

Then there are the churches and the schools. Howe writes, "American governing classes . . . prefer to commune with their Maker in the exclusive atmosphere of the Episcopal Church which grew from England's official national church. The private boarding schools . . . are modeled on Eton, Harrow, and Winchester. The cult of the gentleman and the gospel of 'fair play' originated in England." (2)

BRITAIN'S POLICY

Howe's book was coldly received by reviewers and editorial writers, blinded or nose ringed by the British propaganda machine. It was too bold and dogmatic even for most Anglophobes. The *Nation* editorialized it under the title "Anti-British Hysteria". Howe made a swift comeback to which the *Nation* entered protest that they were not reviewing, only soliloquizing. William MacDonald in the *New York Times* characterized it as "a curious mixture of fact, fear, exaggerated emphasis and unpleasant temper".

Robert Morss Lovett in the *New Republic* reminded us of the "thesis of Mr. Alleyne Ireland that the United States has never been independent" and added, "If cultural, financial and political forces are strong enough to keep us within the orbit of the British system, at least let us know clearly that we do so for our own reasons based on the kind of world we want. Never again must we surrender, as once before, the independence of the United States to the influence of British propaganda, the arrogance of British interference with our legislatures, courts and cabinets, the treachery of ambassadors, or the subservience of those whom Mr. Lamont felicitously describes as 'the best people who lived along the Eastern seaboard'." Mr. Lamont's *Saturday Literary Review*, abstaining from review and the literary began, "Mr. Howe suffers from an aggravated case of Anglophobia and has written this book to get it off his chest".

In the ensuing months England and events justified Howe's statements. British propagandists, courteous, generous, idealistic, flooded Americans with flattery. (3) Our Secretary of State did everything to please Great Britain. Elliott Paul, American author of "The Life and Death of a Spanish Town", says "Cordell Hull is nothing but a catspaw of Britain's Downing Street. He is acting against the will and spirit of the American people, believers in their fellow democrats in Spain, who are being sold out after the most magnificent defense of national rights in modern

history" (*Boston Herald*, Nov. 13, 1937).

The Town Hall in New York, which Howe had challenged as dominated by British propaganda, was obliged to ask him to speak but saw to it that there were three British propagandists to oppose him. In Boston, the Foreign Policy Association let him speak against somewhat lesser odds. Howe, obliged to put his neck out first, again stated (*Boston Herald*, April 3, 1938) England "faces either a peaceful surrender of its vast possessions or a violent war to keep them. If the present reactionary government stays in power, it will have to hand over the empire. If Eden wins over Chamberlain, you will find the British Liberals and Laborites defending the empire in a war—with the United States expected to join."

SMOBBERY AND SNUBBERY

How the English system of snobbery and snubbery extends across the water so as to hold America true to British purposes is made clear with some heat by Howe. It is humiliating to him as an American to see the way a Balfour, Gray or Runciman puts it over on our American diplomats and statesmen. (4) Our war Ambassador Page worked to bring us into a war for Britain. Our late Ambassador Bingham pictured Americans and British fighting side by side in the next war. No land is so beautiful, no people live so comfortably, none can overwhelm one so completely with interest and hospitality, but the main purpose is never forgotten. The subtlety and skill of English propaganda methods are just becoming apparent to us cruder Americans. (5)

Their more effective method of control we do not yet so well comprehend. The ruling class of England better than any other people understand how through snobbery and snubbery the caste system may be maintained. Their nabobs learned this in India. The nearer you get to London the more you appreciate how effective may be even a lifted eyebrow. It may do more than a sneer or the sword. So England maintains her supremacy over peoples whom she proves inferior, while with judicious propaganda and socialistic soporifics she keeps her middle and lower classes fooled and docile.

England's Public Schools have supplied what the system wanted. On the playing fields of Eton, Harrow and the other Public Schools, and under the caning of their head masters, have been trained the hard bitten and polished snobs who fill the offices and play the puppets for those who have controlled the world's destinies. And so well are they trained to act their part that few suspect the longer headed men behind the scenes. (6)

The by-product, failures, are remittance men, thrown on the imperial

scrap heap. The great men of England, the thinkers, the scientists, the poets, have escaped the Public School. None have so strongly denounced the sadistic 'hardening' system of producing English leaders as those who have been through it. Etonians of mental stature from William Pitt the elder to Aldous Huxley, hated the system.

Laurence Housman, dramatist brother of the poet, in his autobiographical "The Unexpected Years", 1936, tells us, "I am inclined to think that the divine right of imperialism to swagger through the world, exploiting subject races for their supposed benefit has very largely had its origin in the bullying and fagging which have been countenanced in our public schools. . . . Defenders of the Public School System—as it existed in my days, and as they would like it to continue—maintain that bullying of small boys is good for them, and has a healthy and hardening effect on their characters. It may be so; but what of its effect on those who do the bullying? It seems to me a cowardly and despicable thing for the strong to afflict the weak. . . . I now regard my school life as a miserable one—a life beset with repressions, snubs, ignominy, and a general sense of unfitness to my environment, and though it had in it horrid moments of pain, apprehension, and paralysing fear, I am quite sure that I was not continuously miserable or even depressed. The young have infinite powers of evasion; disposing Fate stands over and claims them—they are not the masters of it; but they often manage to dodge it, and belong again to themselves."

THE OLD SCHOOL TIE

The system of training and seeding has been modified from its monastic origins to meet the needs of rising mercantilism and imperialism. The selection is exclusive, dependent largely on birth or father's income, but those who undergo the training, however low their I.Q., have income and position for life. If government and finance do not provide, the church will. The Church of England has an annual income of over fifteen billion dollars a year from the properties inherited from the Church of Rome.

"One-third of all Cabinet Ministers in the last hundred years have come from either Eton or Harrow . . . twelve of the nineteen Prime Ministers during the same period", Quincy Howe tells us. Eton alone claims one-sixth of all the present members of Parliament and ten of Britain's prime ministers. This 'badge of the ruling class', 'the old school tie', that "proclaims that its wearer is not, thank God, as other men", is interestingly explained by Edward Acheson in "The Old School Tie", *Esquire*, April, 1937. He tells us that Stanley Baldwin, in forming a Government, called to his ministry six old Harrovian school-chums. (7)

Professor John Hilton of Cambridge University, England, in January, 1938, carried to Oxford his crusade inveighing against the caste system and the Public Schools. There he reported that 52 of 56 bishops, 19 of 24 deans, 122 of 156 county court judges and recorders, 152 of 210 civil servants paid more than £1000 annually, and 20 of 21 cabinet ministers are public school men. "To get a place in these 'reserved stalls'," he says, "you must have been at the right school and be entitled through life to wear the right school tie". (8)

In "Understanding the English", 1937, James Howard Wellard, who has lived in America long enough to understand his countrymen, attempts to explain to Americans the major mysteries of the "old school tie", but warns them that they "will find it difficult to envisage a state in which some 95 per cent of the population receive no formal education at all". Of course, they have gone to school, but as they "have not attended an exclusive public school . . . they have not, in the English sense, acquired an education". They have not learned to "speak in a certain superior manner, dress with the passionless formality which so impresses the outside world, and generally conduct themselves with that formidable aloofness which, together with boiled shirts, upholds the empire in the most remote corners of the earth".

"In the manipulation of information the British are past masters. They had a lot of experience in molding opinion as they built up the Empire. Every device to paint their own activities as commendable and the activities of others as abhorrent, was carefully studied out. Most of the African Empire was acquired under the device of abolishing slavery; but when Mussolini gave that reason for the invasion of Ethiopia it was scorned and belittled. The idea is to make mountains out of molehills and molehills out of mountains—depending on whether Britain or some other nation commits an act likely to arouse public protest." This is quoted from "Looking Behind The Censorships", 1938, by Eugene J. Young, cable editor of the *New York Times* and a life long foreign news man. Adolph S. Ochs, former owner of the *Times* revealed how, at the Washington Arms Conference of 1921-22 it was arranged that Britain should police the Atlantic, America the Pacific, "our main fleet being kept in it as a restraint on the ambitious Japan. This arrangement also was intended to safeguard Canada, Australia and New Zealand and to keep China open for British trade and protect the vast British interests."

New volumes are constantly appearing which record the old boy's adherence to and belief in the brutal crudities of the English Public School. The new head master at Eton won applause demonstrating his vigor by personally flogging one hundred and ten boys in his first year. (9)

In the popular story and play "The House Master" by Ian Hay, the

humor resides in the old primitive, sadistic, Aristophanic delight at seeing the helpless subjected to pain and obliged to take it with apparent gratitude, smouldering within, while the smug inflictor comforts himself with a sense of righteousness. The master was disappointed in love in his youth and lived a sex-starved life. 'She' died and leaves twin boy and girl orphans to his care. Famed for his strong right arm and accurate and steady eye, he has just finished 'caning the boy' when the twin sister and two of her girl friends arrive from Paris to stay with him. Here is an erotic complex of the kind that appeals to old men who collect curios and erotica and which seems especially to delight school masters. There is no great harm in such eroticism if one recognizes it for what it is. But when a people practice eroticism and sadism in the name of altruism and righteousness, they are hypocrites, mentally and morally deformed.

FATAL LOYALTY

The 'old school tie' still holds, among the 'civil servants' of India. Oblivious to the superiority of the Indian, esthetically and spiritually, subconsciously sadistic because of his education and proud that he could 'take the cane', the Public School boy with a sense of righteousness flogs, tortures and degrades what he calls 'natives', whose ancestors were cultivated men when his own were what he would consider crude barbarians. The punitive expeditions he organizes against the freedom loving hill men of the border follow, too, the pattern of the school master in purpose and righteousness.

Perhaps it is because of the 'old school tie' that it is the fate of the British Empire to be run by those whom it conquers,—Scotch, Welsh, Boers; that its royalty have been German since Queen Anne's time, so many of its statesmen Jews. All these escaped the Public School.

In India for two generations the saying has been current among those who know,—"India was conquered by the Irish, is administered by the British for the benefit of the Scotch". The fighting quality of the Irish and the loyalty of the English 'civil servants' made it possible for the shrewd Scotch to control the companies that in their hey-day paid big dividends. Since then the Armenian, the Greek, the Jew, the Parsee, and the Hindu himself have reduced British dividends. Once the camel gets its head inside the tent. . . .

There is nothing new about this method. When the boys who wear the 'old school tie' act together as they do under orders from above, the Constitution may be set aside. Major Gen. J. E. B. Seely, soldier, statesman and sportsman who served in the Boer War and the House of Commons, as Secretary of State had more to do with organizing England for the Great War than any other one man. In his autobiography "Ad-

venture" (reviewed in the 15th ed, 1931, p 91) he tells us how for an hour in 1914 the British Constitution was suspended while millions were provided for the "Intelligence Service" that brought England and her allies into the War. But Seely is strong in denouncing the famed "hardening" system of producing English gentlemen. He sees it as a subtle source of weakness rather than the key to British imperial success as it is ordinarily held to be. England and her colonies are strewn with psychopathic wrecks in high places who were created in the English public schools by flogging methods.

THE WRECKERS

In his "Retreat From Reason", 1938, Lancelot Hogben, one of the young intellectual giants that England still occasionally produces, virile biologist and mathematician of the London School of Economics, explains how blundering leaders have brought England to decadence. (10)

"The educational system of Western civilization grew with no pre-science of the gargantuan resources which natural science would place at our disposal for better or worse. . . . The training of the statesman and the man of letters gives him no prevision of the technical forces which are shaping the society in which he lives. The machinery of educational selection operates to recruit the nation's statesman from those who can talk glibly, write elegantly and argue forcibly without the capacity to act competently. . . . If democracy can produce only leaders who can talk it is doomed, and we can only hope to preserve it by a policy of educational selection which favours competence more than fluency." (11)

Professor Hogben in his address before the British Institute of Adult Education in September, 1937, said, "The task of salvaging democracy is a positive one. We shall not resist the challenge of dictatorship and the downward path from militarism to barbarism if we are content to defend a democracy which had ceased to satisfy the social aspirations of men and women. The educational task of salvaging democracy is to canalise the will to constructive social innovation by asserting the reasonable grounds for hopefulness in the human experiment and to distribute knowledge which can be instrumental in the co-operative task of social reconstruction."

"The system now in operation is not the capitalist system; it is a system of Government control of the business machine in all countries, a control for which Governments have had no training and of which they have had little or no understanding. Moreover, their mental equipment is totally unsuited for the constructive effort needed to cause the machine to operate freely and effectively." The words are those of Sir George Paish, formerly adviser to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in "The Way

Out", 1937. He is discussing "The Political and Economic Problems that Constitute a World Danger". By government, which he personifies, he means the Public School boys who are running it. He also knows that behind them, the puppets, are other forces. "Every nation in the world is in fact pursuing a policy which if continued will amount to political and economic suicide. . . . What the present situation demands is not so much physical courage, which the peoples possess in superabundance, but moral courage, the courage to stand for what is just and generous and for the common good." (12)

Brooks Adams understood this. He and his brother knew England, when their father was American ambassador. In "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma", 1919, he wrote, "Today Great Britain and America, like the parts of some gigantic saurian which has been severed in a prehistoric contest, seem half unconsciously to be trying to unite in an economic organism, perhaps to be controlled by a syndicate of bankers who will direct the movements of the putative governments of this enormous aggregation of vested interests independent of the popular will". (13)

NOTES

(1) The late G. K. Chesterton was doubtful that the 'old school tie' had 'saved England'. In his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" he paid tribute to 'The men that worked for England, they have their graves at home. . . . They that fought for England . . . they have their graves afar. . . . And they that rule in England in stately conclave met, alas, alas, for England, they have no graves as yet.' The discriminatingly intelligent still share Chesterton's feeling. Eric T. Bell, internationally known Caltech mathematician, Scot born, Public School educated, writes me, Oct. 29, 1940, "The British Cabinet and the British military leaders in the present mess, as usual, are running true to form, the 'Lower Sixth'".

Vincent Sheean, writing on "The Tory Leaders", *Harpers*, Feb., 1942, tells us, "The political system is today precisely what it was before the war and very nearly what it was before 1914". Dos Passos in the same issue reminds us that the Commons in 1935 "was elected to be a house of deadheads and it is. . . . There has been no revolution, to be sure; top dog is still top dog." Demaree Bess in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 5, 1944, makes clear that there is no revolution, the forces of imperialism are stronger than ever. (Cf "War and Education", pp 194-5, 202-4)

The Education Bill which finally passed the Lords with amendments August 5, 1944, was promoted as a revolutionary act, hailed as a great advance. It is true that for the first time it makes the teaching of religion compulsory. A later announcement warned that it would not be put into effect before 1946. The people of England are being given the same run around by the Tories as after the First World War.

(2) "They Wanted To Be Gentlemen", in the 1939 edition of the Handbook, dealt at length with "the system of training and conditioning by which the modern type of English gentleman has been perfected". Only a few paragraphs are here reprinted:

The English gentleman we may trace from that hypocritical old Polonius, Chesterfield, who laid down Walpolian lines of conduct for his son, through the writings of Vaughan Wilkins,—“Endless Prelude”, “And So Victoria”,—which depict the brutalities of earlier centuries up to the vicious vulgarities of the Georgian gentleman who “was about to excite the admiration of a bourgeois world” as the perfect Victorian type. Queen Victoria knew and possessed in the “insufferable German prig”, the Prince Consort, her beau ideal of the English gentleman. With competition from many new sources, “the genuine gentlemen had to modify and mend their ways in many respects. . . . A certain embarrassed reserve and shyness became a trait of repressed English gentlemen”. One may read of them in Henry Dwight Sedgwick’s “In Praise of Gentlemen”. The Continental and the American who would practice the profession of gentlemen just fail to attain the supreme.

At his best, the traveled Englishman of intellectual type in poise, mellow suavity, outward graciousness, is surpassed only by the Chinese gentleman of more ancient lineage and culture. One can hardly name exemplars, though he may have met them, and few have achieved lasting fame. Gladstone was a dissenting non-conformist reformer, Matthew Arnold a good deal of a front, Morley something of a scholar, and Rosebery of the landed aristocracy. One would not speak of these as English gentlemen. They were more, they were less.

An anthropologist can distinguish individuals of races by measurements. Carleton Coon tells us in “The Races of Europe” (cf *Life*, April 3, 1939), “If all the people of Europe should one day undress, scrub themselves clean, shave their heads and assemble in one place without saying a word, anthropologists could finally separate them into their true sub-races. The separation would have nothing to do with their languages, costumes, national flags, manners, haircuts or smells.” But an anthropologist cannot tell a boor from a gentleman that way. Even an autopsy wouldn’t help. He may tell his occupation from his physical and bony structure,—tailor or sailor. But the physical structure that distinguishes the gentleman from the boor is not so obvious. The easy way to become a ‘gentleman’ is to ingratiate oneself with the more successful of an acquisitive society. By observation and imitation one may acquire their ways. To become a gentleman involves only a change of behavior patterns, for it is manners that make the gentleman.

The Norman nobleman had with difficulty been convinced that reading and writing were essential to being ‘cultured’. The trader, the merchant, who came in the wake of the freebooter, needed no compulsion and was desirous of adopting the manner of the nobleman. The trader became a gentleman. The prejudices of the upper classes against trade persisted long after they were nourished on it, and they maintained their defense mechanism against tradesmen, who, *declassé*, still come to the back door. But the older peerage was built on the wealth of the nabobs and the loot of the Empire, and the more recent peers were traders or oil magnates, yesterday, if not tomorrow. Sir Robert Peel, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* tells us, was “a scion of that new aristocracy of wealth which sprang from the rapid progress of mechanical discovery and manufactures in the latter part of the eighteenth century. His ancestors were Yorkshire yeomen. . . . His grandfather was a calico-printer . . . who took to cotton-spinning with the spinning-jenny and grew a wealthy man. . . . His father . . . carried on the same business . . . made a princely fortune . . . was a trusted supporter of Pitt, contributed munificently towards the support of that leader’s war policy, and was rewarded

with a baronetcy (1800)."

It was left for Robert Briffault to flay alive these gentlemen, product of the Public School, in "The Decline and Fall of the British Empire", 1938. "When the immemorial absolute rulers found themselves obliged to share their power with the bourgeois classes... the new industrial magnates of Manchester and Birmingham became eligible to membership of London's most exclusive gentlemen's club." What constituted a gentleman became a matter of great importance to these new arrivals, "and half Victorian literature became devoted to defining and illustrating it". The newer they were to the business, the more important it was that they should manifest the highest qualities of the English gentleman.

"The social revolution necessitated that tradesmen's sons should be converted into gentlemen. . . . With the spirit of their new burgher patrons, they became more religious, as well as more snobbish and exclusive. As expressed by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, whose writings offer a matchless storehouse of solemn silliness, the aim was no longer to produce gentlemen merely, but Christian gentlemen". But the education of a Christian gentleman is confined to those who can pay the high price and overcome the snobbish, snubish barriers of entrance. The scholarships for 'foundationers' go to the sons of multimillionaires or archbishops.

"The English public schools are institutions for the manufacture of gentlemen, a process which they carry out with admirable efficiency. The social revolution necessitated that tradesmen's sons should be converted into gentlemen. And so successfully has the alchemical operation been effected that a gentleman has come to be definable as the product of the public schools", says Briffault. "From being originally intended for the manufacture of priests", the Public Schools "became adapted to the manufacture of gentlemen".

Harold Laski in his "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time", 1943, writes, "We are paying now a heavy price for that partnership of gentleman, lawyer and business man to whose hands, for two centuries and a half, our destiny has been confided. They built a dualistic Britain in which there was absent that full interpenetration of mind between classes which we now require. We had two systems of education; we had an army in which, as Mr. Lloyd George has told us, birth and deportment were more important than intelligence; we had a church in which 'good form' was more important than either saintliness or learning; we had a diplomacy whose practitioners were hardly even aware of the existence of nine-tenths of the population in the states to which they were accredited. . . . It is a system which . . . until quite recently . . . has had a sense of security which enabled it to display a gracious tolerance hardly known elsewhere. . . . We have lived so long upon the accumulated results of our primacy that we adjust ourselves with difficulty to the idea that the canons of survival are no longer those by which our primacy was won."

(3) *Punch*, Oct. 4, 1940, with tears in its linotype declared in its "humble opinion . . . this country has sadly neglected the vital problem of providing Americans with opportunities for hearing the British point of view put over with authority; and at whatever cost in money, first-class speakers whose reputations are above suspicion, should now be sent across the Atlantic". How this was carried out is explained in "100 British Propagandists in America" in "Getting U S Into War", pp 241-4.

(4) For the significance of Runciman's little publicized but effective stay at the White House in January, 1937, before he was sent to Czechoslovakia, see "Getting U S Into War", pp 51, 53.

(5) The New World, since the time of Cortez and Pizarro, has been a source of wealth successively to Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, England. After the close of World War I it dawned upon us that we had given much to Britain and received little. A cartoonist presented the situation vividly in the portrayal of an earnest but worn cow spanning the Atlantic, feeding voraciously on the American continent while its distended udder was being milked strenuously on the opposite shore.

(6) The servitors of the Empire, trained in their Public Schools that England can do no wrong, have been castigated by members of their own caste who have awakened to their enormities. Philip Gibbs in "Across the Frontiers" is politely pessimistic. Geoffrey Garratt in his stinging "Mussolini's Roman Empire" is caustic. But A. G. Macdonell in his novel "Autobiography of a Cad", without emotional animus pictures familiarly, ironically, the parvenu Etonian-Oxonian, the nouveau peer, ruthless, greedy, vicious, curiously depraved, disgustingly mean. Repressive measures came easily to those who had brought the blessings of civilization to the ancient cultures of India and the East, and hold the milder people of the world in indentured servitude. These same wearers of the "old school tie", we learn from an AP dispatch March 28, 1939, opposed in Parliament the measure to abolish the "cat o' nine tails" in the navy on the ground that it was only for mutiny and "closely allied offenses", and in peace time limited to twenty-five lashes. In prisons, they argued, it deterred housebreakers. And for children, the blessing of corporal punishment, "being quickly over, leaves behind . . . less deleterious effects upon the offender than more drawn-out retribution". (Cf 23rd ed, 1939, pp 51-2)

Retribution or rehabilitation was the question raised by John D. Rockefeller, III, in *Life*, Oct. 26, 1942. Young Rockefeller was named chairman of the New York Community Service Society's Committee on Youth and Justice in 1939. "Rehabilitation—where possible—has been substituted for 'punishment and expiation', not simply because it is more humane, but because it is the most practical method of 'protecting society'. And that, after all, is the purpose of our criminal justice. Until the average young offender is looked upon as a youth in trouble, not a dangerous criminal; until the correctional institution is considered simply as one of the community's agencies offering specialized care for young people, and not as society's last resort for the vicious; until the public accepts the problem of youthful crime as its own responsibility to be dealt with understandingly, and not written off like a bad debt—until that time, I believe the crime toll of the country will increase and society will continue to play a losing game with itself." (Cf "War and Education", pp 332-3)

(7) The 'old school tie' binds those of a class who have been trained at the same school. Characteristic is Mr. Baldwin's loyalty as related in his autobiographical volume "On England": "When the call came to me to form a government, one of my first thoughts was that it should be a government of which Harrow should not be ashamed. I remembered how in previous governments there had been four or, perhaps, five Harrovians, and I determined to have six. To make a cabinet is like making a jig-saw puzzle fit, and I managed to make my six fit by keeping the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer for myself. . . . I will, with God's help, do nothing in the course of an arduous and difficult career which shall cause any Harrovian to say of me that I have failed to do my best to live up to the highest ideals of the School." "Blest be the tie that binds their hearts in Christian love."

(8) In 1927 "R. H. Tawney discovered that of 735 bishops, deans, lords of appeal, county court judges, civil servants, directors of banks and railways, and governors of dominions, 524 had been educated at public schools. . . . In 1938 Rodgers found 20 of 21 cabinet members, 52 of 56 bishops" (Mack, Vol. II, "Public Schools and British Opinion", pp 383-4). Later figures are given in "Tory M. P.", 1939, and Humby and James, 1942 (cf "War and Education", pp 170, 173, 183-4). In the 1939 edition of the Handbook, we reported on this trend more fully under the title "Schools for Imperialists", pp 61-2:

From the time of the 'Glorious Revolution' and the accession of the merchant class to power, increasingly the statesmen of England have been Public School boys. Westminster, Mack tells us, "was attended in its early eighteenth-century days of glory by the sons of the politically ascendant Whig oligarchy. . . . 'By the end of Busby's time Westminster was become a nursery of statesmen'. From Westminster the idea spread to Eton and later on to Harrow."

The report of the Parliamentary Commission of 1864 to investigate conditions in the nine schools denominated 'Public' resulted in significant permanent changes,—"other subjects except the classics . . . introduced, other disciplines except flogging initiated. . . . The Victorian school . . . was primarily a mint for the coining of Empire builders."

After imperialism became the religion of the English people under the influence of Disraeli, and later Joe Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, the Public Schools accepted this religion as their own. They became training schools for the civil service. "The English Public School of the late nineteenth century became directly a training ground for the leaders and servants of the Empire. In a sense this is what the schools had always been, but from the fifties on they were more exclusively, intensely, and effectively so. . . . For the schools the new imperialism was all important." About the only man since then who has been able to force himself to the top without the Public School stamp is Lloyd George. Eton, which has produced ten Prime Ministers and supplied one-sixth of the members of the Commons, is generally regarded (*Time*, June 13, 1938) as the "traditional training ground for Britain's ruling 'Gentlemen'".

"The British Civil Servant", by Professor W. A. Robson of London University and twelve other experts, tells us, "The Diplomatic and Foreign office staff, for which nomination is required, contains scarcely any one who is not related to or patronized by the aristocracy or the narrow circle of high society. . . . The universities of London and of the provincial towns . . . find their students, drawn largely from the lower social strata, virtually debarred from entry into the highest grades of the service", in spite of the "relative importance of the work those universities are doing in the social sciences". Mr. Leonard Barnes, formerly in the British Colonial Office, tells us in the same book, that of 432 higher posts filled 1927-1929, 81% went to Oxford and Cambridge.

(9) The famous head masters of England who have been crowned and haloed and had biographies written about them or kept diaries or written their own autobiographies, all seem to have taken pride in their floggings. In "The Future of Education", the separately printed introduction to the 28th edition, 1944, the whole subject of discipline and the purpose and psychology of punishment is dealt with, pp 163-80. The word 'discipline' comes from the Latin 'disciplinare', to flog. Medical authorities use the term 'pedophilia' for "fondness for children" . . . which leads a pervert to brutally mistreat . . . a small boy or girl. . . . 'It is characterized by early development of cruelty, egotism, a disregard for the rights

of others . . . and a complete inability to recognize any personal responsibility" (cf *Boston Herald*, August, 1944).

(10) Hogben's main thesis is that "the Retreat from Reason is the penalty we are paying for an inherent dichotomy in the way we educate people". His attack on the liberal tradition is merciless. For further treatment of this subject, consult "The Future of Education", pp 71-4, 85-112, 129-52, 185-98,— "Dichotomy in Education", "Who Shall Be Educated and How?", "A Liberal Education", "A Scientific Training", "Humanists and Scientists", "Classicists in Retreat", "Organized Reaction", "Liberalizing Liberal Education".

(11) Bobbie Burns in his time asked, "What's all the language of your schools, your Latin names for horns and stools, if Mother Nature made you fools, what serves your grammars? You'd better taken up spades and shools (shovels) and knappin hammers. A set of dull conceited hashes confuse their brains in college classes, they go in stirks and come out asses, plain truth to speak, and then they think to climb Parnassus by dint of Greek."

(12) "The Most Powerful Man in the World", 1938, tells of one of these behind-the-scenes manipulators, Sir Henri Deterding. It is written by one of his former secretaries, Glyn Roberts. A Hollander, never a British citizen, Deterding was a knight of the British Empire and spent his last years in Berlin and Switzerland promoting Nazism and endeavoring to destroy the Soviets. (Cf "Getting U S Into War")

(13) England was once an independent country producing its own food. The wealth of the New World seized by Spain tempted Drake and Hawkins to piratical ventures. Easy wealth led to the seizure of the slave trade and the Eastern trade, which led to exploitation, control, imperialism, a commercial and economic system based on exchange of raw materials for manufactured products. To maintain the system it became necessary to control India, and China through her Customs, to retard industrialization.

The population of England has multiplied with its Empire and trade. As Churchill has said, and all enlightened Englishmen know, two out of ten of the population are dependent on India (cf "War and Education", pp 100, 196, 201, 205). "Every fifth man in Great Britain is dependent, either directly or indirectly, on our Indian connection for his livelihood", affirms Geoffrey Tyson of the staff of *Capital*. Lord Rothermere in his *Daily Mail*, June 3, 1930, asserted that at least four shillings in the pound of the national income came from India. "Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old-age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all the other State allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of the automatic routine of existence."

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PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS OF THE PAST

Each phase of the educational program, type of school, subject of the curriculum, now protected and treasured by conservatives, was once triumphantly put over by radicals against opposition.

In no phase of human behavior, perhaps, is it so difficult to effect change as in the training of the young. It's natural that man should want to create his children in his own image, to see his own customs and beliefs perpetuated by them. Rationalizing his egoism, he holds learnedly that he is transmitting the culture of the race, reverentially that he is handing down the traditions of the past. Puberty rites in primitive tribes, commencement ceremonies today, afford the old men of the tribe opportunity to impress upon youth the sacredness of ancestral ways.

CORRUPTERS OF YOUTH

Rarely does a parent or child lover have the drive or the courage to break the tabus, to advocate new ways for children. Such have always been denounced as corrupters of youth. Shakespeare makes Jack Cade in "Henry VI" charge Lord Say with having "most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar-school". But Lord Say replies that "ignorance is the curse of God, knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven". The love of wisdom had for its main task the examination and rejection of everything false and meaningless, the elimination of useless practices, the questioning of things held sacred.

Heretics have always broken away from the ranks of the regimented. It is inevitable that in the past, as today, there should have been what we call 'progressive movements' in education. It may be something of a shock to the Essentialists to accept the idea that what is orthodox in our schools today was introduced, against righteous opposition, by the persistence of some disturbing heretic. Bitterly fought by the conservative and the orthodox was the insistence, by the progressives of the time, on reading and writing for Norman nobles, on Latin for other than priests.

ANCESTRAL PROGRESSIVES

In the medieval monasteries, while the European languages were taking form, Latin continued to be spoken and preserved in manuscript. But not all priests or monks could read and write. Most repeated the Latin service by rote. Few were trained in the art of making the so much admired illuminated manuscripts, surpassed only by the Persian. Schools grew up in connection with monastic establishments, for the training of

acolytes. Eventually youth who were to become not priests but clerks or scribes were taught reading and writing, Latin of course.

In response to the pressure for alms-giving, half the realm of England had by Henry VIII's time come to the Church. Hospitals and foundations for poor boys and other eleemosynary institutions directed by priests and monks multiplied. Some of these, too, without any thought of training for the priesthood, introduced the teaching of reading and writing,—a dangerous innovation that was to make trouble for authorities in centuries to come. From such monkish and charitable ecclesiastical origins have come our European and American schools and colleges.

"William of Wykeham was a genuine innovator, though he had indirect precedents for his foundations in monasteries and hospitals housing the poor, and in educational colleges at Oxford, particularly Merton", Mack tells us. "Wykeham, who had endowed New College at Oxford for the training of seventy scholars in theology, canon and civil law, and the arts discovered that his candidates were pitifully poor and woefully ignorant of Latin." So he established Winchester, a "boarding-school for prospective secular priests" too poor to pay for instruction in the necessary preliminaries to his theological college. A poor man was defined as "one having no more than five marks a year". Winchester has long been recognized as "the first semi-independent collegiate foundation whose primary object was a school". Mack gives little weight to those 'indirect precedents' which recently have become Public Schools and pressed their claims for priority because of early eleemosynary endowment.

PROTESTANT REFORMERS

Poor boys, churchmen, noblemen, had been the beneficiaries of the earlier school innovations. Then came the middle class, developing as the result of growing trade and mercantile interests. With their rise, amid the rumblings of the Reformation, they protested many things and demanded schooling for themselves. These merchant commoners insisted that they too should have Latin. They wanted to know about what the learned and the priests were talking and reading. (1)

The Latin Grammar School came into existence to meet this demand. It was much more revolutionary than any progressive school we have today. It made available to the common people learning that had previously been confined within the monasteries. Once this learning and knowledge of the classics broke out of the monasteries and became common property, change and reformation and revolution were sure to come.

The need for Latin satisfied, the Protestant ministers, when the Renaissance had revealed the Greek texts in the originals, insisted on in-

struction in Greek that they might read the New Testament. (2) "The Protestant reformers had clear ideas of why they wanted to teach the things they taught at the time at which they taught them and, therefore, did not need to rely on the obscurantist device that Greek is worth studying for its own sake", Lancelot Hogben tells us in his trenchant essay "Retreat From Reason". Greek brought knowledge of Plato and his recommendation of Euclid, which came into the curriculum as a part of classical culture, not as mathematical training.

Latin Grammar Schools multiplied. Newly rich business men founded Harrow in 1570 and Rugby in 1567 as country Grammar Schools for the local poor, Mack tells us. "Harrow remained . . . virtually a local grammar school until 1721", when it achieved popularity largely due to the Jacobitism of Eton and Winchester. "To many Etonians the school on the Hill has always seemed a *nouveau riche* upstart." Shrewsbury, chartered and endowed by Edward VI in 1551, was essentially a municipal undertaking, a town grammar school, instigated by the bailiffs and burgesses of Shrewsbury and governed by them, though in the 19th century it was remodeled on Rugby lines, following Arnold.

Many of the great and famous Public Schools were grammar schools in their beginning. As E. L. Woodward writes in "The Age of Reform, 1815-1870" ("The Oxford History of England", 1938), "The distinction between public schools and grammar schools had grown up during the eighteenth century; the former were merely those grammar schools which had escaped the general decadence of educational foundations, increased their staff, and taken boarders. The boarders solved the financial problem. . . . The decline in the grammar schools was also the result of a change in social habit. During the eighteenth century many tradesmen's sons went to Eton and Winchester; the next hundred years brought a stricter segregation of classes. The change was due not merely to social exclusiveness but also to a greater care about the environment in which children were brought up. The private schools came into existence for the same reasons."

ESSENTIALISTS AND PROGRESSIVES 200 YEARS AGO

The mercantile classes on their way up were promoters of a constantly progressive education that would help in their aggrandizement. The teaching of Latin to the commoners, of Greek to the Protestant parsons, of Euclid to the schoolboy, were all progressive steps, fads and frills, introduced against opposition to meet current demand.

Those who can see nothing to gain and have something they fear to lose, must resist change. The Norman noble, perhaps, would have done better had he stuck to his two-handed sword instead of taking up the

pen. Governor Berkeley early in the seventeenth century thanked God that in Virginia there were no free schools and no free press. Their multiplication since has made lots of trouble for the world.

Locke, the seventeenth century philosopher (1632-1704), modernist though he was, stood out against the current progressive idea of sending gentlemen to schools. "Vice and corruption, he felt, were growing in society, and they started at school. Locke therefore urged parents not to send their children to Public Schools, but to keep them at home and, by a regime of discipline and denial, teach them correct moral habits", Mack tells us. Vice was seen in the things objected to by Locke and by others, as "a monster of hideous mien".

Defoe (1660-1730), on the other hand, in his "Compleat English Gentleman" combated the idea that the aristocracy did not need to have schooling, "that to be a good sportsman is the perfection of education, and to speak good dog language and good horse language is far above Greek and Latin". He maintained that "an untaught, unpolished, gentleman is one of the most deplorable objects in the world".

In "The Foolish Methods of Education Among the Nobility", the greatest of all English satirists, Swift (1667-1745) laid on to the landed gentry who believed that "to dance, fence, speak French, and know how to behave yourself among great persons of both sexes, comprehends the whole duty of a gentleman". Swift sought to "prove that some proportion of human knowledge appears requisite to those who by their birth or fortune are called to the making of laws".

The progressive educational standards of Defoe and Swift were derided by aristocracy and gentry. As one officer said to Swift, "Do you think my Lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin?"

GRAMMAR TO WIN OUR LIBERTIES

English grammar was a frill and a fad, introduced against great opposition early in the nineteenth century. Something of this was due to that Scotsman Adam Smith, a radical progressive in education, as in economics, who was dissatisfied that a boy with a Public School education could "come into the world completely ignorant of everything which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world". A Public School boy could write a poem in Latin, but he couldn't necessarily write good English. He had no instruction.

In his "Wealth of Nations", somewhat "infected by Locke's preoccupation with usefulness", Adam Smith deplored the deadening effect of security on the Public Schools, which because endowed did not respond to the needs of the time and continued to teach Greek and Latin instead of useful subjects. But, depending in part on pupils' fees, "the public

schools are much less corrupted than the universities".

The early part of the nineteenth century was a bad time for liberties, but it engendered a great struggle which culminated in the Chartist movement and the Corn Laws and much advance and reform. The advocates of liberty, coming from the lower classes, were handicapped by their inability to use the English language correctly and effectively in presenting petitions and defending their prerogatives.

William Cobbett (1766-1835), one of these reformers who had attacked the flogging of troops (cf "The Future of Education", p 174) was obliged in 1817 to flee to America. From Long Island he wrote his letters on "English Grammar" for a working boy, ten thousand copies of which were sold within a month. "While you will see . . . the banished William Prynne returning to liberty . . . then accusing, bring to trial . . . the tyrants from whose hands he and his country had unjustly and cruelly suffered . . . you ought all to bear in mind that without a knowledge of grammar, Mr. Prynne could never have performed any of those acts . . . which have caused his name to be held in honour." Nor could Cobbett have won his fight. Returning to England, he was elected to Parliament and served during the period of reform up to 1835. As result of his agitation, English grammar was finally accepted as a subject of the curriculum. It helped many a working man and common man to better present his plea. Through the schools it helped to break the power of the sword and the scaffold. He wrote, "When you come to read the history of those laws of England by which the freedom of the people has been secured . . . you will find that tyranny has no enemy so formidable as the pen."

Today we get along very well without the pen, but our stenographer needs a typewriter. But as Hogben tells us in "Retreat From Reason", "Our educational system has ceased to be an instrument to assert the liberties of the country, or indeed to have any intelligible objective. . . . We have inherited from the Reformation an education system which has no relevance to the immediate social tasks of our generation, and our political leaders are products of that system."

THE BOARDING SCHOOL INNOVATION

It has so long been orthodox to send boys away to boarding school at the age of six that it is difficult for the English to realize that the boarding school was their greatest educational innovation. Gradually, against opposition, public schooling came to supersede the private tutoring of the Middle Ages. All schooling and education had been private except that for poor boys, for whom there were eleemosynary institutions. Modern public education would have seemed indecently exhibitionist

in earlier times. In the Mohammedan world till relatively recently education of all girls and younger boys was in the harem. The education of females in public in some Mohammedan countries would still be considered outrageous.

The two-handed-sword men who with William the Bastard conquered the Saxons of England looked down on clerks and scribes, though they had occasion at times to use them. The education of the Norman knight for the life he was to lead necessitated training in the arts of war, the tournament, the court, in hunting, hawking, riding, jousting. Naturally they were travelers. Their French possessions and love of conquest took them across the Channel, the Crusades to Palestine. The sons of gentlemen had private tutors to prepare them for foreign travel and to speak other languages. With the coming of the Lombard merchants and Italian customs, culture and Renaissance, Italian tutors were employed. Mack tells us "the older sons had tutors and learned little except vice; many travelled abroad". In the writings of Milton and Montaigne we find some survivals of these old ideals as to the education of a gentleman.

The taking of these noble scions out of their ancestral castles and putting them away from home in monastic institutions was a drastically progressive step. It was "their younger sons intended for trade or the professions" that these noble families first sent to boarding schools. Not till the eighteenth century did the older sons leave their fathers' roof for 'public schooling'.

WHAT IS A 'PUBLIC SCHOOL'?

The term 'Public School' is recent. Two hundred years ago few indeed would have known what was meant by it. Up to 1840 there were only seven that were so called. "Englishmen have never been consistent at any period in their use of the word Public School." And there is still great confusion in the use of the term, so differently applied in England and America.

When Claude M. Fuess, head master of Andover, in 1938 visited the English Public Schools he was puzzled at the use of the term, he explains in his "Creed of a Schoolmaster", 1939. "Some of the more modern schools, such as Cheltenham (1841), Marlborough (1843), Lancing (1848), Oundle (1883), and Stowe (1923), have lately been competing with many of the older foundations on even terms. . . . Why these institutions, and others with strange names like Giggleswick and St. Bees and Wyggeston, should be called 'public schools' still remains a mystery. Dr. Paul Monroe, of Columbia University, speaking not long ago at Oxford, said: 'I came to England to see what education was like, and, of course, I visited the English public schools. I found they were called

English because the curriculum consisted of Latin and Greek; they were called public because they were attended by members of the aristocracy; and they were called schools because the boys spend their time at cricket and football.' Even assuming that Dr. Monroe was trying to be humorous, we must be puzzled by the word *public*, for these schools are far from being open to everybody." (3)

ANACHRONISTIC SURVIVALS

The prestige of the Public Schools grew with general acceptance and pressure for admission. They prospered, grew fat, stolid. There was no reason for change. They took pride in being old-fashioned, and made it a selling point. For the newly rich were anxious to magnify their association with ancient things. Nor is there anything unusual about this. The older aristocracy of England don't fill their houses with antiques. They may be there, but their furnishings are usually of the worst period of the 19th century. It is the nouveaux who have recently acquired culture that fill their houses with antiques.

The newly risen were more likely to regard with reverence the archaic features of the Public Schools than were the older families whose castles may have been more ancient than the schools. This reverential attitude, flattering to the Public Schools, led them to revive, perpetuate, create, and exaggerate the most absurd anachronisms. The 'trenchers', which at Winchester with pride they show to the awed and reverent visitor, are but greasy wooden squares cut off a piece of board, used in place of plates, turned over for the sweets. The vicious but assumedly beneficial practice of fagging and flogging is similarly a matter of vainglory. The parents proudly pay the bill for birches used on their sons' buttocks. Sadism is accepted as a sacrament.

And so commoners are by such strange customs and practices transformed into gentlemen and so certified by the Public School. The experience is not wholly pleasant, but the end is achieved. It is thus that the climbers are raised in the social scale and become acceptable for highest offices of church or state. Most pay their debt of gratitude in effusive and sentimental loyalty to the 'old school tie'.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The greater portion of the enormous bibliography on the Public Schools consists of contributions from reverential devotees. Writing, thinking men who have been put through the process are usually bitter in their satiric criticism. Amid the welter of words of these controversialists and antiquarians who have pitched upon the Public School as their quarry, it is difficult to disentangle the historic processes from tradition

and myth. "Many volumes have been written in praise or dispraise of the Public School system and in exposition of its characteristics, but comparatively little has been attempted by way of a critical understanding of the nature of its evolution, of the forces which have governed its development at various periods, and of the manner in which these pressures have translated themselves into Public School ideals and practices. . . . Public Schools have always responded, despite their inherent conservatism, to the pressure of historic forces. . . . Their system of education has been an accurate if tardy barometer of the needs and desires of the British upper classes."

The quotations are from "Public Schools and British Opinion: An Examination of the Relationship Between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution", London, 1938, which covers the period from 1780 to 1860. The author, Edward C. Mack, gives us a scientific, detailed, documented investigation. It provides the essential material for interpretation of the social significance of the English Public School, "viewed as the expression in education of the psychological, economic, and other forces that determined general and especially upper-class behavior". Now for the first time we may understand "the present nature of the school system which still educates a majority of England's upper-class youth" and the "forces which have governed British history". (4)

NOT SO HONORABLY ANCIENT

The mantle of hoary antiquity which the Public Schools have assumed and so proudly flaunted is stripped from them by Mack's researches. Only one dates from the fourteenth, one other from the fifteenth, a few from the sixteenth century.

The greatest buttress against change is the impression that things have always been as they are, that change would be disastrous. The exaggeration of age and tradition is part of the hocus pocus by which these Public Schools put it over on their nouveau clients. Similarly they rationalize their archaic methods and practices as an excuse for continuing to do what is easiest to do, what has been habitual. Every shred of tradition or evidence of antiquity is regarded as sacred. Harrow prides itself on "a body of tradition which appeals to the loyalty of its members". Even relatively new foundations in England exaggerate their age, as in American colleges we exaggerate the age of our so-called traditions. Head master Fuess in his "Creed of a Schoolmaster" writes, "Recently I have learned that St. Peter's, at York, claims officially to be 'several centuries older than Winchester' and that King's School, in Canterbury, according to its advertisement, 'has preserved its continuity from the beginning of

the 7th century to the present time'." There doubtless were stones there before that time. In fact there is lots of masonry in England that is Roman, and there are human artifacts that go back to the neolithic, and the tumuli back to the paleolithic.

THEY WERE SEVEN

In 1815 there were only seven Public Schools,—Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Westminster, and Charterhouse. And there were no more until 1840. As late as Lord Clarendon's royal commission of 1861-1864 only two additional were considered, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors'. Even Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury were of doubtful status before 1780, could not "be considered Public Schools at all until the 18th century, since that term implies national scope". Products of the 16th and 17th centuries, founded by laymen to bring to the poor the classical culture of the Renaissance, they have had checkered careers.

"The seven Public Schools were virtually independent", and "there were important differences". Nevertheless, they "exhibited a remarkable sameness in their entire political and social organization as well as in the education which they imparted. . . . All had foundations on which the poor were to receive a free education." Each possessed "unique individuality. . . . Past experiences or customs served as the models for present action. . . . Despite reverence for collective wisdom they had been influenced more or less by every important social and educational force of the day."

Winchester, Eton, and Westminster "from the beginning . . . were afflicted with inordinate conservatism. . . . Their wealth and prestige, which allowed them to fight off disaster, also permitted them to scorn agitation for reform and to develop tenacious traditions. They were administered by governing bodies who, since they continued to have Church affiliations long after education had become secularized, and, furthermore, had a vested interest in the status quo, were usually opposed to change."

Rugby and Harrow "with their small endowments" were dependent on the initiative of "a strong master", who "had at most times a virtually free hand in reforming their schools". So the "reformation of the Public School system in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" came "through Rugby, Harrow, Charterhouse, and Shrewsbury, and not through the older schools". But "with the growth of tradition and . . . with vested interests, Harrow and Rugby also became, later on, wedded to their past and less willing to borrow."

Continuing to bring forth after their kind, by the end of the nineteenth century "the scattered handful of semi-charitable institutions which

represented the Public School system in the sixteenth century had become a vast network of upper-class schools".

With the growth of the Empire, new families of fortune continued to feed the hoppers of these schools. As imperial trade developed, Scots who were loathsome creatures just two centuries before to an Englishman, Catholics who couldn't hold office in England until within recent time, Jews, Armenians, Syrians, Levantines, shrewd and acquisitive traders,—have continued to supply candidates. And the Public Schools have responded to the law of supply and demand. "To-day, with every school that has the slightest pretension of serving the upper classes calling itself a Public School, there is complete confusion."

"The Church . . . in addition to its business and political, as well as spiritual, contacts with the wealthiest classes, has an almost exclusive contact with the privileged younger generation through its domination of the exclusive educational institutions. About 80% of the masters and headmasters in the all-powerful and virtually exclusive 'public' schools are either clergymen, or Churchmen trained in the traditions of Oxford and Cambridge, which are still Church of England strongholds." This is quoted from Randolph Leigh's "Conscript Europe", 1938. (5)

Not until 1877 was it possible to enter Oxford or Cambridge without taking an oath that you were a member and supporter of the Established Church. The Public Schools are still largely in the hands of the Established Church and its priests. "Education in England, that is to say the kind of education that leads with reasonable sureness to success, is the closely guarded monopoly of the rich. For the children of the well-to-do there are 400 small elementary schools and about 150 'public' schools, i.e., schools 'run in the public interest' or more correctly, to fit rich boys for . . . choice posts in the Empire." Mack remarks, "By the eighteenth century, when Public School education had become both useless and ineffective, it had become the 'thing to do' to go to a Public School. Snobbery and conservatism preserved what merit had won." This snobbishness and segregation of classes Dr. Stephen Gwynn denounces as "the curse of English life". In his "Great English Public Schools and Educational Endowments" Harold F. Wilkins speaks of "this festering sore . . . this subtle alienation from poor children of the endowments bequeathed by their founders. . . . It is ironical to call these schools public."

The Public Schools have become "highly individualized institutions which looked for guidance to their own pasts, taught chiefly the classics, relied for discipline largely on flogging, and, through being miniature worlds, imbued their pupils with self-reliance and group solidarity. . . . New social classes with new needs . . . objected to school immorality:

for political and other reasons they fought the idea of schools as closed upper-class preserves." (6)

THE ENGLISH TRADITION

The Public School has shown marvelous power of adaptation. From an eleemosynary and monkish foundation for sniveling poor boys, it has come to serve the progeny of profiteering potentates of a growing Empire, to prepare the hard bitten servants of the British raj. But as trade declines and dividends decrease and the Empire decays, as Commonwealths multiply, as the rot of real democracy invades the structure of imperialism, these ancient foundations will doubtless, as in the past, prove progressive, adapt themselves graciously to new functions, preserving all the charm and mellowness of their assumed antiquity.

They will be carrying on the English tradition of adaptability. The Roman Catholic Church, the British constitution, and the English educational tradition all owe their continuity and survival to their capacity to adapt themselves. Unyielding to the temporary winds of opinion, they store up potentialities, conserving until change is inevitable. Then with their reserve energy they gracefully and graciously take command and keep up a front of continuity. In the development of English institutions, governmental, educational and religious, "Continuity has been the dominant characteristic", David L. Keir tells us in "The Constitutional History of Modern Britain, 1485-1937", 1938. "Yet continuity has not meant changelessness: Ancient institutions have been ceaselessly adapted to meet purposes very different from those for which they were originally intended."

So the Norman nobleman gave up the most ancient of educational traditions, private education, in favor of 'public schooling'. The newly rich merchant families, traders, nabobs, returning from the far stretches of the earth with empire loot, as Thackeray pictures them, faced the problem of penetrating the indurated social strata, much more difficult in eighteenth century England than today. For their sons, their problem was to gain admission to the schools for gentlemen. Theirs not to question the why of Public School methods or practices, theirs but to submit, that their sons might receive the stamp of 'gentleman'. So the ancient disciplines remained unquestioned, unshaken.

AMERICAN ADAPTATIONS

Education in America is an inheritance, a survival, and a development. Like ourselves, it comes from Europe, chiefly from England, with strong and repeated influences from Germany. But the profound influence of English Public Schools on modern American private schools makes

Mack's study of great importance.

In England the Public Schools, diverted to the making of gentlemen out of tradesmen, became snobbish and archaic. In America, too, parents have looked upon education as a means of getting their children into a higher economic or social stratum. That accounts in part for the enormous increase in the enrollment in American colleges, elevenfold in forty years. In England it has been necessary to be stamped 'gentleman' by the Public School to get into the civil service or a political career. In America the educated have had distaste for the democratic machinery, and left it to Irish bosses who herded their followers to the polls. With political careers blocked, no empire to serve, and no aristocracy, Americans in the past have deemed the English ideal of gentleman somewhat 'sissy'. So our educational institutions as a whole have had the ideal of making 'rugged individuals' and good citizens rather than gentlemen.

A Princeton alumnus of illustrious name, James H. Breasted, Jr., '32, in his *Alumni Weekly* (March 31, 1939), replying to an assertion in an earlier issue "that it is just as much Princeton's 'duty to the world' to raise a race of gentlemen as it is to supplant many fine sons of reasonably illustrious alumni with a group of subsidized cross-sectionists", resented the "implication that a gentleman is one who attended an exclusive prep school".

IMPORTATIONS FROM EUROPE

The earliest immigrants to America,—the Dutch of New York, the Hessians and Palatinates of Pennsylvania, the Catholics of Maryland, the Cavaliers of the South, brought with them from Europe each their own predilections and institutions. We have continued to import, chiefly from Germany, educational ideas for our public school systems and our universities. All these have been modified by the new environment.

When the English dissenters and non-conformists came to New England they naturally brought with them the latest design in education, the Latin Grammar School, the popular progressive school among the upper middle classes of the post-Reformation. The Boston Latin School, established in 1635, a year before Harvard, remains today little changed.

Few of the many others survive, except as they have been modified into modern preparatory schools or taken over as public high schools. The Latin Grammar School prepared for the universities,—in America for Harvard and Yale, which were training schools for the ministry, modeled after Emmanuel College of Cambridge University, which had been a radical departure established by and for non-conformists.

As the grammar schools declined in importance, non-conformist schools in England sprang up, among whose graduates were the Wesleys, George

Whitefield, Isaac Watts, Daniel Defoe. Their name they got from Milton who adopted it from Plato's Academia. After the American revolution, the academy developed as a characteristically American institution promoted by the writings of Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush of Pennsylvania. The two Phillips brothers, who had made a fortune supplying munitions to the Revolutionary armies, founded Exeter and Andover in the 1780's. These academies were intended not to equip for college but to provide a terminal education, and were regarded as people's colleges. (7)

Their success led to the transformation of many of the old grammar schools to meet local academy needs. By 1850 there were six or seven thousand such private academies. Gradually many of them took over the task of preparing their students for college and were modified into preparatory schools. As their success created a demand for public, tax supported high schools, many of the old academies were taken over by the towns as local high schools. In northern New England some still continue, owing their buildings to private initiative, but receiving their funds in part or wholly from tax money.

THE CHURCH SCHOOL

Increasing wealth and economic classifications brought by the eighteenth fifties some Anglophile tendencies in this country. We had declared our independence in 1776, but it had not been manifest in our literature, and it is not now apparent in our foreign policy. (8)

Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck of Boston in 1856 established St. Paul's School on his country place at Concord, New Hampshire, and later was influential in the establishment of Shattuck, a military church school in Faribault, Minnesota. The forerunner had been St. James School at Hagerstown, Maryland, the first Episcopal boarding school, at which Augustus Coit had served as a master.

To St. Paul's came Dr. Coit, described by one of his old boys, Owen Wister, as "a stern, sad man in clerical black . . . born seven hundred years later than his spiritual kin". Coit had been influenced by Thomas Arnold of Rugby, a man of great force and intense convictions, and he sought to establish a school something like Tom Browne's Rugby,—both sentimental and archaic. St. Paul's made a somewhat snobbish appeal to the new economic class that was rapidly acquiring wealth from the development of water power, textile mills, and the exploitation of Irish mill workers. Its patrons, like the English merchants, were climbers who wanted to have their sons adhere to the Church of England and become gentlemen. (9)

Encouraged by the success of St. Paul's, the Burnett family on their

farm in Southboro, Massachusetts, established St. Mark's School "for boys who would be at home in the conventional athletic atmosphere of the English public school". Shortly after, Endicott Peabody, son of an early finance capitalist, who had gone to school at Cheltenham, England, obsessed with medieval ecclesiastical English attitudes, established Groton. (10)

APPRAISAL AND INFLUENCE

For those who introduced the church school in America, to know that it was English was enough. That keen Scot, Eric Temple Bell, great Caltech mathematician and author of so many books and treatises, who has discarded 'the tie,' writes, "If you can do anything to break down the secondhand snobbery of the American 'upper classes', you deserve a crown of gold. Nothing makes me madder than all the piddling 'little Oxfords' masquerading as American Colleges (or Schools). Oxford, and all that it represents, also the English Public School system, are dead and rotten. . . . If the Germans bomb the great public schools, they will have done England and the British Empire the greatest of all possible services. . . . As an ex-'Public' School boy, I damn well know that the English system is worthless in a modern world, and especially in this country."

Philip W. L. Cox in "Adapting Educational Procedures From Abroad", *Social Frontier*, Jan. 1939, tells us, "The emphases and practices of European educational institutions of 1630 were greatly influenced by those of their prototypes and were responses to social needs that no longer were very significant even in the Old World. Nevertheless, these knowledges and attitudes, already obsolescent, were built into the vested interests of those whose prestige involved their 'learning'. Neither in Europe nor in America was the past permitted to die."

NOTES

(1) "The people wanted to read the Bible in English. A farmer would pay one load of hay for the privilege of studying Wycliffe's version one hour a day. Readers were burned at the stake with copies round their necks. Husbands were made to testify against their wives. Children were forced to light the death-fires of their parents. The possessors of manuscripts were hunted down like wild beasts." ("The Stormy Story of the English Bible", by the Rev. Erdman Harris, *Lawrentian*, April, 1939)

(2) How Rabelais was persecuted for heresy because he was interested in reading Greek, how his books were confiscated and he and his fellows put in solitary confinement, is told by Anatole France in his "Rabelais", 1929. At the monastery of Fontenay about 1520 "most of the monks looked with an unfriendly eye on the three or four Hellenists of the community. They were afraid that knowledge, and especially knowledge of Greek, would destroy the soul. This fear was not

peculiar to them; it existed in every convent. It was believed that Greek made heretics." (Cf "War and Education", pp 152-3)

(3) The head master of Christ's Hospital, a Public School not mentioned by Mack, in the fall of 1938 visited American private schools. Speaking at Andover, he explained how it was that his school is "called a Hospital". 'Hospital' is from the same root as 'hotel' and 'hospitality'. When Christ's Hospital was founded in 1552, a committee of "good citizens of London . . . proposed that 'the house that was late Grey Friars in London' should be called Christ's Hospital and that therein 'the fatherless children and other poor men's children' should receive not only meat, drink, clothes, and lodging but also 'learning and officers to attend upon them' ". (*Phillips Bulletin*, Jan., 1939)

(4) The second volume was published in 1941 by the Columbia University Press under the title "Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860: The Relationship Between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution". Mack writes me in a personal letter that this carries "the story of public school criticism and the relationship between school and society which it exhibits 'through the relative calm of the seventies and eighties and the iconoclasm of the pre-War and War years, to the troubled times in which we are now living' What have the public schools had to do with this? . . . On the fearful testing ground of the present, the public schools and those who have criticized them may come to a final reckoning."

"It is to Mack we owe understanding of the social significance of the English Public School 'as the expression in education of the psychological, economic, and other forces that determined general and especially upperclass behavior'. Due to him, we may now understand 'the present nature of the school system which still educates a majority of England's upperclass youth' and the 'forces which have governed British history'." This is quoted from the extended review of Mack's second volume in "War and Education" in the chapter "Maintaining the Social System". It was also noted in the 26th edition of the Handbook.

American and English educators and reviewers both long neglected Mack's great work. The journals of political science, sociology, and education have continued to ignore it, though his interpretations are basic to the understanding of their subjects. Four years after publication of the first volume the author reported to me that only four hundred copies of it had been distributed. It was not until May, 1942, that "F.C." (Professor Fred Clarke, director of University of London Institute of Education) adequately reviewed Mack's first volume in the London *Times* Educational Supplement. And a year later both volumes were enthusiastically reviewed by F. A. Cavenagh in the London *Journal of Education*.

"I have reason to believe that E. C. Mack's work is being more widely studied than the surface would suggest, and it is having its effect", Professor Clarke wrote me, Jan. 20, 1943. And he added, "It is good to know that the American public is being kept so well informed on this great issue of the future of the public schools". The editor of the London *Journal of Education*, in a note apologizing for the review of "War and Education", in the May, 1944, issue, said, "Sargent refers at some length to the correspondence in the *Journal of Education*, 1939-41, on 'The Future of the Public Schools'. The lesson to us is that those who write for the *Journal of Education* are listened to in far countries and have power to make or mar relations which are of consequence to the peace of the world. As Sir Fred Clarke has informed us in no uncertain terms, the 'Public School' controversy is not wholly a domestic question. If the fortress of privilege is success-

fully defended, it will be at the price of misunderstanding, if not worse, in the Dominions and in the United States.—Ed.”

(5) The part the church plays in the life of England in supporting the present social system and government is explained in “The Wife of the State” in “War and Education”. At the Malvern Conference, January, 1941, called by the late Primate, Dr. William Temple, formerly Archbishop of York, important proposals were made which seemed radical, even progressive, but actually strengthened the position of the church. In the 25th and 26th editions of the Handbook, 1941, 1942, we covered this and quoted Bernard Shaw’s sapient remark in his preface to “Major Barbara”,—“Churches are suffered to exist only on condition that they preach submission. The Church of England itself is compelled to add to the thirty-six articles in which it formulates its religious tenets, three more in which it apologetically protests that the moment any of these articles comes in conflict with the State it is to be entirely renounced, abjured, violated, abrogated and abhorred.”

(6) R. H. Tawney in his introduction to J. P. Mayer’s “Political Thought: The European Tradition”, 1939, remarks, “Violent contrasts, not only of income, but of environment and opportunity, make the different strata composing such societies unintelligible to each other; while, in England, in particular, the educational system still continues to be so organized as to heighten and perpetuate the discords arising from economic divisions. Nations reap in storm what they sow in calm. It is not surprising, therefore, that when a crisis occurs, different classes within them should differ sharply in their reactions to it.”

(7) Head Master Allan V. Heely of Lawrenceville (*Lawrentian*, Jan., 1938) pointed out that their descendants, the private boarding schools, “are no longer rooted in the soil. In an important social sense they have become devitalized. Nobody would think of calling them now ‘the colleges of the people’.”

(8) Through the exotic American church school, the influence of the feudal, imperialistic English Public School has unfortunately permeated our upper social stratum. Our State Department and diplomatic career men wear the ‘old school tie’, or a hat band, and look to the British Foreign Office. They weep with delight when it gives them a smile and tremble with fear at its frown.

(9) Of the later results, in 1931 *Fortune* tells us, “St. Paul’s men share a common disability: they are unable to recognize the existence of any other school. . . . To this day, it is an independent boy indeed who is not confirmed in the Episcopalian faith before he leaves the school. . . . In general, the emphasis is mostly on athletics, with religion a good second, and the curriculum a poor third—which fact, taken in conjunction with the rigorous isolation of the school, explains why St. Paul’s men on entering college are likely to pay more attention to the fleshpots than to their books.”

(10) “Quite possibly the most snobbish educational institution this side of Winchester”, Groton gives its boys so sheltered and agreeable a life that “in that first chill year of college life, one is likely to be more bewildered and uprooted than classmates from bigger, freer, more impersonal schools like Exeter and Andover. With the result that one is likely to end up very well or very badly, and to be considered by one’s non-Grotonian contemporaries a fine gentleman or a colossal bore.” (*Fortune*)

George W. Martin, prominent “Grottie” and New York attorney, writes illuminatingly of Peabody and how he came to be as he is in *Harpers*, Jan., 1944. (Cf “The Future of Education”, pp 102-3)

THE GREAT AMERICAN INDUSTRY

The lust to teach and avidity to learn makes teaching and being taught the industry that takes the whole time of the greatest number in our country. Moreover no other activity enlists the part time of so many.

In the world's two most powerful countries, the two U.S.'s, the activity that occupies the largest number of people is educating and being educated. In the U.S.A. nine-tenths of the education industry is carried on by the government, socialized, supported by tax; one-tenth under private initiative,—and of that one-tenth ninety per cent by the Catholic Church. In the U.S.S.R. education, which affects some thirty million children and a greater number of adults, is relatively new and wholly under the domination of the central government.

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF INDUSTRY

An industry, the Century dictionary tells us, is "a particular branch of work", and Webster "any department or branch of art, occupation, or business; especially, one which employs much labor and capital". The term "industry" has been much used in newspaper headlines, as a camouflage for financial capitalism, the game in which productive industrial plants are used as pawns.

Any industry necessitates capital investment in plant, machinery and wages, and a supply of raw material. It turns out a certain proportion of finished product, some culls and damaged goods and a residue of scrap and waste. An industry like brick making is an activity which employs a proportion of the population in localities where the raw material is available, and puts the clay through a process by hand or machine method to produce bricks needed by the community.

The rapidly expanding and highly competitive "chemical manufacturing industry of this country turns back 3 per cent of its gross income to research, amounting to something like twenty million dollars a year," Lewis M. Terman tells us in *School and Society*, January 21, 1939. "Now the chemical factory deals with raw materials and with processes. So, too, does the educational factory. . . . Our colleges and universities have a combined income that is roughly comparable with the income of our chemical industries, but on really basic research of the kind I have indicated they probably spend less than one three-hundredth as much."

Still both industries must find new and better ways of doing things in order to survive. "The future of the industry will obviously depend upon the secrets that can be wrested from nature. . . . The researches of Thur-

stone and others suggest that the number of elemental factors in the human intellect may be less than the number of elements in the world of matter. If the reactions of which they are capable are less predictable than those that occur in the chemist's test-tube, they are still far from lawless. A few crude tools for the investigation of human capacities have been forged and have proved their usefulness. These can be greatly refined and others more powerful will come. But before we can have 200-inch telescopes, whether of the astronomical or the psychological variety, the way has to be prepared by long-continued support of the kinds of basic research that ultimately will make them both necessary and possible."

BIGGEST AND MOST BULLISH ACTIVITY

The greatest industry in the United States engages the full time of from a quarter to a third of the whole population and absorbs two billion of the national income. *Time*, June 20, 1938, calls it our "biggest and most bullish activity". This is the industry of helping the young to grow up. (1) Hundreds of millions have grown up without its help but the present industry is based on the belief that the world can be made better and that the coming generation can be better if we do our duty by them, giving them larger and better opportunities. (2)

A "rising market" in education was predicted by Bess Goodykoontz, assistant Federal Commissioner of Education, on the opening of school in 1938. "There's a feeling that 'the schools can do something' about many serious economic and social problems. The public is demanding that the schools be adequate, and at every age level, school systems are widening their programs to fit community needs."

In no other country, at no other time, has any one industry engaged so large a portion of the population except in countries that are almost purely agricultural or among peoples that are nomadic. A hundred years ago it was a very different story in these United States. A larger part of the population was engaged in agriculture. Children, now in high school, were helping on the farm eight to nine months of the year with only a short time spent in book 'larning' in the 'deestrick' school. The proportion of the population that has been withdrawn from production, agricultural and industrial, and their age range, has increased with each decade.

For the year 1935-36 the total number engaged in this education industry was 33,145,826, according to the Office of Education. Of these 30,414,281 were pupils and 1,062,681 teachers. Of the pupils enrolled, 26,516,035 were in public schools, of whom 6,020,268 were in the high schools. Private and church schools enrolled 2,690,019. 102,453 were

in public and private junior colleges, and 1,105,774 in universities and colleges. "There were in college one out of every seven persons of college age", Charles H. Judd estimated, and one out of ten the Office of Education reported for 1931-32. Only two million of our adults have ever attended a college. Only ten million have been exposed to secondary education of any kind. But so great is the desire for education that twenty-seven million of the seventy million adults in the United States have sought some such form of adult education as extension or correspondence courses.

MACHINERY AND PLANT

A machine is a "structure or contrivance", the Century dictionary tells us, "an apparatus consisting of inter-related parts with separate functions, which is used in the performance of some kind of work, as a sewing machine". A machine is a device for repeating the same process indefinitely until the machine is modified or until it breaks down. Our educational system answers this description perfectly.

This great industry is housed in the most elaborate plant that has ever been constructed for any purpose. No pharaoh, no monarch, no builder of Chinese walls ever built such a mass of masonry as that which houses our educational machine.

The material housing of this industry receives a tremendous amount of attention. "School Plant and Equipment" in *Review of Educational Research*, October, 1938, lists 634 articles in the bibliography. Over 300,000 buildings operating in 272,851 separate units are occupied. Of these, 232,174 are public elementary schools, 25,652 public high schools, while 13,319 are private and church schools, of which 9,992 are elementary and 3,327 of secondary grade. Of junior colleges 191 are public, 99 private, and 172 denominational. Of the 1,244 universities and colleges 318 are state, 34 city and district, 348 non-sectarian private, 159 Catholic, 385 Protestant. The investment in this great aggregation of real estate with endowments amounts to \$12,353,084,000, of which \$7,194,443,000 is in public elementary schools, \$3,982,524,000 in the colleges and universities, and \$1,176,117,000 in private and church schools. Still "in 1933 there were more than 40,000 one-teacher schools", some of which in the southern mountains are one room shacks built sixty years ago, and "about 45,000,000 Americans live out of reach of any public library or books" (Coyle, p 105, "Roads to a New America").

Much of the work of the teacher and much of the processing through which the student is put is mechanical. The old myth of "Mark Hopkins at one end of a log and a student at the other end" as the ideal of education involved no machinery, but our great American industry utilizes an

enormous amount of machinery, ever growing more complicated.

OPERATING THE MACHINE

In addition to the million teachers who sit or stand beside the desk and face rows of desks daily, five days a week, eight months of the year, six hours a day, this education industry employs janitors, engineers, clerical and administrative staff, assistants, to the number of perhaps quarter of a million, and perhaps half a million more contribute indirectly in the preparation of materials, equipment, buildings used in the industry.

Educational administration which employs thousands of supervisors, superintendents, commissioners and the like, is the general term under which the education machinery is operated. It is the subject of endless papers and discussions at educational meetings. The printed matter, constantly growing, runs to miles of shelving, and, technical in its lingo, is less humanly interesting than the writing on mining or harvesting machinery.

To operate this system there were, in the year 1933, 128,489 city, county and state school boards which would make perhaps a million and a quarter board members, to which we must add the 423,974 school trustees to the 127,000 rural school districts. Over and above this is a Federal Office of Education with a great diversity of functions, supervising the education of the Indians of Alaska and caring for the reindeer herds which are supposed to supply reserve food for the Eskimos. So we have a million and a half school executives. But as these officials rotate in office, there probably have been three times as many in the past ten years, perhaps four million and a half. These officials have superintended the expenditure of \$2,630,915,897, and investment in plant, including endowments, of \$12,353,084, 000.

The teaching staff is machined in normal schools, pedagogical courses in colleges and universities, which latter prepare them to act as supervisor, principal, superintendent. All operations are under a Board of Education, in rural districts consisting of three farmers or merchants who hire and fire the teachers. In cities like Boston where once public spirited notables were chosen, the School Committee has become a stepping stone for the training of young politicians from which they may occasionally stoop to pick up a little graft.

COSTS OF EDUCATION

To maintain and operate this great educational machine, teachers' salaries must be paid and equipment and depreciation costs met. These costs have risen steadily. The greatest decrease has been in the public for birches and rattans, and for truant officers and truant schools

though the cost of none of these things has been eliminated wholly. The total cost of maintaining our educational system for the year 1935-1936 was \$2,630, 915, 897. This is well below the pre-depression high. In 1930 the corresponding figure was \$3,200,000,000, about 3% of the total national income. Though the total has decreased, the percentage has risen to between 4% and 5% of the national income. The expenditures for 1935-1936 were as follows: public elementary, \$1,204,000,000; public high, \$764,000,000; private and church schools, \$168,000,000; for public and private colleges, \$493,000,000,—about equally divided. (3)

The total amount of fees paid by students in privately controlled institutions of all kinds was \$116,000,000; in publicly controlled, surprisingly enough, \$41,000,000. Equally surprising is it that in the publicly controlled institutions income from endowment amounted to \$6,000,000 while in the privately controlled, it amounted to only \$53,000,000, but from taxation the publicly controlled received \$113,000,000 while again surprisingly the privately controlled received \$6,000,000. A little more than half the money spent was for instruction.

The average cost per pupil per year for the whole country was \$74.30. New York spent over \$130, but Mississippi less than \$30, and for the negro child about \$6 a head. Of course, there are individuals in our finishing schools on whom \$3000 is spent, and we have read that in the education of a debutante, a party has cost \$10,000 or more.

RAW MATERIAL

Every minute about 4.4 children are born in these United States, every hour about 266. The total supply amounts to around 2,300,000 a year. This is the raw material on which the teacher eventually goes to work. There was a decrease of 23% between 1921 and 1937, and approximately 1,600,000 fewer children under ten in 1939 than five years earlier. It was predicted by Rufus Smith in *Survey Graphic*, Sept., 1938, that by 1940 there would be one-fifth fewer children under ten in the United States than in 1930. "The number of births during 1924-1931 was nearly 1,200,000 less than the number during 1914-1921 so that there will be about 1,000,000 fewer children aged 9-16 in 1940 than in 1930, making a liberal allowance for falling death rates." (4)

"There are more than a million empty desks in the elementary schools of America this year", wrote Stuart Chase in the *Atlantic*, Feb., 1939. "Classes are being consolidated rather than expanded. . . . Orders for textbooks and supplies are declining. School building programmes in the elementary grades are not so urgent as they were. . . . School budgets can halt their upward march."

In "The Natural History of Population", 1939, Raymond Pearl re-

ported of his detailed survey of population trends that "the decline of fertility . . . appears not to be exclusively confined to highly 'civilized' countries. . . . It seems rather to be a world-embracing phenomenon . . . of historically very recent appearance." We had "a very slow and irregular time rate of growth of world population over a very long time prior to the Middle Ages. . . . There has been in roughly 300 years a 4.7-fold multiplication of human beings on the face of the earth, and this present cycle of growth appears to be only about two-thirds completed. . . . The population of the world, as a whole, has been growing in the recent past at a rate of . . . about . . . 1 per cent per annum." Now the rate "seems to be rather rapidly slowing". (5)

"There has been delivered on our planet today well over 600 tons of that strange mixture of water, mineral salts and colloids called human living substance. For delivery this material was neatly wrapped up in a lot of little packets that we call babies. These packets have been turned out today at a rate not much below two a second over the whole world. During the last twenty-four hours something upwards of a sixth of a million fresh new human beings have appeared for the first time upon this earth as a whole," Pearl wrote in "The Search For Longevity", *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1938. Infant mortality is declining, Pearl reported. In 1890 about 72% survived up to the tenth year; in 1930 the rate had risen to 91%. (6)

This raw material doesn't come uniform. Educators are becoming more and more aware that it can't all be treated alike,— that there are individual differences. Moreover, it's highly plastic. If it were not, teachers could not do much to mold it. Nor, looking at it in the raw, is it possible to tell any too completely what may be done with it. Up until very recently, we believed that the intelligence quotient was fixed at birth. But there have been many investigations which show that it can be modified. Ellis Freeman, in his "Principles of General Psychology" describes an experiment with placed foster children. He reports for "those in the poorest homes . . . the mean I.Q. was 89, while for those in the best it was 107".

OUR EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

The process is the essential thing in manufacturing a product. In making bricks, the process is to mix clay and water, mold and dry. The method is a secondary thing. You may use hand or machine methods, sun or artificial drying. Educators don't pay much attention to the process. They don't much consider what's happening to the material that they are treating. They are doing their duty, constantly improving their methods. The bricks they turn out may be irregular and variable and

not the best for the purposes that await them. But that can easily be blamed on the raw material. Administration and organization,—that's where the best minds are, on futilities.

The educational process is largely one of conditioning to the environment which today more largely than ever before is affected by economic factors. The methods we use are accumulations and refinements of those that were adapted to social conditions existing in past time. There is a great deal of writing and speaking about "modifying educational processes and adjusting them to current needs, but this has generally ended in discussion and very little has been done in the way of effective action". We are still carrying on the "processes of education on essentially the same basis as that on which our predecessors dealt with them, notwithstanding the fact that the social process into which the graduates of our institutions will go has undergone a marked change". This is R. D. Carmichael speaking, writer, editor, mathematician and Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, in his "Educational Inertia" in the *Educational Record*, Oct., 1938

EDUCATIONAL INERTIA

"The inertia which marks most of our educational processes indicates that in the field of education our level of morality is still too near that of the primitive mind. We have not developed educational processes in accordance with the spirit of the evolutionary advances which are inherent in the social process," Carmichael continues. "Except for relatively recent times the whole tendency of human history seems to have been in the direction of developing fixed patterns of thought and of mind. . . . It is easy for the lazy intellect to retreat into the conservatism of inertia. We need a freedom of thinking which will enable us to get away from the patterned characteristics of mind. Perhaps nowhere else in the social process is it so difficult to overcome the inertia of past experience as in the process of education. This is due in part to the fact that educators are practicing their profession in the same atmosphere as that in which they learned it. . . . It becomes therefore a peculiarly difficult matter for educators to make a thorough analysis of the processes which underlie their activity and to escape from the fundamental inertia to which we all tend.

"We have allowed a long continuing process of societal change to accumulate its results through some centuries without a corresponding modification of our educational practice. In the process of evolutionary change, it is not enough to conserve the values of the past. We must make way for the incoming values of the future. An educational system which is learning nothing will induct youth into a corresponding state of ignorance. Vested interests, which are essentially vested fears, must

yield in this process of overcoming educational inertia." (7)

HOW SUCCESSFUL?

As a part of the social system, education bears something of the onus for frustration of the unemployed. Our social organization has failed to bring the man and the job and the need together, though there is endless work to do in saving and creating, in providing and distributing. The unsupplied wants are many. Our great education industry must be judged by its output. The quality of our human assets is not what it should be, nor is it improving. The ratio of our "prison population has risen about seventeen per cent during the last twenty years. The ratio of the mentally ill in this country is now 317 persons to each 100,000 population. In 1910 the ratio was 173 per 100,000" (*Clearing House*, Dec., 1937).

The United States in the thirties was utilizing its human assets perhaps to the extent of thirty to forty per cent of its potentialities if they were normally employed. In 1929, the year of our greatest economic and industrial activity, it was possibly forty to fifty per cent. In other countries not so richly endowed with natural resources, the physical assets as well as the human assets are necessarily used more efficiently. In Italy and Russia there is little or no unemployment. Germany is making close to one hundred per cent use of its human assets and natural resources

Should we go to war to relieve the dissatisfactions and to make jobs, we shall have to adopt the methods of the totalitarian countries to stand a chance. Even with our vastly superior resources, if we are put in close competition, we cannot win without using our resources more efficiently. That will be one of the gains from war,—learning to use. But the other side of the story is that we will be using them for more colossal waste than at present. If we had made our democracy work, if we could make it work now, if we could put our people to work, from what we have we could provide enough to bribe with food and wealth the disturbing elements. Perhaps with full bellies, they would be less cantankerous.

NOTES

(1) In the 13th ed, 1929, pp 23-4, I wrote on "The World's Greatest Industry": However we define education, however we limit it, the process of growing up, of getting ready for maturity and productiveness, is the individual's most important business in life. And anything that has to do with it must necessarily bulk large in the affairs of mankind. There is nothing new, then, about the importance of education. Adjustment to environment costs effort. Education is adjustment and comes at high cost. The clam retires into the mud and avoids changing conditions and the necessary adjustment. The clam does not have to pay for education.

(2) The failure of education between the two wars was clearly brought out

following the 1937 commencement and opening of the summer school. Dean Henry W. Holmes of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, discussing the practical outcome of the study of education since 1900, admitted that education had been studied in the United States more intensively than any other country, but had resulted in a "considerable amount of wasted effort, superficial discussion, and pedagogical racketeering". But hope lay in educational psychology. "Federal activity in education, although studied exhaustively since the war, remains unsystematic and uncoordinated." (*Boston Herald*, July 1, 1937)

Kirtley F. Mather at the opening of the Harvard Summer School, 1937, pointed out that "the American school system, the most elaborate and expensive in the world, has fallen down on the job. It has failed because it has not made education interesting. . . . Schooling has become cut and dried, almost like factory work." This is shown by "the way high-school or college seniors drop their books like hot plates" immediately after commencement. (*Boston Herald*, July 3, 1937) "As a nation . . . we're still under the shadow of the old Puritan tradition. Whatever is really worthwhile we feel sure must be somehow unpleasant. Education naturally falls into this category. . . . The average American looks at education as something to which he must submit for his own good . . . and as one of the rewards for doing so, he expects never again to study or look at a serious book."

"Whether the U.S. gets its money's worth for the \$2,000,000,000 it spends each year on public education is a matter of perennial dispute between taxpayers and educators" (*Time*, Nov. 28, 1938). New York state, spending \$277,900,000, does not get its money's worth, it was claimed by Luther H. Gulick in his report of the survey made at the expense of half a million provided by Rockefeller's General Education Board and sponsored by a Board of Regents committee headed by Owen D. Young. Princeton's President Dodds, Chicago's Professor Judd, and others reported in eleven volumes their probes, testings, interviews of 45,900 parents, educators, employers, labor leaders, taxpayers, boys and girls. Too much classics and college preparation in high schools "fail to give boys and girls a scientific point of view and an understanding of the world".

(3) In 1930 the Federal Office of Education reported our annual bill for education as \$3,200,000,000. For our public schools exclusively, the cost was \$2,615,068,177. This was ten times the amount of the expenditure in 1900, and double what the public schools cost in 1920. Our expenditure for education was less than four per cent (3.35) of our national income, \$78,000,000,000. We spent half as much again on life insurance, twice as much on buildings, five times as much on motor vehicles, and of course we have been told for years that we spend more on chewing gum, cigarettes, and lipsticks than on education. Of the educational costs, a little more than half went to the teachers. In 1920, it was 57.3 per cent, in 1930, 54.2 per cent. (17th ed, 1933, pp 27-8)

(4) This was anticipated and prognosticated in the Handbook successively and periodically through the twenties (20th ed, 1936, pp 65ff, 21st ed, 1937, pp 83ff). Explanation of this was given in the 26th edition, 1942, p 29:

The nineteenth century, and particularly in this country, was a period of expansion,—expanding territory, expanding economy, expanding population. Under those conditions values were constantly rising and the country was experiencing a more or less perpetual, though occasionally interrupted, land boom. All this was due to an increased supply of human material, a greater labor supply, a greater demand for land and food and all the products of industry. Our natural resources, including manpower and children, were so abundant that there was little need to

economize, reserve, save. There was enormous waste, not least in the death rate of the newborn and the young, and in the maladjustment of the surviving youth through misuse. But enough children survived to yield an increasing supply of raw material for the educational processing machine, so that school appropriations increased and school houses became more and more conspicuous.

(5) The continuous decrease in birthrate in both France and England is a matter of alarm. Geoffrey Crowther in "The Vanishing Briton" goes so far as to predict that the population of England in a hundred years will have fallen from its maximum of 40 million to 5 million. Meantime Soviet Russia, Dr. Kuczynski tells us, if the pre-war fertility and mortality rates continue, will in two generations have many times the manpower of her neighboring nations combined.

(6) It is this reduction in infant mortality that has changed our life tables, from which Pearl concludes that "the span of human life has not been lengthened, and there is no present prospect that it soon will be. The average duration of life is all that has been altered, and that has been accomplished chiefly by giving more babies a fairer start in life's journey than they used to have."

(7) "In thought and in education we are either afraid of heresy or we are not afraid of it. If we are afraid of heresy we will be disposed to retain our conservative methods. If we are not afraid of heresy, we will be willing to go into an adequate study of the genesis of our educational processes and a critical examination of their present value", Carmichael goes on. President Conant had said just this three years before (cf p 319) but does not continue to sound the same note, as explained on pp 329, 388.

Carmichael quotes H. G. Wells, "Our social and political ideas, our morals, our ambitions, our courage" have not as yet caught up with "invention and scientific knowledge" which "have taken our hearts and imaginations by surprise". And Carmichael adds, "There is a lack of broad knowledge of scientific development and indeed a lack of appreciation of the true scientific spirit itself. This breeds the spirit of fear, owing to the fact that one's range of knowledge is so restricted that he cannot take an overview of any considerable part of the domain even of his own subject of specialization. And fear is a great breeder of inertia."

FOLKWAYS OF EDUCATION

Our academic traditions, symbols, customs, and costumes, are seen by the comparative anthropologist, accustomed to even stranger things, as myths, idols, folkways, and rituals, derived from many sources and modified by environment.

In the past generation a new scientific method of examining peoples and their institutions has developed. From the curios of the missionaries and the whalers, from the collections of Indian arrowheads and skulls brought together in museums, patient workers have created a science of man. A Malinowski or a Margaret Mead, living the life of isolated islanders, speaking their language and thinking their thoughts, studying their mores and folklore, have given us a method whereby we may study and come to understand the behavior of those immediately about us.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY

Why should the anthropologists and psychologists and psychiatrists today spend their talent on recognized criminals, the hopelessly insane, or island isolated primitives? A study of our all highest, our university presidents and their faculties, their behavior, mores, folklore, myths, would yield richer results than the study of the population of our penitentiaries. Such a survey would be of more immediate value to the world than any the scientists are likely to undertake. It is an absurdity that we should do for the criminal and the insane, the poorest and the least hopeful, what we deny our best.

This may be a bold suggestion. But with tact it might be successfully undertaken. There would be a lot of sputtering and spilling, and a gloom of pessimism as to the results of such a study, a pessimism perhaps not wholly justified. To have faith that some good would come of this, one need not believe too fully in the possibility of the redemption of the educated, or that the philosophical could be turned to contemplation of reality, or that men of 'principles' would discard them.

President Raymond B. Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation in "A Review for 1936" announced a new plan "to sharpen its program. 'The proper study of mankind is man'. For the time being at least, this dictum governs the policy of the Trustees." Nowhere could the Foundation find a more worthy field for study than in our universities. They are deserving of some scientific consideration. The cloistered scene would be found cluttered with dead beliefs, antiquities of human cerebration,—young and old engaged in archaic ritual, intense professors chasing their metaphysical tails, ambitious youths following prescribed gymnastics to

strengthen flabby mental muscles. They would find a priestcraft "destined to end, as does all priestcraft, in superstition", as Lancelot Hogben writes in "Mathematics for the Million". "History shows that superstitions are not manufactured by the plain man. They are invented by neurotic intellectuals with too little to do."

The world about us is evidence enough that the universities have fallen down on their job. The implicit and unbounded faith of American parents in education dominated by the universities has been misplaced. They have failed us before,—at the outbreak of the last war, after the war, and in a more recent crisis. "There were the universities, great schools, galaxies of authorities, learned men, experts, teachers gowned, adorned, and splendid", wrote H. G. Wells in *Harpers*, April, 1937. "This higher brain, this cerebrum, this gray matter of America was so entirely unco-ordinated that it had nothing really comprehensive, searching, thought-out, and trustworthy to go upon." There is no reason why our universities should continue to fail us. And they won't, if there is drive and demand on the part of their alumni that they turn about and face reality. Let the universities examine their own folklore and tabus, get away from principles, philosophies, 'eternal verities', stop chasing that old harridan 'Truth'. It's time to be scientific and anthropological.

AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR CULTURE

Any element of a culture changes with time and place. But change may come slowly in an isolated, unchanging environment. The commencement exercises or puberty rites of the Aruntas of Central Australia have probably remained fixed these hundred thousand years. But in New England, immigrations of peoples and ideas have brought changes. The ways of conscientious parent or pedagogue with children, of Harvard president with God or undergraduate, are not the same today as they were in 1920, 1820, 1720. Once parent, pedagogue, and college president spent much of their time birching the young or bootlicking God. Those worthies of former days would not approve what they would find today. Customs change. There are academic fashions among the faculty, even among the undergraduates. Psychological attitudes are even more evanescent than sweaters and slacks. (1)

Our great universities are reservoirs where accumulations of the past, bookish and traditional, collect. They have their high and low levels. Like the conserving reservoir, and most conservative bodies, a university may act as a retarding and steadying influence in times of change, or may discharge a stimulus upon a still and stagnant society.

From the dead level of custom, under the impetus or pressure of some great force, a university may rise above its source. At the Tercentenary,

President Conant, a scientist dragged from his researches, on the verge of great chlorophyll discoveries, gave such a stimulus. Though the jet of inspiration and enthusiasm could not be permanently maintained, he stirred a stagnant academic world, opened new vistas, prescribed new methods, and laid down new objectives. With the naivete and boldness of a scientist, Conant announced a common sense program of examining with the detachment of a geologist into the stratification of our social system. Some evidently thought he went too far, that sacred cows were jostled. He found himself in a difficult and delicate position. In the months following, his words and acts showed the steadying and stabilizing influence of more conservative forces. And eventually there was subsidence to the dead level of mass alumni opinion.

WHY THEY BEHAVE AS THEY DO

The alumni of the universities and colleges are the selected seed of the nation. They control our universities, which control our schools, which control the pabulum or poison on which the best of our young are fed. They are the vital link in Hutchins' 'vicious circle'. Why they think as they do, what determines their beliefs, what affects their attitudes, what makes them behave as they do, is deserving of study. Molded by their schoolmasters, cramped by material considerations, they have little impulse to freedom of thought or speech. Had they the heroic attitude they might free their universities from the pall of fear that overhangs. Alma Mater might then become an actual center of light and desire to learn, to investigate, rather than a center of dead learning.

The faculties still retain some taint of ecclesiastical and monkish antecedents. Cloistered, timorous, contemptuous of the world about them, they inevitably tend to become a self-protective priestcraft. Collectively and individually they generally show as little confidence about balancing their intellectual as their personal budgets. The undergraduates are supposed to listen with bated breath to talk of 'eternal verities', to acquire a veneration for some ghostlike impossible vision, 'The Truth', refusing to see the little bits of it that lie all about them. It is in the universities, where there is this perpetual steeplechase in pursuit of 'Truth', that tabus and folklore curdle thick.

Universities pride themselves on their traditions and ritual, blind to the fact that all is recent resuscitation of the primitive. (2) Repetitive ritual, custom, and tradition are nowhere so fixed, unchanged for perhaps a hundred thousand years, as among the most primitive aborigines of Australia, where violators of folkways are hunted down and slain. Where tradition and ritual are worshipped, few may transcend the mores of the tribe, the ethics of the priestcraft.

But let the college professor have something to say and speak it boldly, and he is in demand, he has a following. He is wanted as a speaker, his books sell, he has income, he is independent. He can thumb his nose at the university. The millionaire and the college president will lick his boots, because he has what they are both after, popular support. Nothing can touch him except his colleagues, the greatest suppressing and repressing force of all. Their attitude of 'It isn't done', 'It isn't cricket', is sometimes crushing. If ever there was a man who was independent of such snobbery and caste loyalty, independent because of worldwide prestige, because money flowed in from his books, it was William James. Yet so strong is the brotherhood in the teaching priestcraft that when he wrote John Jay Chapman criticizing two of his colleagues, he asked that the letter be burned. It takes a good man to stand up in a university, even at Harvard.

THE GREAT AMERICAN FOLK FESTIVAL

Folklore while it is alive is not recognized as such. A myth known as such is dead. The folklore of education has usually been referred to by educators as 'principles', 'fundamentals'. These are carry-overs, inheritances, rationalized in 'philosophies'. Inspirational speakers on education, appealing to the emotions, refer to 'traditions'. We are only beginning to recognize that all these are of the nature of folkways and the lore that supports them.

In our new land, the mingling of many peoples from many sources under new conditions resulted in some new customs. Natural enough then that we should have folkways, folklore, folk festivals, that are our own. Our county fair derives through England from the European 'kermesse', but is nevertheless 'sui generis'. It was a village festival pictured in white and blue cameo on the Grecian urn that inspired Keats' great ode. "Who are these coming to the sacrifice? To what green altar, O mysterious priest. . . . What little town by river or sea shore, or mountain-built with peaceful citadel, is emptied of this folk. . . ?"

All unapprehended and unsung, the greatest folk festival the world has known has developed in our country in recent decades. Millions are enlisted, and it gives pause to the usual activities of grammar and high schools, colleges and universities. The rarest days of June are given to it, the enthusiasms and energies of a fifth of our population. Mothers, fathers, sisters, cousins, aunts bring the total of participants to 25,000,000. (3) Boy and girl graduates of public and parochial school, high school and college, in festive costume, white dresses, graduation clothes, to the number of some 5,000,000 annually receive engraved and beribboned diplomas. The high schools, aping the colleges in caps and gowns,

engage in elaborate ceremonial, bestowing their final honors on about a million and a half graduates, while universities and colleges with pomp and circumstance award tens of thousands of degrees, of which some thousands are "honorary". (4)

Speakers at commencement assure us that this a solemn occasion. Its customs which have grown out of our contemporary life are normal, natural, inevitable. That is characteristic of our folkways and folklore. What we see in others is queer. Our own when consciously examined are dead. One recalls the huge crowds of great religious festivals of popular participation—perhaps the great annual ceremony of the Aztecs when selected youths and fair maidens were sacrificed to the gods, or the religious fairs and festivals of medieval Europe, or the auto da fe in Spain, or the Mag-Mela at the junction of the two sacred rivers, Ganges and Jumna, which with the eleven year cycle of the sunspots brings millions of pilgrims.

And today we have other religious spectacles. "Fascism, Communism and Catholic Christianity are the great revolutionary religious forces in the world today", Canon Roger Lloyd maintains in "Revolutionary Religion: Christianity, Fascism, and Communism", 1938. And Monsignor John A. Ryan and others have contended the same. Their great managed pageants are perhaps too consciously planned to be regarded as folk-festivals. There is design, intent, and ulterior purpose behind Mussolini's pageantry in the Forum Romanum, Hitler's mass evolutions at Nuremberg, or the great Eucharistic Congresses at Budapest or Quebec staged by the Roman hierarchy.

THE COLLEGE CLASS

Commencement parades, pageantry, platitudes, and 'spreads' still work with young and old. Sentimentalism still permeates our education. We revere useless loyalties. As the classes formed on the shadowed lawn under the elms, the old, halt and bowed leading, my heart used to come right up into my throat, my glands speeded up, my capillaries diffused. I could hardly keep back the tears. (5)

The "college class" is the effective unit in this great festival. Outside America there is no recognition of such a thing as the college class,—there are other classes. Organized in gangs, labelled with and shouting their numerals, the classes foster a hypocritical clannish camaraderie. In this class organization as in other things, Harvard took the lead.

Princeton is recognized by the fashion magazines as setting fashions in college dress, or undress. The intimate country club atmosphere, and the former club life of the old grads, conduced to a rather effusive form of class celebration, with bizarre costumes in the parade to the annual

baseball game. The Shriners and American Legion have since gone them one better. In recent years the celebration at the colleges has become more and more exhibitionist. Once the old grads got together, emboozed and enthused. Now they come for several days, bring the wife and kiddies, so that it is necessary to have sandpiles and nursery attendants, and gossip fests for the women, while the men take to golf and country-club activities.

Back of all this there is a selling psychology worthy of the priestcraft of our great advertising agencies. Twenty years ago Veblen, that wisely suspicious interpreter of our myths and mores, made clear that these ceremonial functions and pageants are not merely "aimless survivals of the archaic belief in magical efficacy". Their "formal openings and 'shrewdly conceived harangues' before select groups 'setting forth the alleged history, adventures, and merits, past and future'", serve a purpose and yield a profit. Commencement has become a large scale piece of advertising, for prestige and money. The build-up is effective. In the spring the class secretaries begin to drum up enthusiasm with their head-lined announcements of coming events. To public and parochial commencement ceremonies and lists of graduates the newspapers give pages of publicity, for names are great circulation builders.

ADVERTISING AND SELLING

Commencements at the older universities are competitive as to spectacular features, speakers who will secure the headlines, and finally in the result of it all, the announcement of funds. In 1939 Harvard announced a considerable falling off. Little wonder its president had felt obliged to take in his liberal spinnaker so boldly spread at the Tercenary. The donors must be kept better oiled. Apologetically Conant explained that once "the universities were medieval guilds of teachers, self-directing communities of scholars. But that was in the days when scholars had taken the vows of celibacy and poverty. In those days financial problems were relatively slight."

The climax of commencement at Harvard comes with the class twenty-five years out laying upon the altar of Alma Mater a contribution, which custom now demands must be more than \$100,000. Then the president reads a long list of dollar signs with the names of the donors. Great praise comes to the college president if the total amount exceeds the previous year, while a falling off brings more or less tolerant sighs of regret. This is economically sound from the standpoint of finance capitalism. As one of the keenest-minded of the Harvard faculty remarked after reading the preliminary issue of this chapter, published in *Clearing House*, September 1938, "The 'sales' aspect of college ceremonials is

doubtless deplorable, but it seems to me that no matter how good an article may be, it is necessary to 'sell' it".

If these college commencements were reduced to their former modest simplicity, if representatives of great financial houses and industries were to play a lesser role, the annual increment would probably fall off. So this great folk festival which has the participation of a large proportion of the population, effectively taps the pockets of relatively few while contributing to the welfare of many. The build-up from public and parochial schools magnifies education, points to the college, and turns the eye of the potential donor to the always yawning university treasuries. Who can doubt that this great folk festival is a live and living thing?

ECCLESIASTICAL ORIGINS

Each spring as warm weather approaches, seniors throughout the land, in high schools and grammar schools, colleges and normal schools, don an extra garment. If the seniors are collegiate in learning, it is black with colored trimmings, white or gray if they are mere neophytic high school seniors, blue if their training has been 'normal' for teaching.

Usually of ankle, more rarely of knee length, these ample robes enfold the figure or flap in the breeze. The darker robes absorb the sun's heat rays, even the white prevent transpiration, and all induce a perspiration which one has come to associate with the sweet girl graduate and the June bride. The farther south one goes the earlier in the year these gowns are assumed. (6)

In its medieval past this costume, so absurd today, served a rational need. The skull cap protected the tonsured priest or the shaven acolyte or monk. There were pedicular, hygienic reasons why monastic rule and university authorities both insisted on the shaven head. (7)

At the older English universities, essentially the same plain black gown must still be worn each day. An Oxonian caught in 'flagrante delicto' is adjudged not in 'decent habit' and fined half a crown. So this abbreviated gown, a cassock reaching to the buttock, flicks you in the face as the bicycle rider on the Oxford streets hastily swirls to avoid you. (8)

To King's College in New York City and other American colleges in colonial times came graduates of Cambridge and Oxford bringing their academic costumes, which appeared also at Harvard and Yale in the eighteenth century. The Puritan parsons wore the gown, as have always the judges in England. The pioneer life, in touch with reality, promoted simplicity in costumes and custom. Leather breeches, doubtless, were to be seen passing the buckets of rum punch in the Yard at the Harvard commencement. But fashions change, and the strapped pantaloons succeeded. (9)

The wearing of the gown in the pulpit and on the bench became more prevalent throughout the nineteenth century as wealth increased. Just as the hard boiled bosomed shirt protected the 'fronts' of a previous generation, so many an ecclesiastic or judge feels that the gown covers his nudity. Today except where the old Americanism survives untainted in the back stretches of our country, we find these old monkish robes have returned to court and pulpit. They are part of the costuming for the stage unconsciously set to turn our look backward, to bolster up tradition, to preserve the status quo, to put the brakes on change.

THE CULT OF CAP AND GOWN

Ecclesiastical and monastic paraphernalia that Oxford and Cambridge have inherited, American universities are obliged to manufacture to meet demand, like Yale's 'ancient' mace and Harvard's Pierre La Rose Tercentenary banners. The academic hood and gown derived from the cloistered monk, but the scheme of colored facings for the fifty-seven varieties of degree is a modern embellishment.

Some time after the Civil War the cap and gown began to appear in great variety in the more churchly of the eastern colleges as a distinctive costume for seniors at commencement. Before 1880 Pennsylvania, New York, Trinity, St. John's and others each had their own style. "The faculty of Harvard wore academic dress for her 250th anniversary in 1886, the trustees of Yale in the same year" (Goeddeke, "Evolution of Academic Costume", *Catholic Educational Review*, June, 1938). (10) The cult of the cap and gown spread rapidly west and south, and into the high schools and even the grade schools.

As we look at the academic processions next commencement, at the sham revival of incongruous, ancient costumes, as we see our vigorous football players masquerading as monks, enjoying mummery and magic, —we must remember that our heritage goes back for millions of years before the written word. We will feel more kindly toward this folly, this irrational parade, as we think not only of churchly and monkish processions, but of gorgeous Buddhist ceremonies, of Hopi rituals, of Australian corroborees.

The above ethnological data on *Homo bubiensis*, var. *collegiensis* (Mencken) may be found useful if a scientific study of the mores, customs and costumes of the American collegiate variety of the species is attempted. And let us recall, in the words of one of the world's great anthropologists, Earnest Hooton, who repeatedly startles the academic world by stating in the simplest language great truths previously unremarked,—“that ritual and shows seem to satisfy some of the symbolic needs of our fellow apes, and that, at any rate, academic processions are

more harmless than military processions". (11) Had we been descended from the eagle or the lion, instead of from the monkey, as the late Clarence Day in "This Simian World" imaginatively conceived, our academic ritual, our processions might have, who knows, a simpler dignity.

BIG MAGIC

The college degree earned 'in course' or 'honoris causa' would be recognized by an Australian aborigine as potent magic. With this degree sometimes goes a magic key to indicate that the graduate found favor with his masters, and secured high marks, which are facilitated by subservient bootlicking. Sometimes a non-key-holder, rapidly climbing the ladder of fame without a key is overtaken by the society and awarded a key before he reaches the top.

But all graduates are given what the anthropologist might call a fetish, —a piece of parchment or rag paper impressively engraved or inscribed, or filled sometimes with pretty pictures that are symbolic, like the lamp of learning, or the scroll, or the key, or for the Naval Academy "Davy Jones' Locker", or for the Military Academy cannon and swords. State and city schools and institutions frequently picture some local hero or fetish. Dentists, doctors, lawyers who are just a little uncertain of their position, line their offices with framed sheepskins, to make it easier for their clients to pay their bills.

Today the diploma has developed from a mere sheepskin into a book, sometimes with leather covers. The less the diploma actually stands for in accomplishment, the more elaborate it is. A \$30 correspondence course for a Ph.D. used to bring a very elaborate diploma. One must get something for his money.

There are few diplomas in existence that are earlier than 1880. Up to that time high school or college graduates were quite satisfied to graduate without a certificate. This diploma business is recent, and a thoroughly American commercial enterprise. An Iowa country school teacher who understood something of practical psychology set up a shop in Maquoketa to manufacture diplomas. Later he moved to Chicago. His first employee was Robert Andrews Millikan, later a Nobel Prize-winner in physics. Today the W. M. Welch Manufacturing Co. is a half million dollar Chicago business which supplies more than half a million diplomas a year to schools and colleges.

That the magic of the degree is potent is evident from the increasing number of brands, more numerous than cattle brands in the West. Few need remain mavericks except for lack of money. (12)

To earn two thousand dollars a year teaching today, one should have a degree in education, master or doctor. A generation ago there were

no doctors degrees in education. From 1918 to 1932 the annual number awarded increased from 53 to 337, and during that period the number totalled 2,302. If human stupidity must increase at that rate, it is well to have it branded. The brand certifies that they know how to teach, but doesn't certify that they have anything to teach. (13)

"The Strange Business of the Honorary Degree" was dilated on by John Tunis in "Honoris Causa", *Harpers*, June, 1937. He points out some interesting bizarre facts. "Honorary degrees are awarded with a canny eye for prestige, publicity, and good hard cash. . . . College trustees measure men by reputation rather than by real achievement."

Most colleges find honorary degrees "handy to pat one another approvingly on the back. President A grants an LL.D. to President B, and the next June President B awards a Litt.D. to President A." (14)

"Of all these dodges the most diverting, as Erasmus says, is that practised by scholars who indulge in mutual laudations, returning admiration for admiration, in letters, verses, and eulogies." This is from "The Charlatanry of the Learned", 1937, first published in Leipzig in 1715, by Johann Burkhard Mencken. The new edition has notes and introduction by a collateral descendant, H. L. Mencken. This, like Erasmus' "In Praise of Folly", 1509, two centuries before, was the best seller of the time, going through many editions in many languages.

THE GREAT AMERICAN GODDESS

The worship of Alma Mater, too, would be worthy of both antiquarian and anthropological research. The great American goddess—how reverence and worship for her thrills hundreds of thousands of devotees! Great spectacles are staged to do her honor and defend her prestige, which sometimes call for human sacrifice on the field, while tens of thousands yell themselves to hoarseness.

Alma Mater, unknown in England or on the Continent, seems to reflect Magna Mater, the great earth mother. Neolithic man represented her in early carvings in bone and ivory, and these steatopygic figures are referred to in archeological treatises as the 'Venus of', whatever place they were found in. Related, too, perhaps is the Asiatic 'goddess of mercy', known to the Chinese as Kwan Yum, to the Japanese as Kwannon. Adopted into the Buddhist pantheon, she was later taken over, modified, by the Church of Rome, like much else of Asiatic origin. But the gods pass and Alma Mater has perhaps crossed her meridian. The now forgotten 'Billikin' a generation ago graced the desks of collegians. A fat, hard-jowled kewpie, modeled somewhat on the Japanese god 'Hotei', there was a sort of understanding that he was perhaps a nephew of the great god 'Bunk'.

But still in worship of Alma Mater are staged gladiatorial combats, 'festival rites from an age that is past', as the 'sons to her jubilee throng', while they worship the 'relic and type of our ancestors worth', singing to the air of a beautiful but somewhat lascivious old Irish love song. Today, however, there's a growing feeling that 'the endearing young charms' of Alma Mater are becoming 'sicklied o'er'.

NOTES

(1) A native government official of Liberia on an official mission to the United States visited our educational institutions and was present at the Harvard commencement. In his report back to the black bishop in charge of education he wrote: "Now in Liberia The A. M. E. Church has a College, the Methodists have a college. . . . The Episcopal Church . . . should start the first university of Liberia . . . modeled after Harvard University. . . . Teach most everything . . . have the men's Glee Club . . . let them dress collegiate with polo shirts and different college clothes. Have the boys cheer for the different games . . . have a large concrete swimming pool. . . . Teach acting and dramatics . . . allow the Collegiates to have automobiles. . . . Teach them how to run business . . . teach playing jazz music. Have a beautiful modernistic chapel. . . . Teach the students to be up to date . . . wearing caps and gowns . . . beautiful colorful uniforms . . . sweaters have words saying U. L. . . . take pictures of the teachers in caps and gowns. . . . Send them to the *New York Times* . . . teach journalism . . . how to run business such as theatres, department stores . . . have college bands." He outlined, too, a plan for the feeder to the university, "the Episcopal school for boys . . . modern concrete . . . square shaped buildings . . . teach all the boys to wear shoes, white duck pants . . . train athletes". (22nd ed, 1938, p 84)

(2) A rolling stone gathers no moss, but an established institution most certainly does. A cloistered institution like the university, which grew out of ecclesiastical and monastic establishments, boasts of its traditions. In establishing new colleges in America, it has been the first duty to build tradition. An institution without traditions is as uncomfortable as the unclothed king and hastens to manufacture something to take the place of what is lacking. A Ubangi belle is proud of her extended lower lip to carry its shovel-like disk, the Massai woman of the heavy brass coils that keep her neck stretched. So proud are they of conforming willingly to custom, that they don't realize the degree to which they are fettered. So with the universities. Most of their traditions have become fetishes.

(3) 'Commencement' in early New England colleges originally came at the opening of the fall term, after the youth had finished the harvest. Harvard was established as a vocational school to supply the ministry. To the commencement of the school year came fathers and relatives with the returning youths. Buckets of punch were consumed in the Yard. Dartmouth still celebrates in song and story the coming to such a commencement of Governor Benny Wentworth by road across state with his famous tun of rum. Commencement, taken over by the lower schools, coincides with 'graduation', which in its origins had to do with grades. Grades meant marks assigned to pupils to indicate subservience in enlisting the good will of and reproducing the words of the teacher, which had been prescribed from above.

Of the summer vacation, Roger Babson reminds us in his autobiography, "There is a tendency for us all to forget the real purpose of the school vacation.

It was not to give either teacher or children a few weeks off. The welfare of the teacher or the children was not even considered in the matter. The sole purpose of these school vacations was to give the parents the use of their children at certain times during the year." When the need for this child labor passed, it left the children with nothing to do. The summer camp developed to fill the void.

(4) In other countries, other climes, there is no such great annual folk festival. There are "prize days" in England when unprized prizes are distributed to the boys who most please the head. Parents are attracted by some collateral of royalty, bishop, lord, major general, admiral, or at worst a mere M.P. or a scientist, who deals out British platitudes, more realistic than the American idealistic bunkum. English universities do have convocation days when they endeavor to honor with degrees politicians, the already ennobled, and sometimes foreign diplomats or even savants. (23rd ed, 1939, pp 69-70)

(5) Dear Old Wabash! How American youth have fought and bled for her in a thousand colleges. About them is a shifting world, a changing civilization, men from the factories sacrificing and dying for their enthusiasms. But the deepest emotion that has thrilled these poor young rich Americans has been the appeal of their cheer leaders at the annual game. Flatulent old bawd! Alma Mater is the subject of hysterical worship from Orono to Pomona, more absurd in her pretensions than the Paphian Venus, the Ephesian Diana, the sinister Magna Mater. Her worship involves ceremonies as rigidly traditional as an Australian corroboree, orgies sometimes Bacchanalian, secret mysteries Eleusinian ("The New Immoralities", p 63)

(6) William Knickerbocker, editor of the *Sewanee Review* at the university of the same name, on reading the foregoing wrote this delightful addendum: "For the last three-quarters of a century, the faculty and some of the students here are required, by University Statute, to wear academic regalia throughout the academic year both in class and in chapel. Not all the students, only those who, after two years' work have qualified as scholars and gentlemen. They are called 'gownsmen' and are inducted in obviously formal ceremonies. You are permitted your high-jinx in laughing at the custom, but why do you wear trousers and not a diaper? Trousers are very comical to a Hottentot; a toga or a mandarin's robe is very graceful. Still, we stick to trousers because they are the custom; a silly custom, to be sure, and a memorial of the French revolution when gents took to them because they were the garment of the French peasant and saved them from the guillotine. You and I keep to them just because they are a custom. Anyway, I like a gown to wear when I am in class, especially at the blackboard because it saves my suits from chalk. But far be it from me to defend academic gowns even though I like to play all dressed up. And probably you do, too!"

(7) The classical 'pileus' which the Roman freedman wore to protect his head, new shaven now that he associated with free men, derived from the Phrygian cap, which we see still worn by the goddess of liberty on our coins. So our academic cap goes back to Asia Minor. Our modern tassel may have developed from the tuft ravelled by pulling. The beginning of the mortarboard dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The gown, derived perhaps from the 'tunica' of Benedictine rule, is described by E. C. Clark as "a loose outer garment with wide sleeves and small hood attached" which underwent some changes with the reform of the Order (*Archaeological Journal*, Vol 50, No. 80). To give the ragged, migratory, medieval student a more scholarly dignity, the colleges ruled that he must wear 'decent habit'. In his "The Rise of Universities", 1933, C. H.

Haskins of Harvard tells us a "recently published register" of the University of Bologna for 1265 and 1266 prescribes the "prohibitions and fines . . . the shape and color of caps and gowns". In the statutes of New College, Oxford, is recorded an enactment "against throwing stones in chapel. . . . The coroners' rolls of Oxford record many a fatal issue of town and gown riots."

(8) At Fordham College, the Jesuit institution in upper New York, the Rev. Robert I. Gannon, president, an alumnus of Christ's College, Cambridge, announced in 1938 that all seniors were to wear the black mortarboards and knee length gowns of his Cambridge college as they were designed four centuries ago.

The seniors, he held, deserved to have their gown dignity and be distinguished from the lower classmen. "At first, the seniors grumbled about 'false tradition' and the cost—\$11 yearly rental. But they soon became proud of their regalia." According to *Newsweek*, Oct. 17, 1938, "The outfits must be worn every morning—under penalty of expulsion from class—when seniors tackle the profundities of psychology, ethics, and religion." So throughout the year this medieval robe will flaunt, and from the tight-fitting skull cap, to which is attached a square, cloth covered pasteboard, a long tassel will dangle over one eye. The Fordham practice, if magazine advertisements are to be relied on, may result in baldness, so that the cap will again serve a purpose. (23rd ed, 1939, pp 73-4)

(9) The well dressed Harvard student in the 1830's wore in the warm weather, for the college then continued through the summer, a costume of plain or checked gingham with full trousers strapped under the instep, a long frock coat, belted at the waist, and a very broad brimmed hat. This is reported on in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, Feb. 10, 1939, by the Harvard antiquarian, Professor Samuel E. Morison, illustrated by a contemporary drawing and description. The authenticity of this ridiculous costume, he tells us, was until recently doubted. Another subject for further antiquarian research which might not offend those in control or weaken the structural pillars of society would be to discover at what time in the nineteenth century caps and gowns generally reappeared in American colleges. But once started, such investigations of elements of our culture misprized or unrecognized in academic circles, would keep a large staff occupied. Perhaps some time in the future some Trobriand Island anthropologist, when the present decay in our educational institutions has gone somewhat further, will appear with his assistants to undertake it. (23rd ed, 1939, p 75)

(10) At Williams College since 1883 the seniors had worn the cap and gown. Among the graduates in 1887 was Gardner Cotrell Leonard, whose family had been in the hat business in Albany since 1832. For his own class he designed the gowns and had them made by his family's firm. Something of a genius in organization, he was soon making them for a great number of colleges, and has continued to do so. The letterhead of Cox Sons & Vining, chief rival of the above firm, makes clear that they supply ecclesiastical vestments, clerical clothing, and robes for the Justices of the Supreme Courts. Established in London as the "House of Cox and Son" in 1837, the year Victoria was crowned, the growing academic business led to a branch in New York in 1876, of which Mr. Vining became a partner in 1894.

Today Illinois has four chief makers. In Chicago, E. R. Moore specializes in caps and gowns, while Louis E. Stilz in 1885 combined this business with uniforms, flags, insignia, trophies. The Collegiate Cap and Gown Company of Champaign, and De Moulin Bros. of Greenville, Illinois, also deal in these other accessories.

The letterhead of the pioneer firm today reads "Cotrell and Leonard, Sole Depository of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume". This bureau idea of Mr. Leonard's maintains a library of information about ceremonial "gowns, hoods, caps, robes, badges, banners, arms and other regalia", together with a "register of statutes, codes and usages, designs and descriptions of the articles of academic costume and regalia with their correct colors, materials, qualities, sizes, proportions and the arrangement thereof". "The History of Academic Costume in America", by John Erwin is printed and distributed for the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume by Cotrell and Leonard.

Of the more than twenty different colors now recognized as associated with special schools, some seem esthetically bizarre,—pink for music, lemon for library science, silver gray for oratory, maize for agriculture. Ninety-five schools and colleges, we are informed, adhere to this code. Harvard maintains its own code, and instead of the velvet trimmings on the hoods, uses different colored "crows-feet" on the front panels of the gowns to indicate what the wearer has been put through. (23rd ed, 1939, p 76)

(11) More like Gulliver than an anthropologist describing the strange customs of a people, H. G. Wells relates his part in an academic ceremony ("World Brain", 1938). He was obliged "to assume some very remarkable garments—most remarkable if you consider that London University was founded in the year 1836 when gentlemen wore tight trousers with straps, elegantly waisted coats and bell-shaped top hats. Did I dress up like that? No. I found myself retreating from the age of the aeroplane to the age of the horse and mule outfit of the Canterbury Pilgrims. I found myself wearing a hood and gown and carrying a beret rather like those worn by prosperous citizens of the days of Edward IV, when the University of London was as little anticipated as the continent of America. My modern head peeped out at the top of this get-up and my modern trousers at the bottom. Properly I ought to have been wearing a square beard or have been clean-shaven, but I was forgiven that much. And from all parts of the world representatives of innumerable universities had come with beautifully illuminated addresses to congratulate our Chancellor and ourselves on our hundred years of sham mediaevalism." (23rd ed, 1939, p 79)

(12) The first year of the century, 1899-1900, there were only 98,923 undergraduates in America, less than one-fourth of them women. Forty years later there were a million and a half. In 1900 college degrees were granted to 15,972. Forty years later there were over 30,000, Walter A. Jessup, tells us in his introduction to "Studies in American Graduate Education", by Marcia Edwards, 1944.

For years there has been an effort, which has had some success, to control and reduce the number of degree granting institutions and especially those that grant higher degrees for a correspondence course and a fee of \$25 to \$100, for it naturally interferes with the business of those institutions that hold out for higher terms.

In New York there are still "65 separate degrees... authorized by the Regents". But a recent inquiry revealed that "85 unauthorized degrees were being conferred in special fields such as business administration, education, engineering, and religious education". And New York exercises a more "vigilant control" than many of her sister states. A survey of graduate degrees in the state in the degree granting season of 1937 showed "28 types of Masters' and 13 types of Doctors' degrees". Citing these facts, Hugh J. McDonald, professor of chemistry, Illinois Institute of Technology, in the *Journal of Higher Education*, April, 1943,

remarks that many degrees merely indicate "that the holder has been taught to pose intellectually as well as physically".

"The differences in requirements for the graduate degrees are interminable. One of our best state universities now offers the Ph.D. degree for a bit of written research that is never published and 36 hours of residence work. That is dangerously close to 'honoris causa'", observes Allen W. Porterfield in "A College Degree in One Year", *School and Society*, March 4, 1944. Psychologist George Ross Wells of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, suggests that degrees either be abolished or granted to everyone just as soon as they enter college. Then, "those who just want a degree can leave right away and those who are left can stay for an education". (United Press, March 17, 1944)

(13) "At present the granting of degrees and the requiring of them in all who wish to teach comes so close to being a racket that you have to be clever always to make a distinction", John Erskine told the National Council of Teachers of English at Atlanta in the fall of 1943. And he added what every parent and child should know, that degrees, even a Thirty-Third, do not add to the competence of a teacher.

"Before education was organized on trade-unionist lines, Harvard gave professorships to Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Norton and Henry Adams." None of them could qualify today. "None of them carried the union-card of a Ph.D.", Albert Jay Nock reminds us in "College Is No Place to Get an Education", *American Mercury*, Feb., 1939.

But today "Getting Ahead by Degrees" is the teacher's means of preferment, as Edgar W. Knight has pointed out. In many states the state education authority so prescribes. Not yet have we reached such a stage as in Germany when it became necessary to coin a special word for the system of diploma worship and the special privileges that go with it,—*Berechtigungswesen*. But we are on our way.

An "annual list of Doctors' dissertations under way in education" has been published for fourteen years in the January number of the *Journal of Educational Research*. "Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities" is published annually by the H. W. Wilson Company. With rare exceptions the subjects covered give a picture of weary and barren hours spent by ambitious and more or less promising students in the process of being conditioned and stultified for fresh and inspiring teaching. The tenth annual Wilson volume shows a decline in the number of doctoral dissertations accepted from 3423 in 1942 to 2689 in 1943. From Columbia came 145, Chicago 143, Wisconsin 133, Cornell 128, Minnesota 123, California 114, Michigan 102. The older endowed universities who started this game are left behind in the race. (*Journal of Higher Education*, March, 1944)

(14) What laurel wreaths were to the Greeks, cups to the modern athlete, medals to the military, kings, honors and titles to the British, degrees have been to the American. Stanley Baldwin has remarked that the more democratic a country the longer its honors list.

So much obloquy has been thrown on the degree given 'causa honoris', and so many cartoons at the honorary season have made them ridiculous, that it would seem that men of pride and independence refuse them today and those who accept are running the risk of being considered stuffed shirts or dodos. Nevertheless in a historical study of the wounded and squirming, dying dragon, 'causa honoris', Dean Stephen Edward Epler of Southern Oregon College of Education has done an exhaustive piece of research,—*"Honorary Degrees: A Survey of Their Use*

and Abuse", American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. This intensive study of the practices of seven typical American universities,—Harvard, Columbia, Smith, North Carolina, Wisconsin, California, and Nebraska,—is confined to five periods, before 1787, the decade of the 1830's, the 1870's, the first and third decades of this century.

Harvard, always first in war, first in peace, was first in the hearts of those it favored, granting the first honorary, Doctor of Sacred Theology, to its president, Increase Mather, in 1692. Yale followed with its first honorary, Doctor of Medicine, in 1723. Columbia, then King's College, in the decade before the Revolution awarded honorary doctorates to Loyalists, whom we usually refer to as Tories, while the Revolutionary colleges were granting degrees to the other party. During the early part of the 19th century the clergy were profusely sprinkled with honorary D. D.'s by the other colleges that followed in the wake of their predecessors. A writer in a popular magazine in 1851 commented, "The degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Laws, from too great freedom in their use, have got to be but an inferior quality of literary gingerbread, passed around indiscriminately by our colleges, *pro bono publico*". Daniel Coit Gilman, when a professor at Yale, wrote in 1867, "The mode in which honorary degrees are conferred in this country is a sham and a shame". Later as president of Johns Hopkins he showed his contrition by accepting nine honorary LL.D.'s.

In 1886 Harvard celebrated its 250th anniversary by an *auto da fe* of 42 honoraries. Columbia the following year did better with 61. Princeton at its 150th birthday in 1896 showed the intensity of its faith with 79. Yale at its 200th in 1901 found only 60 for honorifics. But Harvard at its Tercentenary in 1936 staged a mass massacre of 86 victims.

In the first three decades of the 20th century the honoraries began to fall off. They lessened the value of the earned degree which the universities had to sell, and in which their recipients had a vested interest. For the number of degree conferring institutions, not including teachers or junior colleges or normal schools, doubled, the number of pupils quadrupled, and to supply the demand for doctoring the students, the number of earned doctorates was multiplied by five. So in 1918 only 736 honoraries were granted, 9 less than 28 years earlier in 1890. As the requirements for the honorary rose, the output diminished so that from 1918 to 1930 only 1347 were awarded. Most of these came from private institutions that had most to gain by the publicity or pecuniary reward that came as a result.

Honoraries have for good reasons generally gone to older men who have achieved not only fame but fortune. "Of over 900 doctorates given by the seven universities in all the periods surveyed, less than 60 went to men under 40." The partners in the House of Morgan have been generously baptized with LL.D.'s from Harvard, other universities anxiously following suit.

Competition among the universities led to those who had already been spotted as easy marks being followed up with more degrees in the hope of publicity or other benefits. On the other hand those who had once been tackled this way became victims of the degree psychosis. After the break of the stock market from 1929 to 1933 only 4551 degrees were granted by 266 institutions. But college presidents, responding to Epler's inquiry, are still hopeful that the honoraries may yield dividends. Business leaders seem to be on to the game, responding in answer to the question, "Why do colleges give honorary degrees?"—"Most colleges get rich by degrees", "to lay the foundation for a future 'touch'", "it is chiefly a matter of payment for bequests", "a dignified means of advertising".

ACADEMIC MYTHOLOGY

Comparative study of commencement addresses throws light on the myths of education, generally accepted as eternal verities. 'Truth' is the most venerated subject for discussion, uncovering of untruths avoided.

The festival and the feasting, the pageantry and procession, pass. After the funeral baked meats and ice-cream come the eternal words of wisdom spoken in academic shades or halls to departing graduates and congregated alumni. Traditionally our universities carry on the function of their ecclesiastical forerunners. Monastic establishments through the medieval period were essential to the preservation of our heritage and what then passed as learning. Most precious were the eternal verities, the unchangeable truths which had come from divine revelation or from the revered Aristotle, which the medieval Schoolmen through their scholarship had preserved for us, and which our university scholars still cherish. Natural enough, then, that on the commencement platforms a choice collection of these ancient absolutes should be presented for veneration, as relics in their reliquaries are preserved and presented for adoration in the antecedent institutions.

THE NATURE OF MYTH

This inherited body of beliefs, convictions, premises, principles, eternal verities, has wasted away under the scrutiny of the scientific method during the past two generations. But still from the vast accumulation of the ages we are continuing in the bright light of science to recognize and identify as 'folklore' or 'myth', and place on mental museum shelves, former treasured convictions.

For there is no folklore and no myth that was not once truth for those who held it,—an activating, driving force, an attempt to explain some feature of the inner or outer world. With enlarging consciousness of the world about us, we accept less on authority. We realize that the revelation of the world to man from divine sources was not complete, that there are things to discover that those who in former times were in close touch with God knew not of, that among our store of revealed truths and eternal verities many are already dead and labelled.

Nowhere today are we so actively questioning what has generally been accepted as in the field of education. No longer can the priestcraft on mere authority put over on us their eternal verities. There is a tendency to question their axioms and premises. In examining anthropologically their beliefs and principles, is it possible to distinguish myth?

In the body of doctrine solemnly put forth at commencement as quintessential wisdom we may find living folklore not recognized as such, myth ardently believed in. We may gain courage to investigate, by understanding that the body of fundamental verities of other peoples, of other times, has later been found to be made up of what we now recognize as folklore and myth.

The folklore of the people, the myths they hold as sacred, are as natural phenomena as the hoarfrost or the spring crocus,—and as passing, if we look at any people over a sufficient period of time. But while they are living convictions they are the actuating forces, the drives that stir emotions, that send men forth to battle or the stake.

THE COMMENCEMENT "GOLDEN BOUGH"

Even today myth is as much needed as bread. The yeast still works. It's still needed,—it still rises. But for those whose curiosity is not dead, with whom the twig was not early bent too acutely, there is perhaps no intellectual satisfaction quite equal to that of discovering myths, bits of folklore, tabus, where they were unseen before and are still unseen by their fellows. Not that we would have all myths exposed, shelved and labelled in a museum. But it may be well to cultivate some faculty of distinguishing what's false and what's genuine, what is evanescent and what is lasting (not everlasting,—you can buy that at the florist's any fall).

Not that it would be well for anyone to get rid of all his superstitions, or all his myths, any more than all his prejudices. Everyone ought to have his own private collection. But it is well to have them properly labelled. Don't pull out of your bag a superstition and call it a verity, or a prejudice and call it a principle. Some of our commencement speakers have been a little careless about this.

A comparative study of commencement addresses, made with detachment but with regard to time and season, with reference to recent events and happenings, is quite as justifiable and perhaps as engaging as Frazer's fascinating volumes, the "Golden Bough". In browsing through his curious assortment, we are likely to forget these myths, tabus, fetishes, magic formulae were as devoutly held, as completely accepted as eternal verities, as are the academic axioms, premises, principles, abstractions set forth in our commencement addresses.

In an effort to answer the challenging question, "Can education save the world?" we made a tour of 1937 commencements, hearkening to the words of wisdom of the speakers chosen from the nation by the governing powers of the universities to impart last words to their departing graduates. In that brief review we found little evidence to justify the

faith that the ideals held up before our graduates on this solemn occasion would "save the world". (1)

TONGUE MAGIC IS EAR-BINDING

Not only in the colleges at commencement, but among the most primitive peoples during the puberty rites, there comes a time when the old men of the tribe harangue the initiates. It's the part of the elders to condition the young to the world they are to live in, to inculcate the loyalties of their time and place to those who rule and control, to the abstractions,—in America 'democracy', in England 'The Crown'. Commencement is the time for a fine line of tongue magic that is ear-binding.

In the baccalaureate the presiding genius of the university usually gives the departing seniors his more serious admonition and advice on the ways of the world and the folkways they should follow. Other wise men have their say in addresses at commencement. Recipients of honorary degrees and invited speakers of publicity value say their little pieces to boost the university or their own self-interest. By and large there is little facing of fundamental conditions, but much voicing of prevalent prejudices, especially those that are popular enough to bring a round of applause.

There are time-worn phrases that are always good for commencement, just as there are platitudes for the Fourth of July orator. The eighteenth century left-overs, 'liberty, equality, and fraternity,' have somewhat faded. Liberty our rulers want,—to rule. The equality they are not so insistent upon. And the thought of fraternity would bring a wry face to the steel master whose plant was being occupied by sit-down strikers.

Politicians and politically minded presidents always do well to spread their wings in protection and implore that others join them to 'save' the Constitution, 'save' our form of government, just as Napoleon called upon his soldiers to 'save' their Eagles, and the Levites upon the Jews to 'save' the Ark of the Covenant.

'Transmitting the heritage of the race' is an ear-filling phrase, so that we forget to examine the inventory of items that have come down to us. When curiosity overcomes our tremulous veneration and we poke into the heavy bag of tricks we have been staggering under, we find a lot of useless junk, old fetters, nuts and bolts and loose screws that might well be discarded.

Our heritage, the story of our life on this planet, of man in his scores of species, of our inheritance of invention and religion from species other than ours, and of the advance of our own species in the more recent ten million years, and how the elements of our culture have gradually developed,—of this heritage little has actually been imparted to us. Released from the domination of medieval authority, our divine curiosity

now manifests itself in the scientific method. Dissipating the fog of myth, we have only to grasp our heritage to enrich our lives.

BROMIDIC FOLKLORE

The folklore of education changes. Characteristic expressions of time and place soon become obsolete,—‘saving souls’, ‘building character’, ‘training the mind’, ‘preparing our children for life’, ‘equipping them with the essential tools’, ‘teaching them to think’ (without much contact with those who can),—are dated, though most of them were once up-to-date. Then there are well-known and trite sayings, popular in school rooms,—‘practice makes perfect’, ‘what’s worth doing is worth doing well’, ‘never put off until tomorrow what can be done today’. Such commandments made for unthinking morons are actually immoral in their effect on those who should use their minds and develop judgment. Even more vicious are the exhortations ‘be thorough’, ‘be accurate’, ‘do your best’, ‘tell the truth’,—all absolute impossibilities, suitable injunction perhaps for primitive and simple minds incapable of discrimination or distinction.

The educational lingo which changes even more promptly reflects the educational folklore. ‘Correlation’, ‘integration’, ‘evaluation’ have been the prevailing myths of successive recent decades. (2) To “Two Myths in Education” Henry W. Holmes in the *Nation's Schools*, Sept., 1938, attributes the troubles that harass him in his job of training teachers. “One is the myth of mental discipline . . . that if you study one subject hard enough and long enough you train your mind so that you can solve problems in other subjects without difficulty. The other myth . . . is the belief that a credit on the academic books is equivalent to a definite increment of knowledge, understanding or competence . . . the semester-hour myth.”

From the depths of their emotional nature, from the stores of wisdom they have acquired from the long past of our ethnic history, commencement orators bring up what for them are the great profundities. Dr. John A. Mackey, President of Princeton Theological Seminary, declared, “We have come to the crucial moment when education must treat of the ultimate meaning of the universe”. For a six-day-created universe in which the sun revolved around the earth, such ‘meanings’ had meaning. As Julian Huxley has pointed out, man has spent a large part of his time in asking meaningless questions to which there are no answers. To a Shapley, who is “not responsible for the behavior on this planet” but has in charge only “the stars and galaxies”, it is enough to understand something of the structure of the universe, without questioning its meaning. To a Hooton who has brought man “up from the ape”, the story has interest and significance, even if no moral. Our grandparents in-

sisted on drawing a moral or a meaning from every story. Now we value the story for its own sake.

THE MYTH BREAKERS

You can't walk up to a man and say, "This belief you hold so devoutly is untrue", and expect approbation. The skillful politician always agrees with the man he is talking with. If you walk into a house and say, "There is a nasty odor here; there must be something dead", you mustn't expect a cordial reception. But if you go down the street and smell a bad odor and see somebody holding his nose, you smile at him in sympathetic recognition. Nothing brings more pleasure, satisfaction to those who have detected the aroma that arises from the defunct, than to have others also hold their noses.

The questioning of accepted interpretations in our universities is disturbing to one who has settled down to comfortable ease in his well upholstered 'chair'. Rubbing his eyes he may arise angrily from disturbed quietude. "Intellectual revolt against academic orthodoxies will seem to him wrong-headed and jejune" (Report of Special Committee to President of Harvard University, April, 1939).

If you attack sacred myths in sanctuaries where they are worshiped, expect to be torn limb from limb. Nothing is more likely to bring down the tribal anger, stirred by the priesthood. When all truth came from a hierarchy, to deny any element of it branded one a heretic, a candidate for the stake. Bruno, espousing Copernicus a century after, denied that the sun went round the earth. He went up in smoke. The myth breakers are the trouble makers, the dangerous thinkers, the world's movers and shakers.

PURSUING TRUTH

The absorbing indoor sport of the scholar, one would gather from commencement addresses, is chasing after truth, ruthlessly. It must leave some of these puffy professors breathless. Truth, represented as a discreetly half-robed goddess holding aloft a lighted torch, keeps out of sight, just around the corner. That adds appeal to the suggestion of pursuit. Disillusioned, Aldous Huxley writes, "I regarded the Search for Truth as the highest of human tasks and the Searchers as the noblest of men. But in the last year or so I have begun to see that this famous Search for Truth is just an amusement . . . a rather refined and elaborate substitute for genuine living."

At commencement 'truth seeking' is a popular topic. If the students, leaving for a long vacation, take it seriously and pursue the truth through the woods and mountains, it will do no harm. When the undergraduates

come back in September truth seeking is seldom talked about. It might stimulate some one to make a nuisance of himself by uncovering untruths embarrassing to those who are content and secure, who would like to leave well enough alone. (3)

"Truth does not lie in the mere accumulation of facts, but in an attitude of mind, and a mode of life and action, that must be renewed from generation to generation." This must have been rather disconcerting to some of the dry-as-dust scholars, if they understood Einstein at the Harvard Tercentenary. (4)

In our teaching we have been dealing out the old myths and beliefs, Baldulf tells us in *School and Society*, Feb. 25, 1939. "Round and round we went, in a vicious circle. Whether in the public schools or colleges, the rising generations fared the same. . . . They were not taught to make the scientific approach to all problems. . . . Even today, adolescents and young adults in many a college are carefully shielded against the impact of raw facts and fresh points of view . . . because of our traditionalism—our insistence upon the sacrosanctness of hoary platitudes and beliefs."

"As human beings, we have our thinking complicated by our emotions, and limited by our childhood beliefs . . . forces that push us from the straight path of reason, or even stand astride the path and hold us back. The result is pathetic", the late Dr. Maurice C. Hall wrote in "Scientists Sometimes Tell the Truth", *Scientific Monthly*, Aug., 1938.

"When even the brightest mind in our world has been trained up from childhood in a superstition of any kind, it will never be possible for that mind, in its maturity, to examine sincerely, dispassionately, and conscientiously any evidence or circumstance which shall seem to cast a doubt upon the validity of that superstition. I doubt if I could do it myself", confessed Mark Twain. "We can't help it, we can't change it. And whenever we have been furnished a fetish, and have been taught to believe in it, and love it and worship it, and refrain from examining it, there is no evidence, howsoever clear and strong, that can persuade us to withdraw from it our loyalty and our devotion."

"It is about time for the American public school to stop lying to its children. . . . We should teach our children in school the truth about war, about the working of our political system, truth about our economic and social system", declared Dr. Rollo Reynolds, principal of the Horace Mann School, Teachers College, April 10, 1933, ignoring the fact that the few teachers who have attempted this have been thrown out and persecuted by our patrioteers. Mark Twain, a wiser guy, advised us that if truth is the most precious thing we have, we should not be too prodigal of it. We may speak very highly of truth, but be careful about our personal indulgence in truth telling. But, he added, "An awkward and

unscientific lie is almost as harmful as the truth".

WHERE TRUTH LIES

A headline, "Where Truth Lies", in the Boston *Herald* once took my attention. Romantically minded, I hummed, "Come where the Truth lies gleaming, there on the golden shore". And then as I read down I found that the headline writer was a sardonic cuss. The article was propaganda for the utilities.

I spent eleven years at Harvard,—it isn't a record, others have been slower and stupider,—chasing this gleaming maiden around the corners in the Yard and through the biological laboratories. I finally got away, with a bad case of Cambridgitis, convinced that the sun rose only to shine on fair Harvard, then sank in crimson shame and crept around through the dark once more to shine on my Alma Mater. For years I was a blind worshiper at her shrine. I still pay tribute, genuflect, have a choking feeling of gratitude for what she did for me, a crude youth. What I might have done without her I don't know.

Those were the days when the spirit of free inquiry and adventure prevailed, when crusading professors clashed,—Shaler and Norton, Royce and James, Munsterburg and Palmer,—and all joyed in the conflict. To-day nearly everybody is bewildered, stultified, playing safe, little excitement, little zest. Few are getting Cambridgitis as bad as I had it. And it's a good thing to have, like the measles, and get over. That is, it's a good thing to have faith in something, even if you later learn it isn't true.

It took Lincoln Steffens, who attended five universities, the rest of his life to unlearn what he had learned. Max Lerner tells us that he is now an unlearner. After Harvard I spent ten years getting an education going around the world, which when I was there Harvard hadn't yet discovered was round. Ever since I have been coming out of the coma, awakening to the possibilities of life.

This search for truth, the commencement speakers would lead us to believe, may lead to finding the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. From some we get the suggestion that it is to be found in nuggets. And one gets the picture of the learned professors, noses down among the grass roots, spiralling about for the precious particles. But one learns, too, that the universities are the guardians and preservers of a great treasure that they hoard as our government does its buried gold in Kentucky. This hoarding suggests an acquisitive society.

In this great hoard of truth there are, we are told, eternal verities, absolutes that are unchangeable, things that are fundamental and permanent. For truth, unlike gold, does not change in value. A truth, President Hutchins tells us, is just as true today as it was in the time of St.

Thomas Aquinas, or when our ancestors were living in the tree tops, or as it will be tomorrow when our species will be extinct.

Some of the particles that I treasured from my college days, given me by some scholarly Simon Stylites, all glittering and shining and bright, are now tarnished. The mineralogist tells me they are iron pyrites, fool's gold. But I have found some new and shining particles which the scholars don't recognize as gold.

KNOWING PILATE

The old jibe about Pilate puzzles some. But knowing he didn't know and nobody knew, why should he wait? It's only since Peter was designated the Rock on which the Church was founded that we have had a direct line to the source of all truth. Since then the truth has been in the safe keeping of the Bishops of Rome and their successors. For hundreds of years their authority was unchallenged.

And aren't our universities with their ecclesiastical origins in the direct line of descent? And don't they still hand down the truth with authority to the schools that supply them with raw material? Don't they continue to divulge as truth that algebra is essential for the girl who enters college, that Euclid is not an embellishment of the cultured, a fashionable study, as those who introduced it to our curriculum thought, but a mental discipline?

Copernicus, Huss, Tyndall, Luther and other apostate priests dared to question some of the things that their chiefs asserted were true. The fun-loving and luxury-hunting authorities in Rome made things unpleasant for them. But those in control today have given up the geocentric idea and admit that the earth goes round the sun.

Today "poets and pantheistic philosophers, no less than geologists, chemists, physicists, and astronomers, have an even more expansive, 'cosmocentric' interest," William Morton Wheeler tells us, "and their version of Terence's line would, perhaps, read: 'I am a space-time event and I deem nothing that is a space-time event foreign to me.' . . . St. Augustine informs us that when the actor who impersonated Chremes is Terence's adaptation of Menander's comedy, the 'Self-Tormentor,' uttered the line 'homo sum, et humani nil a me alienum puto'—I am a man and I deem nothing that is human foreign to me—the Roman theater resounded with applause." The attitude of those who assume "that a complete knowledge of man could be secured by studying him as a unique and isolated species" is "very largely 'anthropocentric'; their motto that of Terence, or the Protagorean 'man is the measure of all things', or Pope's 'the proper study of mankind is man' . . .

"Remote and tenuous as such an interest may seem, and without going

as far as Groddeck when he says that 'if one wished to utter one unquestionable truth about humanity, one would need to know the whole cosmos,' we gladly admit that we still have much to learn about the biochemistry, biophysics and the cosmic significance and destiny of man."

THE TRUTH IS DATED

Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), in his *Commentaries*, the bible of every English-speaking lawyer, proclaimed what Luther and Cotton Mather had upheld: "To deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages of both the Old and New Testament, and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by example seemingly well tested, or by prohibitory laws which at least suppose the possibility of commerce with evil spirits." The truth about witchcraft has changed since Blackstone. Perhaps the truth about other things has changed. Perhaps the truth about all things will change. Perhaps the truth is anything that has not yet been proved false.

"The old despotic Truth that claimed a celestial descent and always pretended absolutely to control whatever subjects she graced with her august presence, is in desperate trouble, and threatened with supersession and oblivion by the meretricious allurements of a younger double, a new Truth willing to be the companion and the slave of man, and to share the vicissitudes of his mortal life." Thus wrote F. C. S. Schiller who died in 1937, "one of the most productive and also one of the most provocative of Oxford tutors in Philosophy", in his "The Tribulations of Truth",

"He in whom the love of truth predominates will keep himself aloof from all moorings, and afloat. He will abstain from dogmatism, and recognize all the opposite negations, between which, as walls, his being is swung. He submits to the inconvenience of suspense and imperfect opinion." This is Emerson who speaks. Another New Englander, William James, declared, "In the metaphysical and religious sphere, articulate reasons are cogent for us only when our articulate feelings of reality have already been impressed in favor of the same conclusion".

That is, reason appeals to us when it coincides with our feelings, or, pragmatically, the thing that works is true. That's the way the mechanician uses the word. When he says the machine is set 'true', he means the parts fit, it will work. Or, putting it another way, as some phrase it, 'truth is a question of adequacy'. Allah is adequate for one-tenth of the human race. The truth of the immaculate conception is adequate for millions. Some have fought longer and spilt more blood for their conception of the immaculate conception than you would for your belief

that two and two make four. These latter observations are not heard at commencement.

"KEEP ABREAST OF TRUTH"

"Ye shall know the truth" is in the future tense. Truth was ahead, to be discovered. "And the truth shall make you free." But we are not free yet. There is more to be discovered. That man is free who feels so. He never feels as free as when he has discovered new truth, discovered that the air on the mountain top is better than in the valley, and that the view is broader.

As the centuries roll round, mankind, discovering new things that are true for him, puts the old and discarded behind. He calls that 'advance', and perhaps it is. Lincoln Steffens tells us that he wanted to call his autobiography "A Life of Unlearning". "That is what it has been," he said, "a difficult process of clearing out of my mind the convictions, superstitions, ideas, which got there I know not how. And the last to go have been the liberal notions. . . . They seem to me now to have been cultivated human wishes and purposes, having no parallels in nature and no foundation in science. . . . The Truth from now on is always dated; never absolute, never eternal. You can learn that. Almost all my liberal friends can't. The right is right, isn't it? they say. My answer is, When?"

So while our horizons continue to enlarge we must leave behind us what was true for us yesterday in the joy of discovering what will be true for us tomorrow. The sun may shine. Our digestion may be better. Those whose vision grows, grow spiritually. They shall know the truth, the truth shall make them free.

James Russell Lowell saw and stated this clearly. "Time makes ancient good uncouth. They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth."

NOTES

(1) The harvest was lean. Winnowing the gatherings, one was reminded of the starving child's plea, "Only a few grains of corn, mother!" We quote a few paragraphs: At Amherst, Chief Justice Hughes orated, "Democracy . . . must guard the fundamental blessings of freedom. . . . Foremost is the need for truth. . . . Resistance to propaganda, demagogues and zealots of all kinds must be checked by a thorough training in emotional and moral stability and knowledge of the fundamentals of democracy." To frustrated youths all over the land, from the mouths of a hundred orators, the same time worn phrases may have sounded like meaningless platitudes. Specific suggestions as to how to use democracy, how to make it work, which might stimulate youth to action, were avoided, as befits a scholarly atmosphere. It would not do to inflame youths to enthusiasms that might interfere with some trustee's or donor's established rights and privileges.

'Liberty' can always be used to stir the blood and stultify the brains of socially

inferior students or laborers. "Liberty is a weasel word. In the first place it is never liberty but liberties. In the second place liberties, if they are more than empty phrases, are not negative; they are positive. . . . The problem is one of the coordination of civil liberties with economic regimentation." No one said this at commencement. It comes from Dr. Joseph A. Leighton, head of the department of philosophy at Ohio State University, in his "Social Philosophies in Conflict", 1938.

'Training the mind' is another good old standby to fall back on. "If we are not serious about training the mind, if we do not do this job well, we shall do no job well. A university that fails in this perpetrates a fraud upon society", eloquently declared President Dodds at Princeton. At the Phi Beta Kappa initiation at Tufts, Professor H. V. Neal informed them, "There are no better trained minds than those of Jesuit priests".

From such a survey one comes back with few pearls among the handfuls of 'dead sea ashes'. Men heroic in their youth played safe in their commencement addresses, protecting pelf and privilege as if to prove that Henry Sloane Coffin, president of Union Theological Seminary, was right in saying at Wellesley, "Truth-seeking and truth-speaking are the luxuries of the safe". (22nd ed, 1938, pp 40-41)

Two years later Edgar W. Knight of the U. of N. C. ranged over the literature for a century to report "What College Presidents Say", 1940. He prints their drab, safe, threadbare platitudes, which President Park of Wheaton speaks of as a "file or cemetery of clippings. . . incredible that so many bright men should have allowed themselves to say so many ordinary things". Knight tells us that college presidents "when they insist on saying what they are not expected to say . . . are soon not allowed to say anything". They "seem to believe with Falstaff that discretion is the better part of valor, and with St. Paul that the things which may be lawful are not always expedient".

Charles Beard, making his own review of presidential commencement addresses, sardonically writes me, June 13, 1943, "They are for me among the most precious documents of this great age".

(2) Each trade, technology, or art necessarily has its own technical terms. Each culture within a culture, like criminal or hobo, has its argot. Some educational institutions in America have developed their own technical lingo, reverently draped with manufactured tradition, imitative of the ecclesiastic and scholastic foundations of England, as was explained in the 1926 edition, pp 15-16. Some of the English terms, like 'forms', have been more or less naturalized in our church schools in this country, though 'removes' are still little known in America. Much of the American pedageese is unknown in England. "Pedagogues and Pedageese" is dwelt upon by Daniel Gibson in the *American Scholar*, Winter, 1942-43; "The Cultural Lag in Educational Language" by Daniel P. Eginton in the *Journal of Educational Sociology* a few years ago, contrasting the obsolete and the modern terms for the same meaningless concepts. An article in the *Educational Record*, Winter, 1926-27, dealt helpfully with educational terminology and nomenclature.

The Phi Delta Kappa, a professional fraternity of educators, with the aid of its 23,000 members, started to compile some years ago a dictionary of education. Doubtless this led to much haggling, for each member would have a different definition for such a term as 'transfer of training'. In his "New Dictionary of Quotations" H. L. Mencken brings together a rare collection of definitions, aphorisms, sillygisms by famed authorities on education. When he was preparing

a new edition of his "American Language" I wrote suggesting a list of "words used by American educators in educational meetings and writings. There has been a tremendous development of this lingo in the last ten years. New terms come in waves and pass rapidly as the educational fashions change." The response was, "Delighted".

(3) From one of the more liberal professors to whom this idea was presented, one may gather that it's an all-season sport. Apparently somewhat hurt, he writes, "I very much deplore the idea that seems to lie at the root of your argument, namely, that the universities are more or less engaged in a conspiracy of silence, that they are composed of a lot of lily-livered time-servers, and that *veritas* is fetched out of the cupboard only for Commencement and other special occasions." A little bewildered, he adds, "I am unable to make out exactly what the line of your argument is. It appears to me more like a random collection of provocative utterances than the presentation of a reasoned argument." He guessed right the very first time. I am warned against reasoned arguments by the examples I have witnessed.

(4) Justice Holmes once remarked, "I . . . define the truth as the system of my limitations and leave absolute truth for those who are better equipped. With absolute truth I leave absolute ideals of conduct equally to one side."

Charles A. Beard in his address "The Scholar in an Age of Conflicts" said, "It is not given to mortals, apparently, to know the whole truth about anything. The judicial mind, the mind of the scholar, does not operate in a vacuum. It functions in American society."

Max Schoen, in "Can We Be Socially Intelligent?", *Scientific Monthly*, Dec., 1937, said, "The searcher for truth has no inclination to shout from the rooftops . . . to proclaim finalities. . . . Truth is not an accomplishment, but an accomplishing."

Rudolf Carnap in his "Introduction to Semantics" tells us "the concept of truth" is "semantical" and has "been discussed by philosophers since ancient times. . . . The concept of verification has to be replaced by the concept of confirmation and the concept 'verified' by 'confirmed' to such and such a degree'. Sometimes the concept 'verified' is taken as being the same as 'true'."

To some favored men in the past God has spoken directly, revealing to them the truth. Most men who claim to be in such close touch at the present time are looked upon with something of suspicion. Most of us have to rely on the use of our sense organs interpreted by our cortex to distinguish between what is truth or false. But our senses and even our most accurate instruments are both subject to error. The scientist is constantly endeavoring to reduce the percentage error of his observations or measurements. If a scientist claimed to be one hundred per cent accurate he would be suspect. If he claimed to know the whole truth about his subject he would be looked upon as a crackpot. On the danger of "Telling the Truth", the impossibility of telling "The Whole Truth", together with the conclusion that "All Men Are Liars" and it is better to "Never Promise", one may find comment and caution in "The New Immoralities", pp 67-71.

FACING REALITY

Physical and mental change accompanies the growth and adjustment incident to socialization. But consciously controlled education stultifies, and indoctrination of the fixed and artificial stunts the growing.

Once our college and university heads were ministers and dominies, safe men of course. Presidencies no longer go to churchmen as they did, but most presidents must be ordained or blessed by our finance capitalist trustees. Most are jittery and play safe, but there are a few real men who can stand steady on their hind legs and face reality even at commencement. Speakers in 1939 doled out the usual conventional platitudes and traditional mythology. Here are presented a few of the stronger pronouncements of those who showed a desire to come to grips with things as they are, who evidenced awareness of the real world in which they live.

ALL CHANGE

Some recognized that this is a period of change, of "readjustment of values". "Progress never comes from bewailing changes", Wesleyan seniors were told by President James K. McConaughy in his baccalaureate address. "At the bottom of most of our troubles" is inertia, Harlow H. Curtice, president of the Buick Motor Corporation, told the seniors at Olivet College. "Your battle is against the most insidious and tireless of foes . . . the easy way, the wishful thought, the tempting short cut, the shallow assumption, the clever expedient, the evasion of responsibility, the specious solution, the self-saving ingenuity, the surrender of independence and integrity of mind."

"Our intellectual heritage is not a coordinated consistent body of knowledge and methods, it is a fortuitous assortment of highest excellence and tragic mediocrity and vicious fallacy", Lord Stamp told the graduates at Johns Hopkins. "Just pass your mind's eye over it: bundles of racial prejudices, fed by false presentation of history from long dead acrimonies; class animosities alive generations after their reasons, surviving scientific bigotries and authoritarian pedantries from Aristotle, the Schoolmen and decayed religions; grand subjects weighed down with vast accretions of now irrelevant facts."

"Most misunderstandings and disputes are due to failure to agree on the exact significance of terms. . . . In ancient Athens Socrates went about luring men into talk and then gradually convincing them that they were using words without knowing what they meant by them", Dr. George E. Vincent, former president of the Rockefeller Foundation, told Simmons graduates.

THE SPIRIT OF INQUIRY

President Dykstra of Wisconsin, who has been in the habit of facing reality, called for "unlimited freedom of inquiry" in the examination of "the institutions of church and State, the forms and distribution of property, the relations of property to government, the processes of government, the driving forces of social life. . . . The challenge America faces today in a world of warring philosophies is clear cut—can we make the democratic idea and process work? . . . Education must face this issue or lose its liberty and its opportunity. It must lead the way or degenerate into a set of routines guarding a status quo."

At Vassar, President Henry Noble MacCracken too called for "free and untrammelled inquiry into every field. . . . We cannot blind ourselves to . . . the power engendered by the ideology we reject. It works. It fills people with a sense of mission, uplifting them. It puts fire into the eyes of youth, straightens up the bowed backs of the aged. The nation, literally, seems to lift itself by its bootstraps. The disasters predicted by the economists do not arrive on schedule."

"One job of the college is to prepare youth to meet the world with a personality at harmony with itself . . . not frustrated by inward warring tendencies nor out of adjustment with the ever-changing life of society around him", President Harold W. Dodds told the Princetonians at the September opening, 1938.

"To protect stereotypes of public opinion . . . to argue for established beliefs against convincing evidence" is "subversive", declared President Hopkins of Dartmouth on Jefferson's birthday, 1938. "No fact is unrelated to other facts . . . final truth is found in the relationship of all facts, and there alone."

EDUCATIONAL HERESIES

It is satisfying to find men high in education who, amid all the educational piffle that passes for profundity, can give a realistic touch. But there are not many in a safe enough position to speak boldly. Most educators are dependent on their salaries and on the good will of cautious board members or trustees. So their writing and speaking must keep to safe topics. The past is dead. It is safe to glorify it. But there stand out a few who are willing to jar those capable of thought so that the kaleidoscopic picture they have held so long in mind may shift to some new vision. It doesn't take much to stimulate thought. And a little bold speaking stimulates more.

"Education is what it is and nothing else." When I read that very simple statement, it hit me squarely between the eyes. It was so obvious,

and yet so unfamiliar as to be startling. There was nothing like this in the last hundred books on education I had read, in the last thousand articles I had gone through. "What it is" is determined by observation of the facts. Education is not what John Dewey or some high-minded zealot thinks it 'ought' to be; it is what the observed facts reveal it to be." It's Eric Temple Bell speaking in "Man and His Lifebelts", 1938. All the lifebelts to which man has entrusted his salvation have let him down. Now all he has is science which merely means observation and common sense, that he may make the best of himself and his world.

"What is of the highest practical importance for those about to consign their offspring to the educators, is whether the latter are convincing enough to get what they want, namely, the offspring. . . . Past experience would seem to indicate that the parents have themselves been so well educated that they accede eagerly to the demands of the educators. . . . Education in the past century has been trusted by the majority of people as few other remedies for human stupidity have ever been trusted, and the outcome has been a let-down that has rocked civilization to its roots and all but jarred humanity's back teeth loose from its massive skull." (1)

That has been the way with other peoples who followed the traditional in education. If you happened to be born a flat-head Indian, your mother bound your skull so that your brow took a forty degree angle. If you had been born a Chinese girl of good family fifty years ago, your feet would have been bound. We Christians bind the brain to other patterns with school boards. Born in Boston today, you are equipped with a set of prejudices, beliefs and attitudes to fit the set you are born in.

A SOCIAL ACTIVITY

From the standpoint of the parent, teacher, onlooker, or community, education is a social activity in which parents, teachers, and other adults, as well as one's companions, attempt to guide, direct or affect the behavior of the young in such a way as to secure reactions which become habits. This may result from compulsion, physical, mental or emotional, for a word or a myth may be as compelling as a club or a machine gun. If it is ground into me that everlasting torture and punishment will result from singing or whistling a joyous tune on Sunday, I may acquire the sour countenance and the dour behavior of a Puritan.

This fixing of habits and attitudes begins in the family and is later carried on by the community. Both may employ a pedagogue and establish a place, the school, for intensifying the effort. If there is unity and clarity in the conception of what is desired in the adult, it is possible, as the dictators have proved, to make the growing twigs conform to any pattern, for as Bell tells us, "The higher directors of educational policy are

free to make of any given generation what they please. . . . Whether their motives are unselfish or not is of no practical significance." In the soft wood of the earliest years, these bents and trends are most easily and permanently fixed. Five years were enough for Loyola.

UNCONSCIOUS EDUCATION

Freud showed that the first three years are the most important in habit formation. Even earlier, inevitably, unconsciously, unknown and unrecognized factors give permanent bent to the twig. As Bell remarks, "A child can be taught that lies are facts and he will believe lies for the rest of his life." In eighteen months of this three year period, each individual makes the greatest achievement of his life in responding to environment and establishing cerebral association tracts. By unconscious, self-imposed attention and imitation and practice, he masters the language in a period of little more than a year. Few adolescents or adults later in five years of school can learn to use a second language equally well.

No child is conscious of the inadequacy of his early environment, of deprivations, any more than an adult is conscious of things he knows not of. But in the subconscious are stored up reactions to hurts and shocks and injustices that may result in serious maladjustment and make the subject what we call a mental hygiene case. Most of this is accomplished before any permanent conscious memory becomes effective. In the early stages of the bending of the twig which fixes its definite direction, the individual does not know what he is doing or what is being done to him. The most effective education is that of the unconscious. The dictators of political or religious beliefs perpetuate themselves and their reign and power in just this way.

A democratic government derives its just rights from the consent of the governed, my democratic friends tell me. In that case, there is nothing democratic about early education. The consent of those about to be educated is never asked. From my standpoint as a child, education is what others do to me,—how they affect my behavior, how they stop, start, repress, how they make me do, make me want to do, or kill my desire to do.

Few of us wake up to the fact that our minds have been made up for us, that we have been cast in a mold, that our lives have been determined for us without any choice on our part, even before consciousness arises, even before we have had time to observe and think for ourselves. Perhaps this is inevitable, but not wholly so. It is not universal and the few that escape it are the ones that have saved the race. No one ever did anything worth while by merely following in the footsteps of those who

had gone before or by doing only what he had been told to do. Bell was one who didn't. He writes, "The one or two geniuses of disobedience in every million may break the lockstep and desert, but the main mass will march obediently over the precipice at the command of their masters."

THE BIOLOGICAL VIEW

There is another way of looking at education,—that of the biologist. For the student of life, all that we call education is an attempt on the part of adults to modify some of the environmental influences that affect the young while they are growing up. We can do this only to a limited extent. But the result may be considerable, if we do our most vicious work at the critical time. From the biologist's point of view then, all adults do consciously to the young during the process of growing up is education.

An insect comes into the world with all its patterns of behavior laid out, fixed. Just how its nerve cells and their connecting fibers shall develop is as fully determined in advance as any other physical feature. Then it reacts as the apparatus it has inherited determines and we call this type of behavior instinct. A human child comes into the world with some such inheritance, much less complete. Very few behavior patterns or reflexes are predetermined. A child is more plastic material. Until recently we believed that what we call its intelligence quotient, as determined by measurement, was fixed. But now we know that it can be changed by the environment.

Every man and woman that you know is what has been made out of this plastic human material, out of babes. Their ways of behavior, their folkways and their ways of thought, their ways of doing things, looking at things, have been determined by the environment, human and physical, in which they have grown up. Probably no adult yet has had an opportunity on this earth to develop under conditions that would bring about the maximum realization of his possibilities. Such a sobering thought may give a little understanding of how much education still has to do in arranging the environment for the growing up.

Any neurologist will tell you that throughout life most of us make very little use of the marvelous piece of apparatus we carry about within our skulls. There are trillions of possible combinations between the cells of the cortex and the other brain centers, nerve connections that are probably never used (cf p 450). It is like a factory filled with an enormous amount of complicated and efficient machinery each with its electric motor, but with only a few old-fashioned machines utilized, the others left idle, to rust. The process of institutional and folk education has for its chief purpose atrophying parts of the brain through establishing re-

pressions, inhibitions which will limit the use of portions of the brain, deaden whole brain centers, block off others. Through established habits, folkways, deep ruts are worn in the brain. Certain association tracts may be developed so that they are always ready to come into use.

And then we are astonished at the behavior of the product,—disobedient, later delinquent, criminal or insane or otherwise maladjusted. Our western Christian horticulturists and plant specialists who thus torture their children leave their plants with more freedom to show their characteristic growth, and with careful feeding and selection have brought about great improvement in plant varieties.

GROWING UP

Every young or adult individual, every organism, plant or animal, is constantly being played upon, bombarded by a great variety of stimuli, radiant energy in all its forms. Some turn from the sunlight like the root tip, others turn toward the sun like the sunflower. Physical, chemical stimuli, poisons, different types of foods,—all kinds of things produce their effect on growth. We are learning more and more about growth, how by the application of a chemical, roots from plant stem or leaf may be made to grow where they would not before. (2)

We are learning more about how the chemical substances that are poured into the blood stimulate or control growth. Their absence may produce dwarfs; over supply, giants. Under normal conditions the individual reacts to its environmental stimuli much as its ancestors have for a million years. But external conditions are not constant and consequently the reaction is not always the same. In general the organism reacts favorably to the thing that encourages growth, and turns away from the thing that is damaging. The best guidance we have in studying what is favorable to growth or damaging to it is to watch the reaction of the plant tip, the paramecium, or the uninhibited child. One kind of plant tip will turn to the light, another toward the dark; one child to one thing, another to something different.

Growing up is a process, perfectly natural. It needs no human intervention. It is not education. But a lot of parents and educators would give you the idea that their children would not grow at all, could not possibly grow up, at any rate rightly, if it were not for the conscientious and continual interference of adults. In the process of growing up, young things educate themselves. The mother bird and the mother bear assist in the training. Some humans do. No adult invented play. A few have provided facilities, more have interfered. A child, any young animal, a human animal particularly, is a discoverer, an experimenter. All have the world they have come into to explore, they have themselves to

experiment with, the use of their muscles and other functions as they develop. They are quite capable of educating themselves, and they have, with some success, for millions of years.

BELIEFS, OPINIONS, CREEDS

What we consciously do to children while they are growing up, what we teach them, is the result of the beliefs and convictions we hold, the obsessions of the adults who control. Of course, we rationalize these as creeds, principles, fundamentals. But looking at other peoples and other times, we have little difficulty in recognizing that their convictions and obsessions are actually made up of fetishes, tabus, myths, folkways. Perhaps ours are now. (3)

What we do to children is a part of our behavior, but not all behavior is determined by belief. The state of our digestion may influence our attitude toward the enormity of Johnny's offense and the measures that duty compels us to take. The chemicals that are poured into our blood by our adrenal glands may determine the degree of severity with which we feel it necessary to beat the child to save him from perdition. If we lack the courage to do our duty, we can now inject ourselves with artificial adrenalin. Mind and its beliefs, digestion and its difficulties, glands and their extracts, all seem to affect our behavior toward children, which determines a large part of their education.

No belief has been too absurd in the past to prevent its influencing human behavior. Our beliefs change with the intellectual climate in which we live. We look back on the pea soup fogs of the past and get some sense of clarification. Largely bound up with words and symbols and abstractions are the beliefs that affect our behavior. For hundreds of years one-tenth of the human race, because of the pig tabu, could not see their sacred writings in print. We are told in *Science*, Oct. 21, 1938, "The Koran was only recently printed in Islam, for it was blasphemy to touch the word 'Allah' with pig bristles". A belief that our young are educable and that we can do something by education to make them and the world better lies at the base of the world's greatest industry, American education.

The old Calvinistic idea of infant damnation led to the further belief that by beating hell out of children, you could save them for heaven. That became the chief duty of the parent and the pedagogue. Bernard Shaw wrote one of his most brilliant essays on "How to Beat Children". This is the theme of Samuel Butler in "The Way of All Flesh". Caustically he writes, "If their wills were 'well broken' in childhood, they would acquire habits of obedience which they would not venture to break through till they were over twenty-one years old. . . . To parents who wish to lead a quiet life I would say: Tell your children that they are

very naughty—much naughtier than most children. This is called moral influence, and it will enable you to bounce them as much as you please.” (4)

In “Then I Saw the Congo”, Mrs. Grace Flandrau writes of “the kindness of these people to children! Never from one coast of Africa to another did we see a child abused or hear one spoken to crossly. They are not disciplined, but then they seem to be children who do not need discipline! . . . Babies in Africa never cry, and in all the time I was there I never saw a man or woman strike or even speak harshly to a child.”

Opinions consolidate and stratify into beliefs, and beliefs become organized and fossilized into creeds. A creed is a body of beliefs held and coordinated by a group and with an organized hierarchy behind it. Beliefs result from opinions which are merely mental slants, hunches.

AIMS, OBJECTS, PURPOSES

It is the fuzziest minded that are strongest on aims and purposes. Military school catalogs generally start out with a page on aims, very high faluting. The school supervisor whose school really needs inspiration is strong at the conventions on purposes. From Russia there comes a sanitizing note. Stanislas T. Shatski, a disciple of Dewey, we are told in *School and Society*, Feb. 4, 1939, maintains “there can not be one definite aim in a child’s education. ‘There are as many aims to a child’s education as there are periods of growth’, he writes in one place. In other words, it is the child that matters, the growth and the development of the child.”

Announced aims, objects, purposes of educators are usually bunches of words that sound well if you don’t try to cerebrate about them. Such statements are generally based on abstractions actuated by high moral urges. They seldom lay down a pattern of behavior to be followed, but appeal to a vague idealism, or whatever you may wish to call that fuzzy complex made up of beginnings of thought, ends of yearnings, and odds of emotional reactions. These objects and standards put forth by educators in their addresses and writings by no means coincide with the procedure that they actually carry on. Dr. Walter Crosby Eells in an investigation based on questionnaires shows that the answers would lead one to believe that the schools are much more progressive than investigation of their procedure shows them to be.

The Educational Policies Commission has put out under the title “Purposes of Education in American Democracy” such combinations of high flown phrasing standing for such confused abstractions, all well meaning but not clarifying nor particularly inspiring, except in an emotional way. It is doubtful if children will derive any big kick or benefit from the reactions the teachers give to such idealistic hot air.

L. Thomas Hopkins, professor of education at Columbia University, writes in the *Nation's Schools*, March, 1939, "Education has no purposes. It is a term that describes the behavior of individuals and groups of individuals. . . . Purposes arise in the individual's attempt to satisfy his needs. . . . Purposes set up for the child by adults outside of and unrelated to his felt needs in daily living are uneducative or miseducative."

OBSESSIONS AND CONVICTIONS

What has not been believed and taught in the way of absurdity is lacking only because of the limitations of human belief, and the human mind, we are told, has only some thirty-three trillion possible combinations. All types of magic, charlatanry, astrology, philosophy, metaphysics and witchcraft are presented interestingly and illuminatingly by Frederic William Westaway as "Obsessions and Convictions of the Human Intellect", 1938. A belief is a fixed idea, he tells us, and he quotes Lord Balfour, "All beliefs are caused", and Goethe, "He who wants to deceive mankind must before all things make absurdity plausible".

Whatever beliefs one holds, whatever motivates his actions is in large measure the effect of continuous indoctrination, which remains unrecognized by the person subjected to it. "His behavior and personality are only a selected part of the historical stream of his total cultural pattern," Ellis Freeman tells us in his "Principles of General Psychology", 1939. There's no feature of our behavior or social habit that wouldn't seem even stranger to other peoples, otherwise conditioned. "A culture maintains itself on the basis of habit, the desired practices monopolizing the principal avenues of communication and excluding alternatives," Freeman writes. "We are inclined to regard with contemptuous patronage the remarkable submissiveness of primitive boys to the cruel puberty rites of scarification or other forms of extreme physical torture, and of primitive girls to the sanguinary and wholly irrational mutilation of clitoridectomy. These practices rightly appear to us as absurd and needlessly brutal. But we would be very much mistaken if we were to assume that the aborigine takes the same wise view of them and only submits because escape is impossible. To him they are an essential part of existence, which he has no desire to avoid, because cultural conditioning has made them appear to be a uniform necessity for participation in the life of the tribe. Far from flinching, the primitive child regards such practices as the only way of insuring his adult success."

The aborigine would find many features of our life that we regard as highly intellectual and rational, very surprising. But he "would probably be less amazed by our lodge and fraternity initiations" and by some of our academic ceremonies.

NOTES

(1) Bell has a good time in his role of Don Quixote tilting against the flocks of academic sheep. He has produced more than twenty books, including two volumes of verse, nine novels, and various mathematical treatises and papers. His bold, witty aphorisms are priceless and come as fluently "as any skilled player on the lying lute of words would be likely to improvise" ("Numerology", p 46). "Of all the beautiful prostitutes that have ever led willing men astray, so-called 'pure reason' is the most enticingly beautiful and the most dangerously diseased. And of all the great logicians who have perfected the seductions of pure reason, Saint Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274), 'the seraphic doctor', is one of the very greatest. . . . Observation, finding out how things register on our senses, was taboo in the seraphic logician's methodology" ("Lifebelts", p 102).

(2) "What Makes Us Do What We Do" is explained under the titles "Understanding Forces", "Fields of Force", "The Mystery of Life", "Energy Transformers" in "The Future of Education", 1944, pp 243ff.

(3) "A myth is a story—a symbolical fable as simple as it is striking. . . . As a rule, the obscurity of a myth does not reside in its form of expression. The obscurity belongs in part to the mystery of the myth's origin, and in part to the vital import of what the myth symbolizes. If this were not obscure, or if there were no reason to conceal its origin and its bearing so that it might escape challenge, a myth would lack a *raison d'être*. A law, a moral treatise, or even some little tale able to serve as a mnemonic summary, would do instead. . . . A myth arises whenever it becomes dangerous or impossible to speak frankly and plainly about certain social or religious matters, or affective relations, and yet there is a desire to preserve the doctrine on these matters or relations, or the relations cannot be destroyed." (Denis de Rougemont, "Love in the Western World", 1940)

A myth never becomes a myth until belief in it is dead. Our most cherished beliefs at some future time will be regarded as myths,—at least that is the history of cherished beliefs of the past. Politics is largely a matter of myths and slogans. "Apparently most Americans believe the following myths: . . . That the politicians are to blame for the weaknesses of our government; That America never fought a war of aggression—or persecuted people for religious beliefs; . . . That the way to inspire peace is to talk about the horrors of war." (Paraphrased and quoted from Steuart Henderson Britt, "Social Psychology of Modern Life", 1941)

(4) In early New England, education was directly under the control of the Puritan hierarchy. They determined the content of education. It was their beliefs that were to be perpetuated. But today the usurers have come to possess the temple. Those present day pillars of the church are also members of the school board. The control has been shifted from the hierarchy of the church to the hierarchy of finance. Though our beliefs and convictions have changed and constantly change, the change is sometimes so slow that it is not recognized. We regard our beliefs as sacred. We demand liberty of conscience,—that is, to believe as we do; but only recently have we begun to be curious as to how that belief was derived,—from what propaganda agency, newspaper, school study, preacher. Who was interested in promoting it? How can it serve someone's purpose? A man can die for his beliefs, but can he live long enough to understand how he got them?

SCHOLARLY STERILITY

Subsidized by those who have most to protect, scholars maintain their own security by playing safe. Acquisitive rather than inquisitive, they accumulate facts, mostly at second hand.

Scholarship, as nearly as I can find out, is merely knowing what others have written or printed on a subject. It involves knowing, memorizing. It is characteristic of an acquisitive culture. A scholar has accumulated a collection of facts, traditions, myths in his particular field. Perhaps he has sorted them out, bundled them, labeled them. Perhaps he has commented on them and formed some theories. His research has been among the old, and among the things that someone else already knew. Scholarship leads to the conclusion that there is nothing new under the sun for the human race,—so scholars held in medieval Rome, in Thebes, Babylon. (1)

MARKING AND BRANDING

To the college student scholarship means 'marks'. And marks mean finding favor with instructors. Can't you recall cases where one independent soul of original mind got a B— and some inferior little pee-wee, who made friends with the susceptible instructor who had an inferiority complex, got a B+? One preserved his integrity, the other got a scholarship and made Phi Beta Kappa. Even down into the grammar school, 'scholarship' is a bogey. If the boy or girl isn't able to get it second hand from the printed page through the eye, or if not glib in recitation or facile in written examinations, if he doesn't put it over on the teachers, his 'scholarship' is low, or bad, and his reports so indicate.

The marking system is today in disrepute. John Erskine reminds us, "Because a student gets a grade of 95 per cent in a language under the present educational system it doesn't mean that he knows that much, but simply that the teacher's score in catching him in mistakes is 5 per cent". But there is a better reason for revolt against this marking, grading and branding system. It was invented, of course, like the laundry's marking of linens, the packer's grading of apples, or the rancher's branding of cattle, to save trouble for the operatives without much regard to what it would do to the object of their attentions. The teacher's objective has been to stimulate the pupil with the rod or the threat of failure. Competition is a stimulus to the strong who are sure of winning, but you don't permanently run a gambling joint unless you know the chances are in your favor. The out of this teacher-saving marking system is that

it tends to make hypocrites of those who are not strong enough to stand up against it. It stimulates bootlicking. It makes prostitutes, the kind that fill our banking houses and public offices.

A SECOND HAND DEALER

The reputation of a scholar is dependent on the quantity of old things that he has accumulated in rummaging through what has been written or printed by others and which in themselves are records of discoveries, observations, thoughts at third or fourth hand. He may occupy a 'chair', endowed, and may wear a title that goes with it, like the Royall Professor of Law, or the Plummer Professor of Christian Morals, who at Harvard happens to be also the Parkman Professor of Theology, with two chairs to fall between. But the chair, love-seat, or settee is immaterial. He is likely to live in a cubicle in the library stacks where he grubs about, reading what others have written or done, from which he makes up lecture notes in his younger days, which become thumbled, yellowed, and dog-eared as he continues to read them to undergraduates until he becomes emeritus. So anxious graduate students burble over Pease's course in "Suetonius" or Peebles' course in "Latin Poetry of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries". Within the scholar's meager fenced-in pasture, students are penned in smaller sections,—"The Economics of the Carolingian Period", "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight", or "The Use of the Ablative in Terence".

A younger member in some departments is assigned a short period of perhaps ten years,—the range of his tether for the length of his research appointment. If the assignment is from 1340 to 1350, then 1351 is tabu. For he must be trained in the ethics of the scholar, never to peer over the top of his compartment to see or to pretend to know anything of what belongs in the next.

The flower of our acquisitive social system, the scholar's job is to acquire knowledge in his field. His pride is in his acquisition,—in the antiques and junk that he has accumulated in the curio shop of his mind. Sometimes they are neatly arranged on shelves, or in drawers or cabinets, classified and labeled. But the mental attics of some scholars are cluttered with junk they have gathered as belonging within their province.

DESCENDED FROM THE MONK

A 'scholar' we now picture as one of those absent-minded professors of the joke books. We excuse him because of his erudition, which so shuts him off from reality that he is unaware of things about him. To call other than a Kentucky colonel a 'gentleman and a scholar' is almost an insult. The implication is that he is hardly a man. A direct descendant of the monkish medievalist who mulled over old manuscripts and theo-

rized on theological themes, the scholar as a type after the Reformation was perpetuated in the ecclesiastical universities. We may picture, too, the independent Faust-like scholar, unwashed, with flowing cloak and hair, poring over incunabula, an astrolabe in the background, seldom a temptation to the devil. "In the modern world the celibacy of the medieval learned class has been replaced by a celibacy of the intellect which is divorced from the concrete contemplation of the complete facts", A. N. Whitehead tells us in "Science and the Modern World".

William Morton Wheeler, perhaps the greatest intellect that Harvard has harbored, in his erudition, to which he attached no importance, could have more than held his own with classical scholars in many languages. He understood the absent-minded scholar, his divorcement from reality and the world, and explained it. "It is well known that both [science and philosophy] after their twin birth and brilliant childhood among the Greeks, lived through a kind of stupid Babylonian captivity as hand-maidens to the Medieval Church. . . . But science turned out to be such an obstreperous and incorrigible tomboy that she long since regained her freedom, and philosophy . . . no longer,—outside of our Jesuit colleges at least,—sits down to spoon with theology as she did in the days of St. Thomas of Aquin." But Wheeler did not live to read in the Catholic journals of Adler, Hutchins, Stringfellow Barr, et al. (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 153-6)

Content to quote authority until science came to trouble him, the scholar now in self defense uses pseudoscientific terms. He speaks of 'original research', a tautological absurdity. 'Critical scholarship' involves sorting and weeding his collection of odds and ends. These 'original documents' were contemporary propaganda in their time, as trustworthy as our newspapers and governmental 'white papers' today. 'Creative scholarship' indicates that new theories or conjectures have been formulated from the old material. A 'productive scholar' is one who gets this kind of tripe into print. (2)

THE WAY OF SCIENCE

The scholar prizes what the scientist regards as a mere preliminary study and dismisses as of no importance if it isn't to lead to some line of activity which will result in discovery. Suppose as a graduate student you want to start some investigation in science. You have learned already that it is no use to approach the head of the department and suggest an investigation unless you have read up on what has been printed on that subject. When you have, then you may pluck up courage to approach your professor. He may send you back to search the 'literature' further. Then when you have planned a line of investigation in which there seemed

to be possibilities, with a view to pushing on the boundary of knowledge or of challenging conclusions that have already been arrived at, you are ready to begin work.

But that is as far as the scholar goes, if he goes that far. He is content to know a good deal about his limited field and he is not supposed to know anything else. He does not have to do anything about it except print what he has learned on what others have written, and with his Ph.D. and his cap and gown occupy a chair if he can get it and dole out at third or fourth hand the second hand knowledge that he has accumulated.

The scholar, if he has read everything that has been written on his subject, regards his knowledge as complete. One famous Shakespearean scholar, 'Kitty' of Harvard, asked why he never took the doctor's degree, answered "Who would examine me?" The scientist knows his knowledge is never complete. If he is not turning up new things or destroying old theories, he loses his rank and his reputation.

The scholar prides himself on his accuracy and he is very severe on those who attempt to interpret or question his authorities. The scientist, who measures in microns or in light years, knows he never can be accurate, that he is always in error, and calculates his percentage error perhaps to one-millionth. The scholar must keep on hand a good stock of antiques and old junk, but the scientist must have all the newest ideas and information in his field.

ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

This custom of acquiring knowledge or culture or property without regard to what use, if any, you may make of it, is characteristic of an acquisitive society. The idea of burdening yourself with something you can't use would make a horse,—or anyone but a magpie or one of the higher primates,—laugh. Let none think this an aspersion on the Primate of the Church of England, though there is no intent to leave him out.

"The inveterate American habit of getting an education, with or without honors, is a natural growth of our acquisitive society. Manifestly and conventionally an education is one of the things to get, like a house of your own, like cars and radios, stocks and bonds", writes Dr. H. S. V. Jones in *Illinois Alumni News*, June, 1938. "If one takes it thus acquisitively, one will probably pass on to a bright acquisitive career, and moving in the best acquisitive circles, one will meet many captains of industry . . . and one will hope above all things to be a substantial citizen with a comfortable balance in the bank, to be cited by an acquisitive society for acquisition with honors, acquisition 'cum laude', and in due course to receive all the recognitions bestowed upon those whom an acquisitive

society delights to honor."

Of all the drives or instincts that actuate us, that divine curiosity which derived from our simian ancestors is, for those in a free state, the most powerful. In a sophisticated society, or in academic circles in which scholars live, it must be properly repressed if one is not to appear gauche. For curiosity "may become the main source of intellectual energy and effort; to its impulse we certainly owe most of the purely disinterested labors of the highest types of intellects", McDougall, who believed in and wrote on instincts, declared.

The acquisitive instinct for the scholar is the most potent. The instinct of workmanship, which may manifest itself in the making of mud pies or the building of a Panama Canal, the instincts of communication, sympathy, cooperation, furnish lesser drives. The acquisition of knowledge is the great end of scholarship. The collecting of facts within his specialty is the scholar's passion and pastime. Wheeler, who knew this species, remarks, "Even those who look down with contempt on the enthusiastic collectors of bird-lice or coprolites are themselves usually addicted to collecting so-called data or statistics."

Our society tends to pervert the acquisitive instinct, to produce pathological exhibits like the miser Silas Marner, the small town plutocrat who accumulates mortgages. There are those who hold such in fear or respect, more's the pity. There are some who show the same pathological acquisitiveness in academic circles, and strangely enough they are held up to admiration as scholars.

THE IVORY TOWER

Venerated in academic circles, the more closely the scholar stays in his compartment, accumulating and sorting the stale items that are his specialty, the more candidates for the Ph.D. come to genuflect in his presence. "The teacher in the American university is mainly inclined to dwell in an ivory tower remote from the battle which rages around him. He is afraid to speak lest he be silenced, and with noble exceptions he is little inclined to realize that men who are afraid to speak soon lose the habit of effective utterance", writes Harold Laski, who knows.

Those universities that would convey the impression that "all the really important truths are already known" are challenged by Dr. G. B. Moment, biologist at Goucher College, in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, March 5, 1937. He ridicules President Hutchins' acquisitive "collection of data" and his "hierarchy of truths", the perpetuation of which is the "all but exclusive concern of the scholar". "From what Sinai are we to be handed The Truth in all its hierarchal order?" he asks. (No mountain, —the lowdown comes from "the Midway, the Midway, the Midway

Plaisance".) He says, "No university can afford to retire to its ivory tower and pull the metaphysical bedclothes over its head".

THE SCHOLARS FAIL US

The scholar, the shaman of our current culture, is a worthy subject for scientific consideration by the behaviorist and the anthropologist. In our tentative, clumsy way all we can do is attract attention to the possibilities and importance of such a study, which should be directed not to the miles of shelving he has loaded with unreadable stuff, but to his actual influence, stimulating or deadening, on the life of the time. (3)

In this time of intense interest in international affairs the nation might well look for guidance to those who in endowed chairs should have time and opportunity to arrive at some understanding and interpretation of the historic process that is going on unapprehended. University teachers of history, diplomacy, international affairs, social studies, should be heard from. They should be better able to analyze propaganda and detect the untruths, and to warn us. But few of them have anything vital enough to say to reach the public, to win a place in the pages of the magazines, or to place their books among the brilliant jacketed that sell.

As Maynard Keynes first revealed, "These people don't know anything about the business they have in hand. Nobody knows very much, but the important thing to realize is that they do not even know what is to be known. . . . They are so unaccustomed to competent thought, so ignorant that there is knowledge and of what knowledge is, that they do not understand that it matters." H. G. Wells, who thus paraphrases Keynes, has been hammering the same idea, that in the great emergencies the universities have "had nothing really comprehensive, searching, thought-out, and trustworthy to go upon". (Cf p 326)

Behind a screen of sophistication or cynicism some hide their timidity, but there is no question that a pall of fear overhangs most universities. There is a feeling that it's of little use in the social sciences to disentangle truth and falsehood, and anyway it does not matter much. A prominent Harvard undergraduate remarked recently, "I don't know of any Harvard section man who wouldn't go back on any statement he had made, if he knew the department head didn't approve."

The universities have their traditional functions to perform and their contemporary obligations to meet. The flow of funds to them is influenced or directed by men whose lives have been spent in the financial game, who have been conditioned to its limitations, and whose imagination and views are restricted by it. They are devoted to "those elements that make for a reign of law" as Thomas Lamont put it at Exeter, to be reiterated by Dr. Perry at the school opening. "Law is a body of rules

laid down by group authority in the interest of the group members as a whole", writes John Foster Dulles, in "War, Peace and Change", 1939.

The scholar avoids the present and disdains the future, leaving all that to the "charlatan". "The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, moves on." Not till long after will this be of interest to the scholar, a subject of "research". No wonder academic circles are pervaded by a tired feeling that tempts few to stray beyond their own safe compartments where, without danger, they may show such boldness as they possess. (4)

NOTES

(1) "Sterile Scholarship" is dilated upon in "War and Education", pp 251-64, where one will find pungencies on the topic from Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and William James, as well as Logan Wilson's characterization of "The Academic Man". William Morton Wheeler, tracing the "dry-rot" of academic lore back to the earliest geologic periods, tells us, "The pedagogues insisted that every young termite must thoroughly saturate himself with the culture and languages of the Upper Carboniferous cockroaches".

(2) To President Butler of Columbia, who has known more scholars for a longer time than any other, Professor Brander Matthews is reported to have said, "In the case of the first man to use an anecdote there is originality. In the case of the second man there is plagiarism. With the third man, it is lack of originality; and with the fourth man, it is drawing from the common stock of the race." "Yes", broke in President Butler, "and in the fifth case, it is research" (E. W. Knight, "Getting Ahead by Degrees"). In the study of English authors, instead of "giving the work itself a thoughtful perusal", Louis Foley asserts, instructors and pupils "prefer 'research' in the library, which means finding ready-made opinions of the author's writing, stated by people who are supposed to be 'authorities'" (*Educational Administration and Supervision*, May, 1943).

"U. of Penn. 1906 when I suggested doing a thesis on some reading matter outside the list of classic authors included in the curriculum, and despite the fact that Fellowships are given for research and that a thesis for Doctorate is supposed to contain original *research*", refused, says Ezra Pound. "And besides, Mr. Pound, we shd. have to do so much work ourselves to verify your results" ("Guide to Kulchur", pp 215-6). That was the attitude, too, of the Harvard admission authorities in the early 1900's at a time when they had announced that credit would be given for original work pursued over a year. A lad who had spent much time in Japan, after working up a critique of the Japanese Constitution as a document intended to present a good face to the West, was refused the opportunity to present his thesis on the ground that they had no one capable of checking up on its authenticity.

The rotund and jocund Carl Eigenmann, famous ichthyologist, whom I used to go cruising with, wrote that when he "went to Harvard University to study the antennae of 'palaeozoic cockroaches'... I divided my time between regular courses and the antennae of palaeozoic cockroaches. At the end of the year I went with my manuscript, quite a bundle of it, dealing with the antennae to the Professor of Cockroaches. I wanted it considered toward the requirements for the doctorate. I was told that Harvard University was not interested in the

antennae, that it was interested only in the thorax." Eigenmann's travesty has become legendary and, like most legends, distorted. Here is George H. Chase, dean of the graduate school at Harvard for decades past, responding to a toast in celebration of his service. Evidently he had not read Wheeler, who quotes Eigenmann, and in praise of the late President Lowell he said, "In speeches which he made during this time, Mr. Lowell invented a thesis subject which pleased him greatly. It was 'On the Left Hind Leg of the Paleozoic Cockroach'." A hearer once announced that "he hated to contradict the President of the University but that he was the man who wrote the thesis on the left hind leg of the Paleozoic cockroach and it was not a narrow subject at all. He had come to Harvard intending to write on the last joint of the left hind leg of the Paleozoic cockroach, but the professor who specialized in that field was in that year on sabbatical leave, so he had to widen his field and took the whole of the left hind leg" (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, Oct. 21, 1944).

(3) "What's Wrong with Scholars?" asks Marjorie Nicholson, a scholar and a lady, Phi Beta Kappa, in the *Saturday Review*, April 15, 1944. "We scholars are chiefly to blame for the popular disparagement of scholarship. . . . Many American undergraduates . . . come to us [who] whether by nature or art, write very well indeed. Yet during their experience in graduate schools, and particularly while they are engaged upon 'dissertations', a blight seems to settle upon them, and they develop the 'thesis style'—a ponderous and pontifical, yet amorphous manner of writing, marked by circumlocution, reservation, qualification, overdocumentation: 'Reeling and Writhing and Fainting in Coils!'"

Henry S. Canby in similarly scholarly language pays left-handed tribute to his guild in an address before the Modern Language Association. "Unconsciously, he [the American scholar] has left the difficult and doubtful ranges of interpretation, of appreciation, of valuation, all involving the never-to-be-entirely-calculable human spirit, and has thrown the emphasis more and more on fact finding". Bernard DeVoto in "Minority Report", 1940, speaking of the house organ of the Association, PMLA, says, "It is the most hopeless kind of prose, flabby but resistant, without grain or crystalline structure, amorphous, gelatinous, verbose, tautological, inert. . . . Yet the people who write that gruel are the people who give college courses in writing. . . . The profs are always asking one another why their students don't write better."

A complaint "Concerning Philosophical and Professorial Clarity" is voiced by Charles F. Sawhill Virtue in the *Journal of Higher Education*, Nov., 1943. Read Bain wrote me recently from Miami University, "It must be that the school master breed has somehow been recruited from the mediocre and pedestrian minds of this world, or that the institutional organization of education somehow 'cribs, cabins, and confines' the potentially free and creative spirits who become involved in it. I have always regarded it as a rather remarkable thing that education, which should be one of the most thrilling and stimulating fields of thought and action, is generally so dull, dry, and downright boring."

(4) "Teachers can do more than either conquerors or statesmen. They can create a new social vision and liberate the latent powers of mankind", H. G. Wells has told us. But the teachers of our democracies are born slaves through tradition to the powers that be, that must maintain the status quo. The dictators have assumed the function of the teacher. They at any rate are changing the social vision and liberating new powers. Like it or not. (23rd ed, 1939, p 140)

DISTORTED HISTORY

The obliterated write no history. The victors give historians opportunity, behind a front of 'objectivity', to uphold interpretations that protect their interests. History may yet serve to bring to us understanding of the past helpful to present purposes and future achievements.

History is the scholar's supreme and special domain. Books, documents, incunabula, what is written before-time, that's his pabulum. No test of double entry, no geometric proof or laboratory analysis can be used to check his work. Theoretically he is free to devise, to elaborate, to perpetuate historic myths,—or dissolve them, if he has the vision and courage, which few have.

What a stale thing is served up by our college and university teachers, cut into odd bits about kings and pimps and prostitutes, unhuman, departmentalized, disconnected, dry as lycopodium powder. (1) The blame is first with the kings and second with their pimps. The kings today are the Tories or the financial powers behind, and the latter occupy 'chairs of history' in our great universities. (2)

HISTORY TO A PURPOSE

Historians may be free lances. But usually they are kept in captivity. For history can be used to a purpose. It would be strange if those in power had not so used it. Chroniclers were once attached to the courts of kings. Today historians are mostly kept in subsidized institutions whose roots go back to an ecclesiastical past. Until the fourteenth century there was but one authority, and all chronicling paid tribute to it. There was no need of the individual conscience. When Henry VIII broke with the Pope the Chancellor of the Exchequer became 'Keeper of the King's Conscience' and the nation's as well.

The English universities are still dominated by the feudal Church, and our great American universities pride themselves on carrying on the tradition. They are dependent upon those who benefit from the status quo. The teachers of the social sciences are the special worry of those university executives, presidents, trustees, who have to keep open their pipelines to the great financial centers, and to those who rely upon Wall Street wisdom for advice as to how to dispose of what they can't take with them. Even the dead must be watched lest they become quick. So a historian in a university rarely has any freedom in writing on anything that might apply to the present. With his nose in the air, he writes of the past. He must follow in the tradition that has been laid down, of

so distorting history as to bolster up the powers that were, that are, and that are to be. (3)

Those who subsidize the institution that protects the historian would naturally oppose the destruction of a theory or myth which camouflages and supports a government which they in turn can use for their own purposes. So the wise occupant of a chair of history, if he looks for preferment and prestige among scholars, must be just a bit cautious where he treads. At Columbia the trustees acting through Nicholas Miraculous Butler could hardly countenance the historic interpretations of a Robinson or a Beard. The vital history is written by men who have escaped from prison, or were never incarcerated.

'A LIE AGREED UPON'

The myth that England is the 'Mother of Parliaments' has been of great support to those in control of England. Scholarship and research have produced a great mass of writing that has done much to bolster up the pillars of Empire. (4) Scholars are backward about recognizing the priority of the *Etats Generaux* of medieval France, the Cortes of Spain, the Sicilian Parliament of the Norman Hauteville rulers. And Hungary, too, claims its parliament antedates the British. All of which might indicate that something of this had come from the East, something that we see in the Russian 'mir' and the village councils of communities in Hindustan. Bagehot and Pollard have done much to mar these English myths.

Henry VIII showed the way and later the merchants and Whigs made great use of their interpretation of English history and the myths they built about it to strengthen their hold and bolster up their power. Endless monographs, learned scholarly works, have been produced by legal lights and university dons to support the prevailing myths. Contempt is poured upon the heretical. The Continental scholar, building and protecting his own myths, looks upon all this as one more justification for the epithet "Perfidious Albion". (5)

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, a founder of the German labor camp movement on which our CCC was modeled, professor of social philosophy at Dartmouth, in his "Out of Revolution: Autobiography of Western Man", 1938, with documented scholarship punctures many a hoary myth. He emphasizes that " 'Reformation' must weigh more in the scales of history than 'World Revolution' if we compare their achievements. It was no theologians' quarrel, no mere clergymen's dispute, but a revolution in the modern sense of the word: a breaking of all moulds, a pointing toward a new order of things, something totalitarian, universal in its aim, which had been unknown till then."

Of the English revolution he says, "The Continental reproach of English hypocrisy and perfidy dates from the unwillingness of English writers to conceive of the years from 1640 to 1691 as one distinct and continuous period. The fifty years of gigantic struggle, which tower up like a real mountain—the 'highest time in history', as Hobbes rightly christened it—are flattened out. The very use of three different names enabled the English to disguise what is really one drama in the form of three different plays. 'Great Rebellion' is the official label for the years 1640 to 1660; the years 1660 to 1668 are styled 'Restoration'; and the 'Glorious Revolution', 1688 and 1689, is appended like a stroke of Providence with almost no extension in time. . . . These three names . . . are marvellously well-chosen . . . to confuse the issue and beguile the reader."

"The Commonwealth, the long civil war and revolution, were regarded with the same horror and detestation as were later the French or the Russian revolution," Briffault points out in his "Decline and Fall of the British Empire". "English historians and political orators" find the situation "profoundly embarrassing, and every clumsy subterfuge has been resorted to to obscure and disguise it. . . . The whole theory of English history has been, in fact, made to serve the purpose of a political pamphlet in passionate support of constitutional methods of reform, a tract against revolution."

In his "Political Philosophies", 1938, Chester Maxey, broad, mellow, erudite professor of political science at Whitman College, makes the same point. "The great revolt turned out in the end to be almost as much a political as a religious rebellion, and the political doctrines to which it gave currency have shaped the course of human events even more than its religious ideology . . . wrecked forever both the spiritual and the temporal hegemony of the Roman pope . . . and released a torrent of radical ideas that have defied the most strenuous efforts of constituted authority to choke them down."

MYTHS AND FALSIFICATIONS

Historians are men with convictions, sympathies and antipathies, which they regard as principles. The world that they attempt to record and interpret varies so widely that "the wildest dreams of Kew are the facts of far Peru, and the crimes of Clapham, chaste in Martaban". "Every historian is a person, born, reared, and educated in some time, place, and social milieu", and his work rests upon assumptions which can not be proved, writes Charles A. Beard. And Herman Kranold in "The International Distribution of Raw Materials", 1938, tells us, "History often moulds human affairs in a manner which we, looking at things afterwards, feel to be extremely unreasonable. . . . Endless bloodshed, epi-

demics and starvation . . . might have been avoided, if history had been formed by the actions of human individuals and nations in a more reasonable way."

In "The Modern Historian", 1938, Charles H. Williams points out that after the war "just when the historian was most in demand he was least in evidence. The result was inescapable. It was Mr. H. G. Wells. Mr. Wells went to the past to look for the future, and he found it. That is what made his venture in universal history so popular with a generation that had gone to the past and found nothing, not even historians." He quotes Wells, who regards history as it is taught as poisonous. "History is no exception amongst the sciences; as the gaps fill in, the outline simplifies; as the outlook broadens, the clustering multitude of details dissolves into general laws. . . . Our internal politics and our economic and social ideas are profoundly vitiated at present by wrong and fantastic ideas of the origin and historical relationship of social classes." (6)

Those who insist on having history conform to their myths, like the D. A. R., "are the most dangerous enemies of free schools in America", Professor Hacker of Columbia told a Philadelphia meeting. And Angell of Yale at the Harvard Tercentenary, referring to the same organization, said, "In many schools American history may now be taught only in terms which self-appointed patriots deem desirable". (7)

HABITUAL ASSUMPTIONS

"The writing of history on the basis of what John R. Commons calls 'our habitual assumptions' is on the verge of having a sharper examination, which can scarcely fail to enrich thought about history, including everything human that happens under that rubric", writes Beard, reviewing Allan Nevins' "The Gateway To History", 1938, which exposes the distortions in historical and journalistic writings. "The fretful foam of vehement actions without scope or term, call'd history", the myths, the falsifications that have been mingled with it, Nevins reveals by numerous examples of 'forgeries', 'cheating documents' and 'garbled documents'. Later in a magazine article, Nevins accused his colleagues of destroying the public's interest in history by their "heavy, stolid prosing", and characterized his fellow historians as "squeezing out monographs and counting footnotes". (8)

William L. Langer, professor of history at Harvard, though he has won wide recognition through his scholarly interpretation of modern diplomatic history, does not hesitate to speak out in a way to show he has withstood the Harvard tendency to make antiquarians of historians. Reviewing Nevins' book, he writes, "The bald fact is that history has become professionalized and departmentalized like almost every field of

human endeavor. History-writing has fallen almost exclusively into the hands of college professors, who, naturally enough, have theorized about it and classified it so that now it is neatly divided into types and fields which it is almost a professional outrage to overstep. Within these water-tight compartments we continue to work. We delve ever more deeply, we go into ever greater detail. . . . Call it history if you like. . . . Curiosity about the past is innate in man. . . . We historians are chiefly to blame if historical writing is no longer vital . . . no longer has any attraction or any meaning for the average man. . . . We write untold quantities of history, but no one reads us. We read each other to some extent, but chiefly as a professional obligation. . . . We disapprove of Emil Ludwig and his kind, but at bottom we know why they are read and we are not, and we cannot blame the reading public."

WHAT HISTORY IS

"History is written by the survivors. . . . Actually the so-called 'lessons' of history are for the most part the rationalization of the victors." This brilliant but undeniable generalization is from "It Is Later Than You Think: The Need For A Militant Democracy", 1938, by Max Lerner. (9)

"History is a long campaign in which the underlying factors are the imperatives of technology, the drives of class relations, the logic of social institutions, the ingrained habits and traditions of nations. . . . Our perception of life is always far more abrupt than the objective reality. History presents continuities, but thinking about history always runs in terms of Golden Ages and cataclysms, of Eden and the fall. . . . The Great War represented the explosion of dynamite that had been stored up in the European powderhouse for decades in the form of imperialist rivalries. Nor is the new age of fascist tyrants a sudden visitation on the world. . . . No, it is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are fodder for fascism." (10)

"The background of history", writes Dulles in "War, Peace and Change", "is written and taught in terms of the melodrama of nation-hero versus nation-villain. Superimposed upon this is the contemporary portrayal by the press and radio of foreign news, which is selected largely to fit into and accentuate some preconceived nation-villain concept. . . . In most countries there exist powerful and well organized groups devoted to the cause of international peace. They can and do influence public opinion independently of the press and public authority. Unfortunately such groups are today largely dominated by the other-nation-villain concept. They feel that certain nations are 'possessed of a devil', and that it is their evil dispositions which endanger peace. . . . It is of the utmost importance that there should be a world opinion sensitive to injustice and

inhumanity. There may be times when it should be vocal."

Arthur Livingston in his introduction to "The Ruling Class", 1939, by Gaetano Mosca, dilates on the different standpoints from which history is written. "There is the anecdotic interest in history, the sentimental titillation. . . . There is the propaganda history, where the writer is meticulous about the accuracy of the record and even makes contributions to it, but then feels it necessary to give the record an apparent meaning by saucing it with reflections. . . . Finally, there is the Robinsonian history, the most scientific of these various types, where the past is taken as the explanation of the present, and, to a certain extent, the present is taken as the explanation of the past, but where the matter of choosing ideals is regularly left hazy and doubtful."

INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

"The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism", 1938, by Maurice Mandelbaum, starts with the very sensible but contested idea of Beard, that every historian "knows that his colleagues have been influenced in their selection and ordering of materials by their biases, prejudices, beliefs, affections, general upbringing and experience, particularly social and economic; and if he has a sense of propriety, to say nothing of humor, he applies the canon to himself, leaving no exception to the rule". The author's detailed and patient study of the hopeless convolutions and involutions of the human mind, of the historical relativists and their opponents, leads him to the conclusion that "the attempt to construct philosophical interpretations of history . . . can only lead to error . . . for the historian lays no claim to a more ultimate knowledge than can be gained by any other empirical investigator".

Freed from the incubus of university associations, a family in the valley of the Naugatuck has become a great American institution, as celebrated by Hubert Herring in *Harpers* for May, 1939. The Beards, Charles A. and Mary R., with their daughter Miriam and son William and son-in-law Alfred Vagts, all are prolific in thought and productive of volumes.

The publication of the third volume of their history of America, "America in Midpassage", 1939, by Charles and Mary Beard, may be regarded as their most astounding accomplishment. Here is much history of utmost importance, that came out in Congressional investigations, was suppressed in the newspapers, is never heard of in universities, and is unknown to well informed political minded citizens. The part played by the House of Morgan as British agents in bringing us into the last war is so well told as it was brought out in Senate committee hearings, that *Newsweek* Periscope, April 24, 1939, reported "One big Wall Street banking house is so disturbed by charges against it in . . . 'America in

Mid-Passage' that it's preparing to send a rebuttal to reviewers'. The keen critical analysis of economic and resultant political behavior, not elsewhere presented in so scholarly a work, makes this a 'must' book for anyone who wishes to cast an intelligent vote or express an opinion about American affairs. (11)

"Either as mild reasonableness or closed dogma, the economic interpretation played havoc with the pleasing conceptions of history entertained by patriotic societies and bar associations and supplied fuel for contemporary politics and economics. Accordingly at the fiftieth anniversary of the American Historical Association, it received a severe drubbing at the hands of the professor chosen to review past achievements and present troubles", the Beards tell us. It is coming to be recognized that "every interpretation of economic conflicts and trends . . . every formulation of public policy . . . was . . . an interpretation of history, that is, expressed calculations . . . necessary within the heritage from the past . . . ever in the process of becoming. Historical writing had been employed by Catholics and Protestants in their long struggle for possession of the human mind in the West. Voltaire had made it a dynamic force for the French Revolution. Under the guise of romanticism, history had served the reaction."

THE ECONOMIC MOTIVE

The Beards do not hesitate to criticize academic historians who "crowded their work with details, avoided colorful phrases, and aimed at a severity of style", and followed the pattern of German scholarship, with indefatigable industry and extremest caution in documentary research, avoiding anything that would lead one to understand that they were working over the propaganda of a past time and that human motives entered in.

The economic motive, which is more or less potent in our financial centers, is excused or apologized for or pooh-poohed by the academic historian, perhaps because the Marxians have put too much emphasis upon it. The university historian dares not suggest that anyone would do anything for a penny. But he would do much for a pension. England with its vast Empire and vested interests is worthy of protection. To that end a religion has been built and institutions founded to support it, the feudal Church, the Public School, the Kiplings, the Haggards, the Poets Laureate. The history of England has been presented in a great variety of ways, to thrill, excite admiration, by the Macaulays and the Trevelyan and the Fishers. But A. L. Morton, in a little volume, "A People's History of England", 1938, gives a straight tale of England "From the Pre-Celtic Age to 1938", a tale that will shock the university professors

because it doesn't bow, because it doesn't accept the myths.

Motives and forces behind events of the past have been too much neglected by academic historians, so that it is with elation that we find the nine liberal professors in their Report advising that "The historian may derive a better understanding of the social forces of another age from acquaintance with those that move men in the age in which he lives".

"The crazy combative patriotism that plainly threatens to destroy civilization today is very largely begotten by the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress in their history lessons. . . . I think we underrate the formative effect of this perpetual reiteration of how *we* won, how *our* empire grew and how relatively splendid *we* have been in every department of life. We are blinded by habit and custom to the way it infects these growing minds." (12)

WHAT IS HISTORY FOR?

Man's entrancing story that has been worked out by the anthropologist and archeologist,—the origin of agriculture, the discovery of metals, the domestication of animals, the beginnings of society,—a great and marvelous tale,—this is what H. G. Wells advocated should be taught, in his address before the British Association. He contrasted this with the nationalistic and militaristic history of kings and their henchmen, which is taught as English history and which tends to make our young people more like gossiping court pages than citizens of the world today.

James Harvey Robinson believed that history should throw light on "our present quandaries" by investigating their origins, and maintained that the historian should serve present day humanity. "History has been regularly invoked to substantiate the claims of the conservative. . . . The present has hitherto been the willing victim of the past; the time has now come when it should turn on the past and exploit it in the interest of advance." As Thucydides had held, history should be "a guide to the future".

Our history teaching would be more inspiring and tend to lead us on to future victories, if it should emphasize the triumphs of mankind, not militaristic battles won. The great story of how we came up from the ape, from Neanderthal man, of the domestication of animals, the discovery of new plant foods, the development of the city state, the tragedy and inspiration of the Aegean, the building of the Roman Church, the broadening of human consciousness, the revolt against authority since the thirteenth century,—all this, if truthfully and colorfully presented, would do away with the spirit of defeatism and pessimism and frustration that at present pervades our history teaching.

How is it that we Western Europeans have been kept from reality, that

our scholars in universities are so largely acquisitive, so loaded up with ancient myths, traditions, rubbish, that we are not more creative, that our society is acquisitive, with a tendency to become imperialistic and parasitic on other peoples? How come?

If we were less acquisitive and had less accumulation of what we can't use, and the responsibility for hoarding it and passing it on were not so pressing, we might be more creative, happier. Free from our load of inherited junk, we might show more vitality, we might make better use of what we have and put a higher value on producing for use. There is something wrong with us. Perhaps it is fundamental in our culture. (13)

NOTES

(1) "The historian has, in general, been content merely to record the formal and external acts of man without attempting to give these significance by investigating their motivation, behavior patterns and consequences", wrote Harry Elmer Barnes in his "New History and the Social Studies", 1925, p 569.

Especially obnoxious to the comfortably subsidized academic historians, who set up a claim of objectivity, is Max Nordau's realistic "Interpretation of History", 1911, which makes it clear that "history ceases to be a series of objective events in regular progression . . . and becomes dependent on the cast of a mind of a particular human being who selects. . . . Its arrangement depends on his understanding, and its form on his artistic ability." Under the same title, "The Interpretation of History", 1943, and under the editorship of the brilliant Jacques Barzun, French expatriate, who having married American wealth was adopted by Nicholas Butler, is published a collection of essays by five historians who reveal diverse academic attitudes.

Objectivity in history is a very modern idea, much professed but little practiced. It is not much wonder that as late as 1884 President Eliot of Harvard could declare without contradiction, "The great majority of American colleges . . . have no teacher of history whatever. . . . In so old and well-established a college as Dartmouth there is no teacher of history."

(2) The process of "Distorting History", through the minds of subservient "academic chairholders", "to substantiate the claims of the conservative" (Robinson), "the hesitancy of conscientious historians to relate the events they chronicle with the alluring but dangerous controversies of the hour" (Neilson), how historians become "propagandists in war time" (Ware), history's relation to politics, "the struggle for power, history in the making", are explained in "War and Education", pp 443-6.

(3) Among the Aztecs, Stuart Chase tells us, "the profession of historian was subdivided between the chronicler of events, and the chronologist. Messrs. Fay and Barnes will be glad to hear that the falsifying of history was a capital offense." ("Mexico", p 32)

In our universities a certain amount of glossing over episodes or interpretations that might not meet with the approval of higher-ups is wisely the practice, for it has been observed that those who do not thus conform are not advanced and sometimes lose their positions and pensions. As a consequence many of our keenest and boldest analytical historians,—notably Walter Millis, Allan Nevins, Samuel Morison, Henry S. Commager, and in England a great man, Arnold

Toynbee,—have quite changed their tone to meet new conditions of the past ten years and so retained a market for their writings. Some have gone all out in support of the powers that be. (Cf 27th ed, 1943, pp 99-102)

(4) Universities, ecclesiastical establishments under the skirts of the Church, 'the Wife of the State', must necessarily play their part in perpetuating myths that support those in power. History as 'she' is taught to the Englishman comes with great names attached, Macaulay or Trevelyan his nephew who, in the tradition, are devoted preservers of sacred myth. Considerably overrated as a genius, his chief asset being a phenomenal memory, Macaulay is vividly presented by R. C. Beatty in his life of "Lord Macaulay", 1939.

(5) Disraeli gave support to Continental critics in his brilliant asides in his novels. In "Sybil" he wrote, "All the great events have been distorted, most of the important causes concealed, some of the principal characters never appear, and all who figure are so misunderstood and misrepresented that the result is a complete mystification. . . . If the history of England be ever written by one who has the knowledge and the courage . . . the world would be astonished. . . ."

(6) "The Poison Called History", *Survey Graphic*, June, 1938, is the fourth of a series of Wells' talks to teachers which aroused abusive comment. "The primary source of our present troubles is the complete incompatibility between our historical traditions and the new, more exacting conditions of life created for us by invention and discovery. The adjustment of history to reality has become a matter of supreme urgency. . . . At the back of our minds we find a sort of assumption that history has some sort of scientific value, that it is a balanced account of what really happened in the past. I myself was brought up in that widespread delusion. . . . I am in fact saying practically what that very clear-headed and original American Henry Ford said about common history—that it is bunk—pretentious stuff and largely useless matter. . . . Common history remains still national or regional propaganda lightened by gossip."

(7) It was the part of every American patriot for more than a century to hate the British Tories or loyalists. We had taken their property, driven them out, persecuted them, as is soberly and clearly revealed in the doctoral thesis of Harry B. Yoshpe, "The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York", 1939. "The Revolutionary authorities, desiring to punish those who were inimical to the American cause, endeavoring to extricate themselves from the financial difficulties confronting them, and seeking to dislodge the pro-British aristocracy in the interest of land-hungry patriots, set up machinery for the confiscation and disposal of the loyalist estates. . . . As the spirit of lawlessness spread among the populace, loyalist property was subject to pillage and unwarrantable depredation."

The American Revolution as presented to American eyes, the deriding of the patriots as an ignorant mob, their persecution of the loyalist supporters of law and order, has undergone a great change, particularly as a result of the last two wars and the sympathy elicited for the British cause. Numerous novels, perhaps foremost among which is Kenneth Roberts' "Oliver Wiswell", have assisted in this change of view.

(8) A long suppressed story was told by Aldous Huxley in his "Grey Eminence", 1941, after he came upon little known books and manuscripts in the Huntington Library at Pasadena. Huxley has unraveled the long hidden story of Father Joseph and his influence in determining Richelieu's policies. Huxley's significant book has been little noted in the press, except for the mysticism in-

volved in the beliefs of Father Joseph. But the history revealed of how Father Joseph promoted the Thirty Years War for the aggrandizement of France and the destruction of Germany is essential to an understanding of the present war. For that reason, perhaps, reviewers have been hesitant about considering this phase of Huxley's work. "In the long chain of crime", Huxley writes, "which binds the present world to its past, one of the most fatally important links was the Thirty Years' War", which is producing its after-effects in our tax payments and lowered standard of living here in America today.

Father Joseph "was one of the forgers of one of the most important links in the chain of our disastrous destiny". Ten years after the friar's death, a long biography was written by Lepré-Balin, who "had access to all the relevant documents". But his biography and the Supplement of state papers were never published. The latter "disappeared for two hundred and fifty years and was discovered, about 1890, by Gustave Fagniez in the library of the British Museum". The biography was preserved by the Capuchins of Paris. Fagniez in 1894 published an extensive life, 1200 pages of miscellaneous historical documents. At about the same time a young ecclesiastic, Dedouvres,—who became almoner of the Congregation of Our Lady of Calvary, in whose archives were preserved the founder Father Joseph's papers,—began a lifetime of research on Father Joseph. During forty years the Abbe published twenty articles and pamphlets, but death in 1929 interrupted the continuous biography on which he was working. In 1932 two volumes of his work were published in an obscure and small edition. "Even among professional historians few have read or even heard of it." It is on the work of Fagniez and Dedouvres that Huxley bases his story.

(9) "From the time of Herodotus to the present day, historians have devoted themselves to an exactly similar undertaking; they have described great and serious events in the light of their outcome, and have sought to make the deeds of heroes intelligible by the imaginative reconstruction of character." (John Frederick Teggart, "Prolegomena to History: the Relation of History to Literature, Philosophy, and Science", 1916)

(10) "History is the tread of sabots going up the stairs, and the patter of satin slippers coming down", said Voltaire. And William Graham Sumner, "History is only a tiresome repetition of one story. Persons and classes have sought to win possession of the power of the State in order to live luxuriously out of the earnings of others." There are many points of view from which to regard history, just as there are many points of view from which to view a landscape, or the road ahead. A haystack looked very different to Monet on a foggy morning and in full sunlight. He had to completely change his palette.

His-story, man's, has yet to be written. Kings' chroniclers, sycophants of oligarchs, propagandists of those in power, have thwarted inquiry and promoted myths of their masters. Litterateurs have dealt with human thought as revealed in letters, variously interpreted by parvenus or Marxian determinists. Academic historians, prating about searching for truth, have addled the egg of objectivity. The anthropologist has gone into the comparative anatomy of human cultures, the archeologist into the waste heaps, the psychoanalyst into the phylogenetic cesspools of living mentalities. The suspicious snooper has lifted the curtain of official history to disclose the actors and their motives. The new history of Robinson and Beard concerns itself with understanding the behavior of men. "Robinson thought of the writing of history in terms of the struggle between the privileged groups and the common man; history, he declared, had been traditionally

written by men sharing the point of view of the elite and it reflected their outlook, but it might be made an instrument for radicals in their struggle for a greater measure of justice." (Merle Curti, "The Growth of American Thought", Harper, 1943, p 569)

(11) "Basic History of the United States" is a 500-page book published in the New Home Library, 1944, to be sold in drug stores, news stands at 69c. The first printing was 150,000. This brings to a close Charles and Mary Beard's cooperative efforts in interpreting American history. For this book they sacrificed a winter of intensive labor, the rights to royalties, that a simple, straightforward, and reliable presentation might be available at low cost to a large number. The themes are the rise of national democracy, widening knowledge and thought, the growth of plutocracy and the revolts against it, the World War and the Global War,—and all are treated with candor, honesty, and a sense of proportion as in almost no other history.

(12) Charles H. Judd thus quotes Wells and adds, "If we take the recommendation of Wells seriously and substitute anthropology for the kind of history which is now common in the schools, I feel sure that we shall be making progress toward the organization of general education." (*Educational Record*, April, 1936)

(13) Hogben in his "Retreat From Reason", 1938, writes, "When knowledge is said to have cultural value, further enquiry is usually closed by the statement that it is worth having for its own sake. This is another way of saying that we value it as individuals without knowing any good reason to commend it to any one else. . . . To be sure, people sometimes speak of a cultural education when they mean an education which equips an individual to exercise his social responsibilities outside the domain of his daily work."

We Americans, like the Romans, put a high estimate on the culture that our acquisitive habits have led us to acquire. It was to be expected that the predatory man, the pioneer, the man with hair on his chest, would acquire and accumulate. To such the artist, the creator, was something of a sissy. Not till one had acquired copper mines and coke ovens was it appropriate to acquire works of art and pose as 'cultured'. Our Western art is exhibitionist, as Ruth St. Denis as a result of her experience in the East has pointed out. We wait in anxious expectancy for the aerialist to catch the flying trapeze or for the solo soprano to hit high C. Fear is followed by a sigh of relief. But a group of Eastern singers on such an occasion laughed. In the East the singer is supposed to have developed an impeccable technique which makes possible improvisation to fit the mood or the occasion. To sing a song as previously composed would be comparable to a Western singer playing a recording at a concert.

"Because we have evolved no way of writing down our music, because we do not preserve in a concrete form our art and our stories, the West considers that we have lost our culture. But it is in the oral traditions of the villages that the arts of India are really alive. The brief Western immortality of museums is pointless to people who have seen eternity in their earth", writes Santha Rama Rau in "Home to India at Sixteen", *Harpers*, Sept., 1944, quoting her grandmother. In "The Bugbear of Literacy", *Asia*, Feb., 1944, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, explains too that the great epic poems of the world were composed and recited by illiterate peoples and that literature dies, like music, when it is canned. "The 'preservation' of a people's art in folk museums is a funeral rite." (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 83-4)

OUR ROMAN CULTURE

The acquisitive culture and imperialistic propaganda of Rome, along with the authoritarianism and Aristotelian doctrines are still accepted and maintained by our universities, church and state. Some of our present difficulties result, but the heresies of science are getting us back to the Greeks.

Our acquisitive culture, directly acquired from Rome, still dominates home and school. It is a misfit which results in growing maladjustments and periodical flare-ups. The present period of change is part of the spasmodic effort to free ourselves of suppressive authority and sovereignty, to win back to the questing mind of the early Greek, to our rightful heritage, the divine curiosity that man inherited from the simian.

THE CREATIVE GREEKS

The Greeks were creative, so occupied in building their own culture that they had little interest in acquiring culture from other peoples. Twitting the academic classicist, James Harvey Robinson tells him, "As Lord Bacon reminds us, the Greeks had no antiquity of knowledge and no knowledge of antiquity. A modern classicist would have been a forlorn outlander in ancient Athens, with no books in a forgotten tongue, no obsolete inflexions to impose upon reluctant youth."

With no conscious heritage of the past and no duty to transmit tradition, the early Greeks were free to joy in questioning and challenging. "For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing" (Acts: XVII, 21).

Exploring the world and the universe, the Ionian mathematicians early discovered that the sun was the central body around which the earth revolved. Plato, maintaining that astronomy should dispense with the heavenly bodies and concern itself with contemplation, marked the beginning of the Greek decline. And Aristotle followed with a summation of all knowledge.

The Greek spirit of participation was manifested in their athletic games, which from earliest historic times were a part of their religion. Training for them was an important element of their education. Their "Olympian games were more nearly a religious ceremony than even football contests are with us, and the blight of commercialism, so far as we know, was absent", John Erskine tells us. "The Greek boy was taught how to run a race, and immediately he went out and ran. His teachers assigned him no marks for his class work. . . . He won the race or he lost

it, and in either case he ran again." For the Greek then knew no defeat. He had never been conquered. He had turned back the Persians. And Alexander had conquered the East and dreamed of a united Greek world.

THE ACQUISITIVE ROMANS

The Latins, on the other hand, were early conquered and held for hundreds of years under the domination of the Etruscans, Lydian emigrants from Asia Minor. Go down in the excavations under the Roman Forum to the Etruscan level and you will find the inscriptions on the altars end in 'x',—'rex', 'lex', 'dux'. (1) Everything that had to do with law, organization, control and oppression was Etruscan. Macaulay in his "Ancient Lays" reflects the terror in which the Romans held their conquerors. (2)

The Romans came out of it finally with an Etruscan culture, an inferiority complex, and a superiority of organization. With their short broadswords, their legions conquered the Greeks. Lacking culture of their own, creative impulse, or spirit of inquiry, they found compensation in indulging their acquisitive instinct. As they acquired power and wealth, they could magnify their egos by acquiring what others had created. (3)

Roman profiteers and tax farmers, waxed wealthy, took back to Rome as loot the art the Greeks had created and valued. They vied in their pride in embellishing their luxurious villas with the spoils of Greek culture. Acquisitively they collected sculptures and vases for their homes and gardens, and some put on side by acquiring libraries of Greek manuscripts and Greek slaves to copy and care for them. They paraded Greek slave philosophers and poets to give evidence of their taste. And so in conspicuous waste and display they demonstrated that they had acquired culture. (4)

Enterprising freedmen and avaricious Levantines bought slave artists to copy and manufacture works of art for the Roman nouveau riche, as Greek and Eastern culture became more fashionable. To Rome flowed the loot of all the peoples of the Mediterranean and the East, the conspicuous best that they had produced. "The appreciation of other men's work was what the Roman called culture. He became a good judge of athletics; that is, he was master of no sport himself, but he attended the arena, where the slaves took the exercise for him, and he liked to bet on the games", John Erskine wrote in the *Herald Tribune*. The wealthy Roman acquired slave gladiators who won the applause of the crowds for him. He lolled in his luxurious bath and lay on a slab, taking his exercise by proxy, watching his slaves massage him and pound off the fat.

So the acquisitive Roman organized new legions from the conquered

and built a non-productive, parasitic empire. That the Romans weren't creative doesn't mean that they weren't adapters. Roman law, codified by Justinian and again by Napoleon, is still the law of the Continent. (5)

OUR ROMAN HERITAGE

It is not so generally recognized that our system of education, so essentially different from the Greek, is a Roman innovation, a progressive movement of that time. That his children, too, might acquire culture, the Roman, says Erskine, "developed a scheme of education which he called liberal—that is, a training suitable to a free man who owned slaves, and therefore expected to do no work". The Roman bought Greek slaves to instruct his children in the Greek language, literature, and arts. Greek slave pedagogs led the Roman children to the schools, taught by Greek slave scholars and philosophers. So developed a more formal type of schooling to satisfy the desire for a conspicuous display of the culture that wealth could buy. The Greek teacher had usually been a free man, often a citizen. "His Roman colleagues of later times, however, were mostly slaves or freedmen. Even scholars of high rank were slaves in Roman times and were freely traded or hired out for their masters' profit", Frederick Cramer writes in "Why Did Roman Universities Fail?" *Harvard Educational Review*, March, 1939.

This progressive education, the innovation of the time, would have been derided by the noble Romans of the Republic. There are always oldsters to protest at any new type of schooling, as did the elder Cato. "From fierce opposition to Greek ways and thought, he was finally converted to them and took up the study of Greek when already well advanced in years. Yet in spite of the fact that many aristocratic families began to familiarize their offspring with Greek culture, there was a very large and influential bloc of conservatives who on principle opposed Greek education for Roman boys. . . .

"The lively interest in Greek education that the leading families of Rome developed after the second century B.C. remained confined to those branches of knowledge that were social and political assets, i.e., literary education and rhetorical training." There "was a rapid disappearance of the remnants of that inquisitive and independent spirit that had animated Greek scholars and scientists for so many centuries. . . . A voluntary neglect of advanced and independent work . . . was bound to lead to a more general attitude of indifference to such work, an attitude which was transmitted to the Roman sphere when the Romans transplanted higher education to the western part of the Mediterranean world."

The Bishops of Rome, assuming the cloak of the old Etruscan-Roman official, the 'pontifex', bridge builder, succeeded in building a bridge

across reality from the Greeks to us. Through the Roman Church, the Roman language survived. (6) The Church accumulated and adopted as its own portions of the ritual and legends of the Jews and other Eastern peoples. In the treasures and reliquaries of the churches and monasteries, in the papal collections of works of art, the cultural acquisitions of Rome were preserved. The ancient learning was preserved in the medieval monasteries and in the ecclesiastical universities. "The growing ability of the Christian Church to train not only its own functionaries but also those of the state . . . finally put the administration of mediaeval Europe into the hands of clerics or men trained in monastic schools. . . . The training of officials for the government bureaucracy, was taken . . . by the Christian schools, which had a spiritual appeal backing up their curriculum", Cramer writes.

OUR INSTITUTIONAL WORLD

We inheritors of the Roman tradition go to school and college to acquire an education, or to the university to acquire higher learning, which the scholar has acquired from the acquisitions of others. We travel in foreign countries and visit art galleries and the like to acquire culture. We acquire antique furniture and objets d'art, books and knowledge of what others have done, and assume that we have acquired culture. Ours is an acquisitive life in an acquisitive society. (7)

It was R. H. Tawney whose "Acquisitive Society" first revealed this conception, just as J. A. Hobson first made clear that under imperialism society became parasitic. Our modern 'culture' on which we pride ourselves is a kind of greed, a manifestation of the acquisitive instinct,—the desire to accumulate what others have created. We are satisfied with things at second hand, and this kills the creative impulse. Some, like President Hutchins of Chicago, claim to believe that these fragments of ancient knowledge are important for us, that instead of concocting new dishes from fresh vegetables and new articles of food that we have discovered, we should eat the cold leftovers.

Apologizing for Hutchins, John A. Rice writes in *Harpers*, May, 1937, "The American is now where the Greek was when he began to be something. The president of the University of Chicago . . . would have us begin with Aristotle, when the Greek began to be nothing." The "sure sign of beginning decay" with the Greeks came with Plato. "To nothing has reverence been paid more stupidly than to the classics", which we don't read "as tracts for the times, which is what most of them were, but as distillations of pure reason".

Authority still reigns. Sovereignty is still a potent myth. Controlled from the great centers of power, our universities, our whole educational

system is still permeated with the acquisitive Roman idea of culture. This exotic culture, foreign to our ethnic nature, we Northern barbarians wear like a hair shirt, or with hypocrisy. Some retain a degree of primitive independence and rebellion. Suppressed, they show maladjustments.

THE REVOLT AGAINST AUTHORITY

This flaw in our culture is recognized by A. Gordon Melvin in "The New Culture", 1937. It "has produced millions of disorganized personalities. It has failed to unify children's experiences in the terms of clear and basic fundamentals. It has produced a race of the psychologically unstable. The educated have crowded the prisons, and the insane asylums have been increasingly filled with broken human lives. . . .

"An absolute has been woven into the warp and woof of Western thinking and Western culture from its beginnings. It was imposed upon Western civilization for a neat millennium (300-1300 A. D.) by the Grecizers and Romanizers of post-Christian thinking. Creeds were crystallized and became instead of practical guides to the zealous, touchstones of orthodoxy. . . . Augustine, for example, promoted the trend of authority and Thomas Aquinas perfected it.

"Thus established in Western thinking, absolutism built itself into Western institutions. . . . Business is primary, success is mandatory and 'prosperity' the greatest absolute of all. . . . The search of humanity and the search of each individual for an anchor in a time of storm has been incessant and unending. . . . Unable to reach the urbanity of the lilies of the field which toil not neither do they spin, men look for some material stability in a material world."

The "belief in the authoritative power of knowledge" was epitomized in the Platonic philosophy, Werner Jaeger declared at the Harvard Tercentenary symposium on "Authority and the Individual". "The best minds of the time tended very strongly to sacrifice the prize of individual liberty, which has been the goal for centuries of struggle, for the sake of a stable order and universally valid standard."

Aristotelian standards have helped to hold the world in bondage for two thousand years. Revolt has broken out at times. Hans Vaihinger gave impetus in his "The Philosophy of 'As If'", which, in an intellectually static period a generation ago, opened many a closed mind and started the wheels revolving. (8)

Count Alfred Korzybski smites mighty blows at the Aristotelian doctrines of identities and 'either-or'. In his "Science and Sanity" he shows how, through science, sanity may return to this disordered world, as he has repeatedly proved in clinical demonstrations all over the country.

Authority is a pleasing thing to those who hold it and who can main-

tain the myth that mankind would go wild without their restraining hand. Even so, how much worse would things be than they are today?

THE FAILURE OF WESTERN CULTURE

Some years ago a series of articles dealt with the question "Was Europe a Success?" Today it is obvious that until the revolution that has been going on since the fifteenth century goes further, there can be no permanent peace. The destruction of our civilization has an ominous sound, but everything that lives and grows destroys old tissues to build new, and such should be the process in our culture. Only by challenging the authoritative and questioning the accepted will we be able to build for the future (cf pp 319, 320).

"Our tradition is out of joint with the times. . . . Our present educational difficulty lies not in the fact that tradition is being imposed upon the coming generation, but rather in the fact that the tradition we impose . . . has lost its vitality," declared George S. Counts in "Freedom, Culture, Social Planning, and Leadership". "This means that the first major task of American education is to create a tradition which has roots in American soil, which is in harmony with the spirit of the age . . . and which will appeal to the most profound impulses of our people."

In "Mitigating the Tragedy of Our Modern Culture", Cassius Jackson Keyser in the *American Scholar*, 1934, revealed that the fundamental source of our trouble is due to the suppression of our natural curiosity. Keyser declares, "there are in the world some hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of men and women who by their native endowments of intellect were in their youth well qualified for the successful pursuit of science" who "have been constrained to devote their energies to other pursuits . . . victims of . . . the inevitable tragedy of our culture. . . . With ample native capacity for scientific curiosity or wonder", they have lost this possibility and become "like Plato's philosopher, 'a spectator of all time and all existence'".

GETTING BACK TO THE GREEKS

Our modern culture has led to tragedy but we are getting back to the Greeks, recovering our long abandoned heritage. Today in our teaching of athletics we follow the Greek method in spirit, which was one of doing, participation, competition by all. But we still look upon athletic spectacles, football and baseball, as the Romans did their gladiatorial combats.

In our scientific education in the laboratory, we have gotten back to the Greek spirit of investigation, challenging, questioning. The sciences, John Erskine points out, "are the group of subjects which in our schools are

taught most nearly, after athletics, in the Greek way. . . . You make the experiment yourself. If the teacher insists on making it for you in your presence you must forgive him: he is temporarily overtaken by the Roman idea of culture. He imagines that he is the performing Greek slave and that you are the liberal Roman gentleman accumulating culture by looking on."

NOTES

(1) Latin as a language is of great interest if it is approached from the standpoint of its origins and the embedded fossils. Few classicists know or pay attention to this. Etruscan words adopted into the Latin have to do with rulers, leaders, law. Although Etruscan has not as yet been read, x's appear prominently in the inscriptions which have been found in Asia Minor, the Greek islands, and throughout Italy. Not only Etruscan words have come down to us in Latin but also words of Sabine origin, ending in 'a', words like 'stella', 'flora', etc. These probably came into the language with the intermarriage of the Latins and the Sabine women. At least this is the way it appears to one who has studied and taught Latin in Rome, but never in college.

(2) Because some internal Asiatic eruption, possibly of the Scythians, forced out of Lydia the Etruscans, who conquered the Romans, we have our present Roman culture. Everything came out of Asia, but be not misled by lineal chains of causality. There are always innumerable other factors, a nexus of them, which we may some time better understand. Roman literature, which is so largely imperialist propaganda, naturally does not dwell upon the humiliation of Etruscan domination. Our school histories and our classicists, influenced by Augustus' favorite propagandist, Vergil, with his mystical and laudatory distortion of the Asiatic origin of their culture, gloss over Etruscan dominance. The archeologist's discovery of Etruscan remains in the Roman Forum was greeted by the classicists with the silence of contempt. English classicists, secure in their monastic institutions, left it to the Germans, O. Müller, Deecke, Gardthausen, and Zöllner, to investigate and disclose the dominance of powerful Etruscan lords over the Latins.

"The Etruscan princes . . . raised Rome . . . to a commanding position in Latium and lavished upon the city itself the resources of Etruscan civilization. . . . They are represented . . . as reorganizing the Roman army on a new footing. . . . The last of these Etruscan lords" was the "splendid and despotic" Tarquin the Proud. "His sway extended" almost as far south as the modern Naples. While he was besieging Ardea there occurred the rape of Lucretia by his son Sextus, which brought on the revolution and expulsion of the Tarquins. (Encyc. Brit., 11th ed, 1911, Vol XXIII, p 618, article "Rome" by Henry Francis Pelham and Robert Seymour Conway)

(3) "By the scale of a world history the Roman Empire ceases to seem so overwhelmingly important. . . . Compared with the quiet, steady expansion, the security, and the civilizing task of the contemporary Chinese Empire, or with Egypt between 4000 and 1000 B. C., or with Sumer before the Semitic conquest, this amounts to a mere incident in history." H. G. Wells' proportioned view as thus presented in his "Outline of History" was outrageous to our cloistered classicists, whose historical vision had so long been limited to the time of Plato or Solon and whose knowledge of the history of the world's peoples to Greek and Roman texts and the Bible, which had led them to a little interest in Chaldea and Egypt.

(4) "An immense indictment could, no doubt, be drawn up against the civilization of ancient Athens; yet if one compares the defence of it, at its best, which Thucydides put into the mouth of Pericles, with Macaulay's famous eulogy of the acquisitive society in its first and ardent dawn, it is not easy to say that the verdict must go against ancient Athens. And Macaulay, we must remember, was speaking of a society which still had before it something like half a century of dramatic expansion. Our problem is the far graver one. . . . The ultimate weakness of the social system which is drawing to its close" is that "by building itself around the idea of acquisition, it degraded the dignity of human nature in the masses. . . . Its standard at the top was, as Veblen so remarkably showed, the ability of the successful to prove their success by their capacity to waste conspicuously," writes Harold Laski in "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time", 1943.

(5) Not by but under Justinian, as under Napoleon, were the laws codified. In late Roman times the legal minds were Syrian, where for centuries the learned had been interested in Law as well as the Prophets. Moses is reported to have been the first to codify the laws. Napoleon called together a great congress of learned men to formulate his code. Justinian relied largely on two great Syrian legal scholars.

(6) "The Loom of Language", 1944, by Frederick Bodmer, edited and arranged by Lancelot Hogben, throws light on the Latin that we study in schools. "The language which diffused throughout the provinces of the Empire was not the classical Latin of Tom Brown's schooldays . . . the Latin of classical authors selected for study in schools or colleges . . . always, as it is now, a *dead* language because it was never the language of daily intercourse. . . . The crossword puzzles of Cicero and his contemporaries, like the English of Gertrude Stein or James Joyce, had little to do with the character of the language they spoke. . . . The homely Latin of the Vulgate though not an accurate record of spoken Latin, probably stands nearer to it than the writings of any classical author." (Cf "The Future of Education", pp 231-2)

(7) The culture of a people is the sum total of their patterns of behavior and belief, most of which comes to them from their ancestors, while some may be derived from other peoples, often from conquerors. The varied peoples of Europe have developed cultures of their own, but these individual cultures are a veneer on the basic Roman culture, which was Greek-derived, and on this Greco-Roman was grafted much of the Judaic. This cultural complex overlies the earlier Celtic, British, Teutonic cultures. The American culture which has developed within the past century is superimposed on all these, with the admixture of many other elements as we have come in contact with other peoples of the world. Western culture is a veneer which sometimes blisters and peels off. Cultures, like races and virgins, to remain pure must be kept long isolated.

(8) Born in 1852 in the religious atmosphere of a Swabian parsonage, Vaihinger was educated in the Stuttgart Grammar School, where his ambition was awakened by realization that he sat on the same benches as had Kepler in the 17th century and Schelling in the 18th. At Tübingen he followed philosophy and at Leipzig came under the influence of Wundt in 1875. From his doctoral dissertation developed his "Philosophy of 'As If': A System of the Theoretical, Practical and Religious Fictions of Mankind", published in German in 1911, translated by C. K. Ogden and published in English in 1924.

WHAT'S AHEAD

Clearing away the intellectual slough that has hampered us, the hates that corrode, will make possible deeper understanding and wider sympathies.

Out of a period of confusion we seemed by 1938 to have arrived at a state of hopefulness on the part of some, defeatism, a desire to retreat to the past, on the part of others. Now our educational institutions reflect from the chancelleries and financial centers an hysteria of fear, which seems to require the catharsis of war.

WHY THIS CONFUSION

What we need is longer vision to give us some sense of proportion, perspective into the past, richer backgrounds, more accurate descriptions of things as they are, that we may arrive at more realistic view, regain our sense of direction. Our teachers and leaders have failed to give us needed information that was at hand.

Fed on husks in our school and university curricula, essential and living knowledge kept from us, we are filled with fear because we cannot distinguish the trend of events. Poisoned by undetected propaganda, which, after the damage is done, we shall study, we hysterically shout our misinterpretations.

Every one of us, every statesman, university president, financial potentate, all who occupy positions of power today, only a few decades ago were innocent babes, plastic material. What they are today is the result of the process of conditioning to which they were subjected. It has made them as they are, and they are responsible for the present sorry state of the world.

HATE OR UNDERSTANDING

There is nothing wrong with the world as God made it. The only thing wrong is the people in it, and there is nothing much wrong with them except their behavior, the way they regard one another and the fetters and blinders they put upon their fellows. We have made in this Garden of Eden a fetid cesspool in which hate breeds in ignorance.

It is difficult to hate what you understand. It is those that know little or nothing about snakes that hate them. The herpetologist doesn't. If you understand how a man came to be as he is, misogynist or misanthrope, the processes through which he has passed to make him as he is, you won't so much hate the man as the conditions that produced him.

Hating, we go forth with righteousness to war, because we don't understand, because the other man's behavior is contrary to our principles or arouses our prejudices. Those who control and have ends to gain, find ways by voice and speech to arouse such prejudices.

TAKING IN THE OUTS

The great anthropologist, Franz Boas, made clear the great achievement and future of man. Originally in small local groups, each primitive tribe looked upon outsiders as intruders. Their strange ways inspired fear and hate. So the morality toward the in-group was quite different from that toward the out-group. In the primitive mind it was right to cooperate and help the members of your group. It was right to defraud, despoil and kill the hated stranger.

With better means of communication, man has widened his acquaintance with different peoples and customs. He has enlarged the in-group by taking others within his circle. Now though he travels four hundred miles an hour by airplane and transmits the voice instantaneously by radio, the mind of man is yet so primitive that we still hate the unfamiliar ideology of the out-group.

But the circle of the in-group is constantly enlarging, and eventually we may take in all mankind. Edwin Markham said it,—“He drew a circle that shut me out, heretic, rebel, a thing to flout, but Love and I had the wit to win; we drew a circle that took him in!”

We have given up ancient loyalties, broken away from the old moorings. The fetters and chains of authority are loosening. Men lack faith in their leaders. All is adrift. Without sense of direction, things seem chaotic. The threatening storm is disturbing to those who have settled down with their absolutes and eternal verities, to live parasitically secure under the protection of authority. Without change it would be easy to be as happy as a clam in a mudflat. Thousands of species have attained that kind of secure contentment. The rock strata, the mudflats of the past are full of their fossils.

That we are changing means we are organically vital, on the way up. That this is a time of change should fill us with hope. The parent's job is to try to detect the trends, so that he can be of help rather than a deterrent to his children. For it is evident that some of us are going somewhere, and some seem to know where,—up or down. No right or left turn.

This is the last of the excerpts from the Handbook of Private Schools. The following chapter is written as of 1945.

THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE TODAY

The times are out of joint. But today we cannot escape responsibility by charging it to supernatural forces. With understanding of how human affairs are managed we may shape our tomorrow to make the dawning brighter.

"There they lie, as you unearth them, side by side, the flint fist-hatchet and the steel shell fragment, and the whole sweep of man's career lies between them . . . perhaps a million years of human endeavor . . . from primitive to highly refined methods of destruction." So mused James Harvey Breasted in his "Dawn of Conscience", as he viewed the evidence of man's life revealed in the battle scarred hills of the Somme. Today the scene is even more tragic.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND NOT DONE

Since the time of Buddha and Lao-tze there have not been lacking great teachers and preachers of vision to point a way of life by which we might avoid our wastes and wars. Those teachings we have not followed, but boastfully maintain our own way of life while we try to change that of other peoples. Our own behavior patterns, our ways of life, were fixed by parents and teachers in childhood. If we don't like the result, we must consider what was done to the young to make them as they are today.

Education is an abstraction which covers up what we stronger oldsters do while we can to our weaker youngsters while they submit. Parents and teachers, though unaware of it, have been conditioned to accept what is. By fixed traditional practices they continue the conditioning process in each generation to make 'good citizens' loyal to those in authority. So it is not strange that few today can see reality through the myths and with courage meet emergency as it appears and avert crisis before it breaks.

To maintain the welfare of the people we elect, select, or bend the knee to supposedly beneficent statesmen or rulers to whom we delegate sovereign powers. Today with control of communications and improved techniques in creating public opinion, they may create emergencies, conscript the bodies or debauch the minds of their loyal but frustrated citizens. Few have the skill to maintain conscience against the insidious conditioning to our atavistic ideas of sovereignty. (Cf "Guiding Public Opinion" and "Controlling Communication", pp 419-42 of "War and Education", Sargent, 1943)

Our educational leaders and spokesmen have failed to understand all this and so we were unable to foresee what was coming. Moreover, misinformed, absorbed in elaborating ideologies or bubble blowing, they

were unaware that shrewder men were using them as tools, and education as the instrument, to further their own short-visioned purposes.

Psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, who study the human wreckage of our cultural system, tell us that maladjustments are due to emotional upsets, the result of the way the individual interprets his relation to authoritarian restraining influences. They tell us that the first purpose of education should be to aid the individual to adjust himself to reality, the world he is to live in, not merely to current restraints, customs and tabus. So in this book our attention is turned to the mental behavior, usually referred to as thought, of those who form the minds of the new generation. The picture is not flattering and the intellectual climate today is not satisfying.

WASTE IS WICKED

The time and opportunities of our educators have been wasted on vain things, in supplying tools seldom used, in training of little value. Pupils under them have wasted time on the useless and formed habits of wasting opportunity. Schooling has failed to yield them satisfactions and, frustrated, they escape from its regimentation to continue to waste in their own way. So we have become a wasteful people.

Pretending to be peace loving, we honor our greatest as 'first in war'. Our youth with some retraining prove ready instruments for wasting lives. The First World War was a mere try-out in waste, running up our national debt to only 44 billions. That "rape of the earth" resulted in a total money cost of only 477 billions. After the war, during peace from 1920 to 1933, we expended for armament \$11,839,327,866, more than any other nation. (Cf "What the Last War Cost", "How Much Shall We Waste on This War?", "What This War Will Cost Us", pp 328-39 of "Getting U S Into War", Sargent, 1941).

"World War II cost over one and one-quarter trillion dollars . . . more than five times the estimated national income. . . . The U. S. spent \$240 billion for war, Britain and Russia each \$100 billion." And for the U. S. "through June 30, 1946, authorizations total \$450 billion", Merrill Lynch, largest investment house announced in their February 14, 1945, *Investor's Reader*, after having "carefully checked authoritative sources" on two continents. "The British themselves admit that one in every three homes has been destroyed or damaged". "Gone forever are priceless paintings, manuscripts, statues and works of art", as well as many irreplaceable historical buildings. The greatest loss is the exhaustion of natural resources and food producing soil destroyed all round the world, that can never be replaced.

War promotes spectacular and exaggerated forms of waste. So simple an operation as withdrawing a pair of pliers or a bolt from an Army

warehouse takes a total of sixty-seven operations, Hanson Baldwin courageously brought out in his column in February, 1945. The previous week Senator Mead revealed the fantastic waste of idle manpower in the Norfolk Navy Yard. The Department of Justice counsel, J. Ominsky, at the same time reported "some plants have loaded scores of workers on their payrolls unnecessarily to kick back a part of their wages to supervisory officials". The waste and corruption is yet to be exposed. The aftermath offers the greatest opportunity to the plunderer, in the coming scramble for the hundred billion dollars of surplus goods to be disposed of.

"Every war has meant great forward strides",—in this war aircraft, jet propulsion, electronics, radar, we are told. But with incentive and opportunity men could certainly do as good intellectual work if bombs were not bursting in air. Their abilities were wasted in peacetime,—in wartime, lives and resources are wasted. At all times great wastes result from the autocratic concentration of power which, more broadly distributed, would be more economically used.

OUR INTELLECTUAL DEGRADATION

The misuse of our best brains is the most pitiful waste. Today our writers are debauched. They have taken the 'brass check' and prostituted their talents and abilities to fool and corrupt the people in the interest of those who hold power.

"What is agitating the writers? If we can find the answer to that question we shall know a good deal about the intellectual climate of the immediate future", writes C. Hartley Grattan in "Salute to the Litterateurs", *Harpers*, Nov., 1944. Why this turning back to mysticism and supernaturalism? Why the popularity of these high priests of hate like Stout and Fadiman?

The answer is obvious. They have been confused, scared and bribed. The intellectual climate has changed through the expenditure of billions of dollars for the manufacture of propaganda. Thousands of writers are employed in the Washington bureaus alone and those who do not conform have little market for their wares. As Malcolm Cowley confesses, (*New Republic*, Dec. 6, 1943) "Literature as a business is prospering as never before . . . but literature as an art is in a dead season".

A wave of cheap commercialism and venality has swamped the mediums for popular information. Even the springs of entertainment have been poisoned. Centrally controlled, deliberate distortion and falsification have debased our standards for judging events and led to indifference as to facts.

There is no moral indignity in recognizing the inevitable and in yielding to necessity. Moral degradation comes when for safety we pretend

that all is well when we know all is rotten. When the Atlantic Charter was set up by its makers as a screen to conceal their purposes, it was accepted with moral elation. Then after repudiation, in the poverty of their moral resources, its creators would again dazzle us with its false hopes. To accept this now as hopeful is evidence indeed of moral degradation.

To believe that the God who created us all, is now serving one group of peoples and has abandoned others to the devil, marks even greater moral degradation. That is to assert that some are beyond sin or redemption and to deny that all are endowed with certain inalienable rights. So deep in moral degradation have we fallen that we would negate all that we have held dear these two thousand years.

DECEIT IS EVIL

Only through the secret and devious intrigue of our political magicians who manipulate their symbols to control the people could we have been brought to this present state of crassest ignorance and cultural degradation. The moral prestige of those in control fades as the screen of ideologies behind which they have operated is penetrated.

"Beneath the sinister lightning of the war that encompasses them, in the blazing heat of the furnace that imprisons them, the people have, as it were, awakened from a long torpor. They have assumed, in relation to the state and those who govern, a new attitude—one that questions, criticizes, distrusts." Thus the Pope in his Christmas message, 1944, warned that the people were getting on to the international game being played.

As the emptiness of victory becomes apparent to the eyes of men dying to achieve it, suspicion deepens that both rulers and educators have fallen down on their jobs. The 'liberated' peoples, still starving, increase in bitterness. The English, who had seen a 'revolution by consent' are again disillusioned.

Secrecy surrounds every move of the three men who arrange and stage the tragedies of the world. With almost unlimited power concentrated in the hands of one man who, as commander-in-chief of twelve millions, holds the power of life and death over more millions, and with three million civil servants hired or fired at will, it is possible to control information that conceals or contributes to the secret purposes.

Such complete bankruptcy could not have been brought about without falsification of the books. If it were to occur in a business or a corporation, jail sentences would follow, but working for a sovereign state one must obey, whether the command is to kill or to falsify. "At no period of the world's history has lying been practiced so shamelessly or, thanks to modern technological progress, so efficiently, or on so vast a scale as by

the political and economic dictators of the twentieth century", recently declared Aldous Huxley.

But that's an old story under sovereign and secret statecraft. Dr. Johnson observed in 1758, "Among the calamities of the war may be justly numbered the diminution of the love of truth by the falsehoods which interest dictates and credulity encourages. I know not whether more is to be dreaded from streets filled with soldiers accustomed to plunder, or from garrets filled with scribblers accustomed to lie."

But such has the intellectual climate become that although the falsification of the record is constantly being exposed, there is no wave of righteous indignation, directed at the falsifiers.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

Curiosity is inborn, an inheritance from our simian ancestors. Shrewd rulers to perpetuate their power find ways of quieting curiosity and limiting the knowledge of people. Institutions that do this have grown up and been encouraged. Plantation owners within a century opposed the enlightening of their negroes. Dangerous knowledge and thinking has been rigorously repressed in European countries more recently. In our own country for a long time we were denied any adequate knowledge of Bolshevik Russia.

Francis Bacon, as early as 1622, observed, "Knowledge and human power are synonomous". Knowledge of how to fool the people with ideologies is political power anywhere. Knowledge of how to manipulate votes is political power in a democracy. Secretly held by the few, knowledge makes possible the mental enslavement of peoples.

It is not so strange then to wake up and suddenly discover that there has never been any organized attempt to bring together the world's knowledge in usable form. It is not wise for those in control to encourage such a venture. It is their duty to preserve and maintain what is.

Nowhere can we find and nowhere is there imparted a clear, ordered description and understanding of the universe and the world we live in. Great encyclopedias there are which list articles alphabetically arranged. There are great encyclopedias which bring together all knowledge. Yes, but they are nationalistic, Americana, Britannica, and others are put forth commercially to pander to popular demand. We have never had a guide book to all knowledge, one that held up the mirror to man of the little he had learned, that revealed how little is the circle of light in the surrounding dark ocean of his ignorance. From some such source we might derive a mental content proportioned to our ability and need.

For twenty years H. G. Wells has clamored for such a world encyclopedia and for a university that would foster universal knowledge. Both

he and Hogben have shown the way. George S. Counts, too, a decade ago in the Report of the Commission on Social Studies writing on the "Social Foundations of Education" made clear why this great need has not been met:

"Society today possesses the instrumentalities for creating a relatively informed public opinion, but it does not direct them to that end. It even permits them to be pointed toward a contrary goal. The American people have made no comprehensive and rational effort to organize the new agencies of communication for the simple purpose of spreading enlightenment and understanding. On the contrary, developing under the system of individualism, these agencies have generally been regarded, not as cultural instruments of society as a whole, but rather as tools of special groups and profit-making enterprise."

That our great profit-making organizations, industries, and utilities should have their own publicity and propaganda and endeavor to get their ideas across not only to the people but through our educational institutions is entirely rational. But as soon as their secret methods are exposed, they desist, though always to try again. Their purpose is not to serve man, but mammon which feeds on man.

While our schools and universities are dependent upon politically controlled legislators, or plutocratic donors through the great foundations and financial institutions, they must meet first the needs of those who feed them, rather than those who come to them to be fed. Earlier in the century we heard much about 'tainted' money in the educational world. Today the adjective more aptly applies to the pabulum served up. Freedom to know what is available, freedom to drink deep of the oceans of knowledge will invigorate, vitaminize, and energize the peoples of the world, but will be inimical to the dead hand.

IGNORANCE BRINGS DISASTER

Hope springs eternal, and after the agony and sacrifice of war, sprouts vigorously. The story of education, between two wars, is like every other human story. Utopian ideals blossom to fade in disillusion, stagnation, reaction. Intellectual development is halted by stultification and frustration. It is the story of sinister influences, national and international, which have frostbitten the better tendencies of mankind and brought us to the present mess.

The regimentation of formal schooling and institutional influences of church and state kill and stultify the normal curiosity. Learning is substituted for knowledge. Our universities, sardonically so called, are ecclesiastical hangovers from the training schools for theologians. None are so ignorant as the learned who have had the most scholastic training.

By the time a man has gone through the stultifying process of becoming a Ph. D. he not only knows more and more about less and less, but is unable to relate what he knows about that little to the world about him. Witness the effervescent hysteria that arises from the Ph. D.'s of the humanities whenever in a fix the holders of political power find it necessary to busy "giddy minds with foreign quarrels".

The minority that remain sane are smeared as abnormal or traitorous. Questioning H. G. Wells on his arrival in this country a decade ago, puzzled by replies enigmatic to him, Thomas Lamont finally asked, "Well, Wells, where do you expect to be ten years from now?" Wells replied, "I hope to be in an asylum for the sane". Only a few of us have been there. When more have recovered their sanity and begin once more to inquire into what has made the wheels go round so dizzily, they may come to the attitude of President Conant before the 'turn of the tide' swept him into the wastes of war (cf pp 319, 320).

When our educational system and its processes are investigated as the anthropologist investigates the cultures of other peoples, we shall see that we have no system, only an accumulation of anachronisms, of vested interests, of medieval leftovers. We shall discover that its processes are without any biological orientation, that our educators have been engaged in hopeless, destructive fumbling in the dark jungle of what we call our intellectual life toward ends that are non-existent, toward goals that are mere will-o'-the-wisps.

Good will is not lacking. Everywhere it springs up if the machinations of shrewd, short sighted men, greedy for power, do not prevent. The state of the world is due to lack of necessary knowledge, to misinformation, and consequent frustration. On ignorance, man's greatest enemy, let us join with Harlow Shapley who has declared perpetual warfare (cf *American Scholar*, Winter, 1945).

WHAT EDUCATION IS

Once education and religion were one, largely concerned with the learning of rituals. Later the purpose was to lay moral and intellectual foundations for this life. 'Training the mind' was considered essential. Since the invention of printing, books have supplied the magic formula. Something of all this still persists. Today we are intent on equipping the child with what we consider essential tools. Most are never used, some forgotten, others burdensomely treasured through life. The curriculum provides language tools chiefly, for even mathematics is merely the language of size, we have come to understand.

Language arose from the need to communicate. Verbalization is a relatively recent invention and remains an imperfect means of communi-

cation. Scientists by patient study have discovered, as poets by intuition have long realized how our language fails to convey our meaning, even between lovers who are driven to resort to more primitive methods of communication. Apes and even paramecia have communicated and courted for hundreds of millions of years. Skunks use scents, and birds songs. Pioneers blazed trails. The Incas used knotted strings. From the primitive pictograph came the Egyptian hieroglyph which became the cursive hieratic. The trading Levantines developed shorthand signs for sounds which became our alphabet.

Written literature arose from this great invention, but long before, preliterate had created literature we still consider great. The rhythmic recitals of experience, reiterated through the generations, became epics and sagas which we cannot equal today. It is evident then that the need of communication, the urge to relate experience gave rise to language and literature long before there was 'readin, ritin, and rithmetic'.

Language is purposeless without experience, and the urge to relate or record. There is little understanding of this among educators who deride as 'progressives' those who insist on experience for children. But unless one has something to tell and an urge to tell it, language cannot be used effectively.

How language is used functionally in many different ways among varied peoples has only recently been shown by the anthropologists Boas, Sapir, Jespersen, and Malinowski. Thousands of languages have developed since man first used words, perhaps fifty thousand years ago, a fraction of the time since he discovered the use of fire. Of these languages, some, undergoing change, have survived, perhaps a thousand of a score of types. Inflected languages of more complicated structure than the Greek developed in the isolation of Melanesian islands. But they had no grammar, nor did the Greeks till their decadence. Homer needed grammar no more than writing. Teachers of grammar do not write, and those who are taught grammar lose the urge to write. Mankind is still experimenting with many languages, though egocentrically people regard their own as best or perfect. Intercommunication calls for a universal language, of which hundreds have been invented.

WHAT EDUCATION MAY YET BE

The educator of the future will realize more fully that his function is to deal with the growing organism and, insofar as his knowledge permits, to guide and encourage growth. From the horticulturalist and the stockman, he will know that it is easy to dwarf, distort, or destroy, but that growth, while it may be stimulated by favorable conditions, can only be promoted by better nutrition and the removal of harmful influences. From

the revelations of the biologist, he will have learned something of the nature of growth and what prohibits and inhibits, of how the genes control, and how environment influences. He will have learned, as has the man of medicine in recent centuries, that nature will do much if not thwarted.

Future teachers will have understanding from the physiologist of the functioning of the organism, and from the neurologist of the processes of the nervous system which have to do with intellectual development. From the somatologist, he will have learned that, like health, intellectual development is not purely mental but is influenced by the functioning of the whole organism; and from the endocrinologist, that the nature of mental and emotional activity changes with the composition of the blood due to glandular secretions or artificial injections.

The anthropologist will have led him to see the pupil before him as the result of a long evolution which has produced variations, but that all men are one, freely interbreeding,—that we should recognize 'cousinhood' rather than verbalize the sentimental 'brotherhood', subconsciously rejected. From the general semanticist, he will know the danger and disaster that comes from the uncomprehending misuse of words and will endeavor to save his pupil from such conflicts as have been revealed by the psychiatrists. With the fading of the myth of the body-mind dichotomy, psychology, the study of the soul, will have vanished like thin vapor. Looking at his pupil, the teacher will see an organism in relation to its environment, not a mere mind to be set by indoctrination or in which ruts are to be worn by drill.

The correlation between physiological processes and muscular tonus, worked out by Mathias Alexander, will not be unknown to some teachers who possibly may have derived still further inspiration from the wisdom of the most ancient cultures of the East, from which we Western barbarians, through the millenia, have only slowly derived the elements of our religion, philosophy, and science.

Our future educator may not know all these things, but he will know that these things are to be known and in his recognition of his limited knowledge and unlimited ignorance, he will approach his pupil in a greater spirit of humility.

With such understanding, he will more readily be able to start the pupils' internal combustion engine without the present-day sputtering and backfiring, until some time every youngster develops his own self-starter. Freed from the chains he now drags from the past, with fluid drive, with clearly seen objectives ahead, the road onward and upward will seem smoother.

When a generation of men, or even a small number of them, have had

opportunity to grow from infancy into adulthood under such protective and enlightening guidance, with the recovery of their ancient heritage, the urge to discover, they will have uncovered those things which are concealed from us and will have learned much of which we are unconscious. Then these enlightened will comprehend and command the forces about them. They will see to it that no longer shall the earth be fouled by those who at present deface it. Then, only then, may we all worship God and all that he created, with an open mind, and a cheerful heart, and an unlimited drive forward.

THE ANSWER

Then what is the answer?—Not to be deluded by dreams.

To know that great civilizations have broken down into violence, and their tyrants come, many times before.

When open violence appears, to avoid it with honor or choose the least ugly faction; these evils are essential.

To keep one's own integrity, be merciful and uncorrupted and not wish for evil; and not be duped

By dreams of universal justice or happiness. These dreams will not be fulfilled.

To know this, and know that however ugly the parts appear the whole remains beautiful. A severed hand

Is an ugly thing, and man dissevered from the earth and stars and his history . . . for contemplation or in fact. . .

Often appears atrociously ugly. Integrity is wholeness, the greatest beauty is Organic wholeness, the wholeness of life and things, the divine beauty of the universe. Love that, not man

Apart from that, or else you will share man's pitiful confusions, or drown in despair when his days darken.

By ROBINSON JEFFERS,
with Permission of the Author.

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